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

## THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON \_

Franklin Roosevelt jailed Earl Browder and it has nothing to do with passports. It is a political act. Soon there will be others, including perhaps the arrest of James Ford, the black Commissar. Ford may be arrested for sedition, or for riding on the wrong side of the road. But whatever the charge that also would be a political act, and must be judged as such. Negroes must watch their step and not jump to early conclusions.

The stooges of American capitalism, the "democracy" trumpeters, will rejoice that America has been saved; and the stooges of the Moscow bureaucracy, the Stalinists, will wail that America has been lost. Both lie. We have here a very complicated situation, and the Negroes must be well prepared against the barrage of propaganda that the Stalinists, in particular, will let loose upon them.

First of all, no class-conscious workers anywhere, and least of all the revolutionary socialists, the Trotskyists, want to see Franklin Roosevelt jailing any members of a working class organization. The Communist Party is a working class organization. The Stalinists have thousands of good workers in their ranks, honest, sincere, devoted. They still have some Negroes who think that by working in the Communist Party they are working for the down-trodden Negroes and all oppressed humanity. We respect their devotion. We respect also their stomach. If after all Browder and Ford taught them during the last five years they can now swallow the Stalin-Hitler Pact and the invasion of Poland, then they may swallow anything. Yet our dispute with them remains a comradely one. But with Browder, Foster, Amter, and Ford it is different. We believe and have proved that they are double-dyed scoundrels, deceivers of the working class.

We stand for the principle that all workers' leaders, right or wrong, honest or corrupt, are responsible to the workers alone. And we call upon the workers to oppose Roosevelt and his capitalist gang, in any interference with the working class, even though they try to disguise it with a smoke-screen about false passports.

#### We Will Do Our Own Work

Yet we of the Fourth International are no friends of Browder, agent of Stalin, that murderer of revolutionary workers. The "democracy" specialists will denounce Browder and the Stalinists for be- tradition — the Sailors Union of communist" resolution — which ocracy specialists will denounce Fritz Kuhn for being an the Pacific got its bellyfull of can eventually be directed at all tion" as a whole, including the sections supporting Roosevelt's proagent of Hitler. Here again we must make our attitude clear. For this strikebreaking in the Shep- militants—the loggers revolt had us it is a question of class. If Roosevelt put Fritz Kuhn in jail for ard Line "beef" in San Francisco. its vigorously healthy aspects. pily informs us that Crosswaith's chances for electoin are very twenty years, that is none of our business .Kuhn is a Fascist, a member of a reactionary political organization dedicated to the suppression of the workers. He is our mortal enemy, as Browder is. But we don't ask Roosevelt to deal with Browder and we condemn it found its natural counterpart in cies, to strengthen the progress-

We don't ask Roosevelt to deal with Kuhn either. But we don't Pritchett, whom he came to de- is the duty of class conscious milcare if he does. Let Roosevelt jail Kuhn and then let Hitler jail the fend against the lumberjacks. itants. head of the American embassy in Berlin. Twenty years a piece, or Instead of the fantastic figure of It was probably because of this forty for that matter. That is their capitalist business, not ours. 100,000 boasted by Pritchett at vigorous intervention of the rank What we ask the workers to do is to sweep Kuhn and his Bundists the CIO convention, a delegate and file that Lewis' representaand Coughlin and his gangs off the streets whenever they show from Forest Grove was able to tive William Dalrymple, new CIO their faces there to preach Fascism. We besieged the Bundists at demonstrate that there were no director for Oregon, took an "imtheir meeting in Madison Square Garden last year. We swept them more than 25,000 actual dues- partial" view of the dispute. Lewoff the streets in Los Angeles. We frightened them off it in San paying members in the IWA. is wants the purge but he does Francisco. Is it because Kuhn is an agent of a foreign power? Rub. Padded figures always substitute not want the rank and file to bish. It is because he is an agent of Fascism—the enemy of the for solid union achievement in sweep the house clean of the buworkers. In the same way we are against Browder, not because he Stalinist-ridden unions. is an agent of a foreign power, (which he is) but because he is an agent of Stalin who is an enemy of the workers, though in a differ- cratic rule in which \$30,000 was a procedure for trade unionists ent way than Hitler.

In the days of Lenin and Trotsky for instance, the Communist the top clique is trying to en-Party got financial assistance and advice from Moscow. It was the force its mismanagement by duty of every worker to support that. Lenin and Trotsky, the Mos- draining another twenty - five cow government, were revolutionists. They considered themselves cents in addition to the present gers convention could see a peace and Russia as being merely one detachment of the international per-capita tax. To maintain its patched up between Lewis and and Russia as being merely one detachment of which the Thomas-Lovestone working class. Whatever they did in Russia, in China, in America or hold upon the union, to crush the Stalinists. That unity is, of apologists are guilty will be apparent to any worker who reads the working class, whatever they did in Russia, in China, in Almerica, the Stalinist re- course, quite precarious. It was text of the A.L.P. resolution. So much for the question of fact. asked: "How does this help the workers in their struggle?" Only a gime had recourse to its usual cemented against the militants backward worker would denounce a Communist of those days as methods of terror. Says Don Hel- This was an important reason for being an agent of a foreign power. As a matter of fact he was not. mick, one of the leaders of the the original collaboration. To-He was an agent of the international working class movement, of Opposition: which revolutionary Russia was the head.

## Browder and Ford Are Traitors to Labor

But today Browder is the agent of the Moscow bureaucracy. Stalin and his bureaucrats are concerned only with their own skin and their own bellies. They deceive the workers in every country their own bellies. They deceive the workers in every country they'll run me out, I'll fight and try to use them for their own selfis haims. So while Roosevelt and the lovers of "democracy" denounce Browder for being an agent of a foreign power, we denounce him and James Ford as being agents of a traitor of the workers and for being traitors them-

And why are they traitors? Ford is going to be running all over the country (he had better drive on the right side of the road), Raymond formed their caucus telling Negroes that the Stalinists are being persecuted because with the main aim of driving the they are opposing the war. They will hold up Browder and themselves as martyrs for "democracy," and as anti-war fighters. It looks well on the surface but when Ford and the Stalinists start opposition came within a hair this bleat, Negroes should ask James Ford a few questions like of defeating the administration.

Why did you fight so hard for Spanish "democracy," Ford? Why posal to squelch the opposition pact with Hitler, telling us that we must make a "democratic was carried by the slim vote of front" against Fascist aggression? You wrote a book, Ford, called 123 for and 107 agains. A pro-"the Negro and the Democratic Front." In it you told us Negroes to posal to bar Communists from join up with this same Attorney General Murphy and this same membership was defeated 129 to Franklin Roosevelt, who have jailed Browder. You told us Negroes 99. to do that to save American "democracy"? Why the devil did you do that, Ford? You are not a dope. You know better. You used to spend much time telling us that "democracy" wasn't worth fighting for, that the only thing to fight for was Socialism. Look at what nization represents a two - fold sinst, the "world Bolshevist dan-American "democracy" is doing to you now. Why did you corrupt development. On the one hand it ger" are now faced with the need, and water, that there can never themselves in a state of com-

Why did yo ufight so hard for Spanish "democracy," Ford? Why ical proposals of the opposition ler Stalin Pact, of explaining tional-Socialism and Bolshevism and France. Hitler, upon entering at the 18th Congress of the Rus- following places in New York: did you and Browder and Stalin and all your people in Spain murder as reflected in their resolution their new attitude towards Rus- and that this treaty must there- into power in 1933, inherited a sian Party on the Comintern. Labor Book Shop, 116 University and kidnap Trotskyites, and militant anarchists who wanted to "to bar communists" takes its sia. The arguments that the Naz- fore have an important premise; foreign-political mess. overthrow capitalism in Spain? What made you love "democracy" lead directly from Lewis. But at is use are sufficiently interesting namely, that the leading statesso much in Spain, Ford, that you a man of African descent never the same time, this opposition and instructive to deserve quotonce raised your voice for the independence of the Moors in the concentrates all the anger of ing. Spanish Morocco? When Mussolini attacked Ethiopia why did your militant workers against maladmaster Stalin sell oil to Italy? And why did you not mobilize Ne- ministration. groes and white workers everywhere to denounce the League of Nations as a sure trap and point out that only the organized workers could help Ethiopia. Why didn't you do these things, Ford, you and your party?"

(To be continued)

# WORKERS' FORUM

TROTSKY'S ARTICLE ON THE UKRAINE

I've enjoyed reading Trotsky's article on the "Independence of A WORD OF PRAISE the Ukraine and Sectarian Muddleheads." There is a golden opportunity now for the Ukrainian notice of change of address and a united front of youth and labor bentrop in Moscow-of a "friend- HISTORICAL MOTIVATION workers in the US and Canada to a bit of plaise for the Socialist against the war-makers. The ship." At the same time, howev- FOR NEW FRIENDSHIP unite and fight Stalinism. But Appeal. Only in your paper can speakers at this meeting were: er, they turn against all the "lasomeone must show the way. I find a true interpretation of the Albert Coolidge, Professor at bor leaders, alleged friends of "historical" motivation for the Hitler did not hesitate a moment Trotsky is the one who could news behind the news, or a clear Harvard University, and Liam peace and English imperialists" fact that a German - Russian to take up again the policy of

deal of powerful stuff. Your pa-scriber and thoroughly enjoyed

troit, Chicago, Pittsburgh and New York. George Bachur.

To Socialist Appeal: May this card serve both as a work out a concrete "Program analysis of the bewildering movefor the Ukraine's Independence." ments of the Communist Party. I read the Socialist Appeal and Your ideas have my sympathy like it very much. It has a great and support. I am a new subper must somehow reach the Uk- the first two issues of your paper rainian masses in the US-De-that I received. . . .

ON THE BALLOT



Max Shachtman—Candidate in the Bronx

## RANK AND FILE LOGGERS REVOLT AGAINST STALINIST MISRULE

(Continued from Page 1)

#### Figures Falsified

borrowed from John L. eLwis, to follow where their unions are

". . he (Bridges) demanded that I join the Communist Party. If I refused he said he would run me out of the industry. They can call it Red-baiting, but if people tell me I'll 'join the party' or

To purge the loggers' organization of this wrecking, disorganizinug clique, the workers from the main centers of the industry, Portland, Tacoma, Aberdeen and Stalinists from office. In the two main contests on the floor, the A typical Stalinist "unity" pro-

## Two-fold Development

#### Subscribe to The SOCIALIST APPEAL

# HARVARD CAMPUS

On Tuesday, Oct. 17, the Harvard Anti-War Committee held a series of articles (on Sept. 12, 19, highly successful meeting on the and 28). Harvard campus calling for a Take note that the Nationalconstitutional amendment to Socialist propagandists speak not LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON only of a commonplace diplomat-.VAR. This organization calls for ic pact but-just like Herr Rib-Donlon, CIO organizer.

Let the People Vote on War!

Excluding the dangerous "anti-Its reactionary features were the good. excrescence of Stalinist misleadfalsified statistics by Stalinist ives and isolate the reactionaries

reaucrats. That is a dangerous Now after a two-year bureau- procedure-for Lewis. But it is

ain-but only at the top. We re-Stalinists. It can rely only upon its own forces. Otherwise it exthe fire. Without the decisive in-Lewis will replace a Stalinist diceaucracy and class collaboration. There is no third road.

# The Socialist Party and Its Lovestone Allies Continue to Cover Up the ALP's War Position

the European conflict," adopted by the American Labor Party state the Lovestoneites. executive committee on Oct. 4 and endorsed that same evening by conference of New York City delegates. The text was published in CIO and AFL bureaucracies, who imposed upon their respective at the A.L.P. offices, 151 West 40 St., New York.

It has become necessary, because a concerted effort is being made to conceal and distort the meaning of the resolution. The capithe members are now voting on the resolution, the speeches sup-Hitler pact. The "left wing" supporters of the resolution, the Norman Thomas socialists and the Lovestoneites, are conniving at this program of that class. "description" of the resolution.

In a series of articles, we have described the actual content of the resolution, and quoted its main sections. We have demonstrated that the main section of the resolution, constituting its fundamental motivation, is a declaration in favor of Anglo-French imperialism in its war against the Hitler-Stalin camp. From this pro-Ally orientation, the resolution proceeds to draw two immediate conclusions: to support Roosevelt's proposal to lift the embargo, and to denounce the Stalinists for their "callous disregard" of the fate of the "democracies." We ask every worker to compare our analysis and quotations of the resolution with the full text of the resolution. There is no middle ground on this important question of fact.

#### Breaks Silence—But Not Completely

The Oct. 28 Call finally breaks silence, and gives us the first tion of the Stalinists, is absolutely certain. official explanation of the Socialist Party's support of the resolution. It does not print the text of the resolution, and with good reason! For its description of the resolution is utterly dishonest. Of the fact do not denounce the chauvinists of the opposing camp; those who that the fundamental motivation of the resolution is pro-Ally, The adapt themselves to "democratic" chauvinism, keep quiet about it, Call says not a word. Of the fact that the resolution denounces apologise for it, are floating with the dominant current toward the Stalin and the Stalinists from a democratic-imperialist standpoint, war-camp of the "democratic" imperialists. That is the crime of and from no other standpoint, The Call breathes not a hint.

Of the fact that the Socialist party member, Frank Crosswaith, A.L.P. candidate, "expressed unqualified approval for the resoluposal to lift the embargo, The Call says not a word, although it hap-

In addition to its general story, The Call publishes an "explana-Strikebreaking by Bridges ership. To separate these tenden- tion" by Harry W. Laidler, the other Socialist candidate on the A.L.P. ticket. This, too, fails to quote the main sections of the

resolution. The gist of Laidler's alibi is given in this paragraph: "I think that it was unfortunate that the neutrality resolution was incorporated in the resolution on the part, on

dictatorship and on Communist control, but the general purport of the entire resolution was known to all." This shameful alibi should deceive no one. The "general purport the entire resolution" is for support of the Anglo-French imper-

The Oct. 21 Workers Age (Lovestoneites) is equally brazen. It

"However, it appears obvious to us that, in the resolution as it stands, the arms-embargo section is no more than a 'rider,' of entirely secondary importance, while the anti-Stalinis tangle is of paramount significance. Therefore, where the resolution cannot be divided-and we are gratifield to learn that it is being divided in a number of A.L.P. branches-we urge all members of the A.L.P. to vote in favor of it, taking the opportunity to make clear their position on the question of neutrality and the arms embargo."

The deliberate falsification of which the Thomas-Lovestone

## They Abandoned Fundamental Principles

Why have we dwelt on this question over many articles? Because the shameful conduct of the Thomas-Lovestone camp demonpeat that the rank and file can- strates how fatal it is to abandon the fundamental principles of the not trust Lewis to purge the revolutionary struggle against war.

In the fight against war, Lenin taught us, our first duty is to attack the war-mongers in our "own" country. Liebknecht concenchanges one bureaucracy for an- trated this thought in his immortal slogan: "The enemy is at home." Since they believed that only the working class can really fight against war, our teachers first of all conducted an irreconcileable tervention of the rank and file, struggle against chauvinism in the labor movements of their own countries. For only a labor movement united against chauvinism tator with one of his own. With could fight against war. These fundamental principles, carefully it, rank and file control and de- thought out and elaborated by the revolutionary internationalists mocracy will eradicate all bur- during the First World War, are equally applicable to the Second

Is this denied by anyone who calls himself an internationalist?

It has become necessary to appeal again to every worker to Yet these principles are already being violated, in practice, by the acquaint himself with the actual text of the "special resolution on avowed "internationalists" of Norman Thomas' Socialist party and

Who are the chauvinists in the American labor movement? The the N.Y. Times, Oct .5, in the New Leader, Oct. 14, and is available conventions endorsements of Roosevelt's war program, proposals for labor representation on war boards, etc. The American Labor Party leaders, whose Oct. 4 resolution is the most brazen pro-war document so far issued by any section of the labor movement. These are talist press contributed powerfully to the confusion, labelling it the chauvinists in the labor movement with power and widespread merely as an "anti-red" resolution. In the A.L.P. branches, where influence. Their influence appears even more powerful than it actually is because their war program is identical with that of the capitalporting it are almost entirely limited to denunciations of the Stalin- ist class and its government; more exactyl, they are the "labor lieutenants" of the American capitalist class, carrying out the war

#### Along the Social-Patriotic Current

There are other chauvinists in the labor movement; the Stalinists. As long as the Stalinists were preaching a war program similar to that of Roosevelt-"the democratic front against fascism"-they were accepted as junior partners by the CIO and the ALP leadership. However, as soon as Stalin switched camps and joined with Hitler, the apparent strength of the Stalinists began to evaporate. In their two strongholds in the labor movement-the CIO and ALP -a war of extermination is now being carried out against them. The Department of Justice is now "supplementing" this war against the Stalinists, its persecution of Browder being only the first step. The chauvinism of the Stalinists is on behalf of the Hitler-Stalin camp; it is "alien"-i.e., it is not the chauvinism which the American government desires and fosters; its extinction, the extermina-

No one outside the Stalinist camp proposes to support the Stalinist chauvinists. Those, however, who denounce the Stalinists and the Thomas-Lovestone groups.

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## What the Nazi Press Says About The Stalin-Hitler War Alliance

By OSCAR FISCHER The German National-Social- BOLSHEVISM IS BASE

The revolt in the loggers orga- the international vanguard ag- National-Socialism and Bolshev- the politicians of catastrophe of new friendship is the collapse of is undeniable that the anti-polit- following the signing of the Hit- be any conciliation between Na- plete dependence upon England formation that Manuilsky gave

The Deutsche Zeitung von Mexis one of the periodicals of the Goebbels and the National-Social- er night. Such a sudden switch most prominent representative Germany in Mexico, whose real editor sits in Berlin, and which could hardly live a single day Union itself." ANTI-WAR RALLY ON without the subsidies of the German Embassy and the Propagan-

> who "have invented the fairy friendship was out of the ques- German-Russian agreement." tales of the alleged fraterniza- tion in the years gone by. On the tion of National-Socialism with German side, it was due to the COMINTERN COLAPSE Bolshevism." The fascists destroy "miserable German foreign polithese legends by summarizing, cy of the post-Bismarckian era," The scapegoats are, thus, Litfor their own part, the genuine which, with English intrigues, in- vinov, Tukhachevsky and the

da Ministry, has now presented ship between Stalin and Hitler politicians of England and the "Foundations of German- cannot be formulated less ambig- France. In the Red Army there the Communist Party of France Russian Friendship" in a long would. For Hitler - Germany, was also a group (Tukhachev-only strengthens the Nazis in sociation, which has just cele-Stalinism is in no wise identical sky) who sought to instigate a with Bolshevism; on the contra- war against Germany, in alliance ry: Stalin is considered by the with England and France. Nazis as the victor in the struggle against the "Bolshevik pest-

sian people in the war of 1914- were able to take power in Ger-1918, from which both emerged many? ists, who pretended to the role of "Everybody . . . knows that "mortally wounded." Later on, Another "foundation" of the

> tion of Bolshevism in the Soviet ive security,' who married an En-The foundations of the friend- pletely in tow by the encirclement intern people' in Moscow."

tained its position as a Great for other countries." Power, and, on the other side, the circles in the Soviet Union who operated against a policy of German-Russian agreement had been The Nazi organ also gives an overturned and liquidated, Adolf

foundations of the friendship: volved the German and the Rus- other "liquidated" people. Hitler the Socialist Appeal.

forgave his friend Stalin the latter's hopes in the "democratic Powers" and the "People's Fronts." In the last analysis, he could excuse it because he never suffered from it. For is it not Stalin's policy that we have to thank for the fact that the Nazis

Manuilsky reported that the for- Pl.; Rand School Book Store, 15 "This circumstance," says the eign sections of the Comintern St. and 5 Ave.; Foreign News Deally given up their world revolu- certain Soviet Russian politicians bers. "But," say the Nazls, "even Store, 278 Grand St.; Biedertionary aims. That is indeed the who continuously demanded an this total of 1,200,000 members man's Book Store, 2nd Ave. at ico (German Journal of Mexico) case in actuality. But it would be aggressive policy against Geris only on paper; for included in 12th St.; 3rd Ave. and 14th St. a gross political mistake were we many. . : . In the field of diplo- it are still the 300,000 members (N. W.) to assume that that occurred ov- macy, these circles had as their in Red Spain, which long ago ist Foreign Propaganda depart- could inspire but little confidence. the former Soviet Russian for- ceased to exist, and hundreds of ment. This megaphone of Hitler The abandonment of world revo- eign minister, Litvinov - Finkel- thousands of members in Gerlutionary aims by the Soviet Un- stein, the 'diplomat in a red many and Japan, where a comion has as its premise the liquida- frock-coat,' the 'father of collect- munist organization exists only Organization for in the imagination of the 'Com-

The most recent prohibition of therefore, there is no longer any "When Germany once more at- danger; neither for Germany nor

(Concluded in next issue)

An attractive poster has war. been prepared to advertise the column in the Socialist Appeal by J. R. Johnson on Note to Readers "The Negro Question". The use of these posters on news-

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## Boston Fraternal Referendum on War

The Boston Local of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Asbrated its 50th anniversary as the oldest and the largest local in New England, has passed a motion calling for a constitutional amendment to let the people vote on the declaration of any

# in Minneapolis:

stands and at meetings will The regular Sunday Forum of help to increase the sale of the S.W.P. meets at 8: n. m. 919 Marquette.