THE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED"-KARL MARX. NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON _

Industry and the Negro

The first, the absolute indispensable necessity for Negroes who want to struggle for their emancipation, is to understand that difference of color is not the cause of discrimination against them in industry. The intelligent capitalist knows this. The Negroes must know it too. Not that the race question is unimportant. Not at all. It has acquired a tremendous importance. But it is a subordinat.

In our pamphlet on the war, (Why Negroes Should Oppose the War; J. R. Johnson, 5 cents) we wrote the following: (p. 23)

"Whenever a problem faces us we should examine it in all its aspects, then examine similar situations in foreign countries, look back into our own history, see where the circumstances are alike and where they differ, and then attempt a conclusion."

To that something more can be added. We must see where the problem is today, then where it was yesterday, then see where it is likely to be tomorrow. In other words we see it from all sides is likely to be tomorrow. In other words we see it from all sides and particularly we see in what direction it is moving, what is FortheWrite-In in Manhattan likely to happen tomorrow. This is known as the dialectic, and the method of investigation is called the dialectical method.

The very opposite of the dialectical method is the kind of argument that runs as follows:

"I went for a job yesterday. As soon as they saw my black face they turned me back. But the fellow who followed me was white and they gave him the job at once. Therefore the Negro problem is a race problem."

What Makes for Slavery?

It sounds good, but is it? Let us see.

First take the question of slavery. To too many Negroes, slavery is the badge of the Negro and his black skin. Error Number listed and put the number 1 in the square opposite to show that you One. For white men were slaves for thousands of years in the greatest empires of antiquity, particularly the empires of Greece are voting for him first choice. and Rome. White men enslaved white men by the millions. In fact white men have been slaves in Europe for far more centuries than white men have been free. Similarly, black men in Africa enslaved black men, and yellow men in China enslaved yellow men. Wherever economic conditions and political power enabled one class of men to enslave another class, there slavery existed, until the economic and political conditions changed and slavery was abolished. Color has nothing to do with it at all. So that a Negro who goes for a job and is refused because he is black, must stop and consider if there isn't more to this question than appears at first sight.

Let us now look at slavery in America. The Europeans who came to America in the early days tried to make the Indians slaves. But the Indians could not do the work. They died in millions. In the smaller islands of the West Indies they were wiped out almost entirely. On the American continent which was large they could fight and retreat before the invader. When they were caught they fought back, for their brothers and friends were carrying on the

struggle elsewhere. The European invaders then tried to enslave whites. They imported poor white people from Europe and worked them in the fields side by side with the Negroes. In other words, the color ques-

tion did not trouble them at all. But white slaves did not stand the climate well. Enough of be done. So that the employers of those days, looking round for the slight differences existing be- prominent C.C.F. ers have also them could not be got from Europe to do all the work that was to labor, decided to use the Africans from Africa because they were tween fascist rule in Germany rallied to his support. the most suitable. There were many more Africans in Africa than and the military dictatorship in The Canadian section of the there were Indians in America. The weapons the Europeans used were technically so much advanced and deadly that they had the

Africans at their mercy. The Africans were strong and could stand the hard work as slaves. Once brought to America, they had no hope, no society, no common language, no common tradition to bind them together and stiffen their resistance as the native Indians were stiffened. They had no perspective for freedom. So that they could only make periodical revolts one after another, which failed and left them often more miserable than before. In the same way the millions of slaves in the ancient Greek and Roman Empires made their periodical son, the authorities fell back on convicted, has become the main revolts and then submitted.

What we must note is that in America the slave-owners tried Indians, tried whites, and then finally settled on Negroes as slaves; obviously not because they were black but because they were the

most suitable from an economic point of view. Here again, therefore, a Negro who is refused a job because he is a black man, must think over history and note how unimportant the question of color was in the history of slavery and how it was the economic factor, the question of highest profit, which predominated. This is the dialectical approach. We watch the subject in different periods of history, in different countries in our own country, see where it was yesterday, where it is today and where it is all sides. One worker resentfully ed in a raid on the home of one going tomorrow. That is the most important thing for us. Where is it going tomorrow? When we know that, we know how to act today, and how to prepare action for tomorrow

Slave-Drivers Disguise Truth

we must always bear in mind. In the same way as a man tries class opinion. to cover his naked body with pleasing clothes, so men like to cover naked economic facts with pleasing moral ideas. Roosevelt wants to go to war for the sake of American investments? But he does tion of Watson has already had trial, he was the first person arnot say that. He talks about war for "democracy". Does Hitler wide repercussions throughout rested under its provisions and want to go to war to seize territory? He does not say that to the the Dominion. Every day brings has suffered the most severe German workers. He says "the Aryan blood" the "Nordic race" more news of the growing forces sentence. The Watson case. and much tripe of the same sort. The reason for this constant bluf- that are rallying to the defense which first drew wide publicity fing is plain. These men of privilege and power must fool the com- of this young anti-war fighter. in the Toronto press and which mon people. If they spoke plainly "War for colonies and for profits" A public meeting called by has already received comment in the masses, who never get any profits, would reply "Go and fight the University of Toronto C.C.F. the Commonweal, liberal Cathyourselves for your profits." The naked truth must be disguised. (Social-Democrats) to discuss olic monthly, has been given the

It is in accordance with this historical law that the slave-driv- the preservation of civil rights greatest publicity by the Socialers, when people began to challenge the system of slavery, did not adopted a unanimous resolution ist Appeal, American organ of dare to say "We tried Indians, we tried whites and now we use protesting the conviction of the Fourth International. The Ngeroes because they are the most suitable." No. They said "This Watson. black man is a barbarian. He lives like a wild beast in Africa. He is an inferior creature. God intended him to be a slave." Thus, to incial Secretary of the C.C.F., ing of the greatest service in justify economic exploitation, they elevated the race question into and a prominent trade unionist, the fight for Watson's liberation. a position of importance which it had never had before.

It wasn't an easy thing to do this, even in the South. A hundred ists would not give up the strug- cometime in November. and twenty years ago, there were many white people who denounced gle "until Watson is released." slavery. Wherever a man had a small farm, or where mines were At a meeting of the Fellowworked, wherever in fact Negroes were not required for large-scale ship for a Christian Social Orcotton plantations, the whites as a rule opposed slavery. There der funds were raised from its were scores of abolitionist societies in the South in the period members, many of whom are outaround 1800. Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, Thomas Jef- standing ministers of this city. ferson, the great men of those days had no love for slavery, and for the Watson Defense. Speakhoped that it would soon be abolished. And it would probably have ers at this meeting linked the been abolished long before 1863, if Eli Whitney had not discovered fight for Watson with the de-

This invention could do the work of a dozen slaves. Straightway an clergymen, ministers of the cotton production began to jump, In 1791 it had been two million United Church of Canada, who pounds. Ten years after, in 1801, it was forty million pounds. Ten have published an open manifesto years after that, in 1811, it was eighty million pounds and still ten against the war. The ministers years later, in 1821, it was 177 million pounds.

Huge cotton farms employing hundreds of slaves, spread over the country. The small farmers were driven off the land. So strong | ture required for the plantation. It was cheaper to have them made had been the abolition movement previous to Whitney's invention by slaves than by free whites. So that by 1861, the number of that up to 1826 there were still 103 emancipation societies in the South. But, as fast as the production of cotton and the profits doubled, equally as fast the propaganda against the Negroes doubled. The more the slave-owners exploited Negroes the more they he is black he should meditate upon the strange fact that eighty nor on their pretexts, nor by their methods, nor for their reasons. proved that he was a being created by God to be a slave. In other words, to disguise the naked economic exploitation they had to say that in reality they only did it because he was black and

But even while they proved by the word of God and the laws of man that Negroes were inferior creatures fit only to be slaves, the in other words he had his eye glued on the economic situation and he the barricades. need for profits made them act in a way entire'y opposed to thei nade his politics in strict accordance with his pocket. He didn't let lying propaganda. They found that slaves could become highly- he race question interfere with his profits. Every Negro and every proletariat from the Soviet bureaucracy—that is the first step in skilled mechanics and could make the implements, tools and rura. white worker should learn this great lesson from the capitalists. | the defense of the Soviet Union and the proletarian revolution.

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CAN NOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHER! On the Ballot in the Bronx

1 MAX SHACHTMAN Socialist Workers

Write number 1 before name in the voting square to the left of his name as indicated above.

After marking your ballot as above kindly give your second and third choices to the American Labor Party candidates by marking the numbers 2 and 3 next to their names.

Take this with you to the Polls as a reminder on Election Day, Nov. 7th.

1 GEORGE L. PAINE

The above is the correct spelling of the S.W.P.'s Councilmanic Candidate in Manhattan. To count, the name must be spelled exactly creases amounting to millions of extended to labor officials as that as here given. According to the election law, you must write-in George L. Paine on a blank line under the names of the candidates

Carry this with you to the polling booth to help you in voting accurately.

GROWING PROTEST MOVEMENT CHALLENGES WATSON ARREST

an ex-recruiting sergeant, lied | with prosecution under the same when they inferred that the large act which was used to convict rowd which listened to Watson Watson. his address. They murmured ap- Committee while in Saskatchew-

prosecution. Having failed to con- efforts to destroy them. vince any of the workers at that | The War Measures Act, under meeting to appear against Wat- whose provisions Watson was the police for the arrest.

ings on the streets of London member of his congregation. while the anti-fascist Watson faced arrest and conviction for continues to focus on the case Now there is another very noticeable fact about history which daring to voice honest working of Watson. Although the terms

Wide Resentment

has publicly stated that social- Watson's appeal will be heard fense of the seventy-five Canadi-

(Continued from Page 1) have already been threatened

resented his anti-war statements. In Winnipeg, members of the On the contrary, the crowd lis- I.W.W. have declared their supconed with great sympathy to port of the Watson Defense proval when Watson pointed out an, prairie center of Dominion,

Fourth International has been When the arrest came on that active in collecting money for ateful evening, it was counter the Defense Fund and has purto the wishes of the assembled sued independent action by the workers. The police tried in vain issuance of leaflets and stickers. to persuade the workers to ap- The stickers continue to appear pear in court on the side of the in public places despite police

the testimony of the soldier and weapon in the enforcement of the ex-recruiting sergeant, both the Canadian military dictatorof whom had put in the call to ship. Repressions continue at such a pace that it is difficult, More than seven hundred because of the press censorship, workers gathered about Watson to determine the number alis the police waited for re-in- ready arrested. It is estimated forcements to clinch the arrest. that at least thirty workers have Members of the Socialist Work- been jailed in Ontario alone, the ers League in the milling crowd latest victims being four Anarheard sympathetic comment on chist workers who were arrestpointed out that Oswald Mosley, of them. Also among the latest the hated British fascist leader, arrests are a preacher of the was permitted to hold open meet- Church of the Illuminati and a Public attention, however,

of the Act under which Watson was convicted had not been The brazen arrest and convic- made public at the time of his collection of funds by the Amer-Bert Leavens, Ontario Provican Defense Committee is prov-

> American Labor Aid 125 West 33 Street New York City Dear Friend:

I PLEDGE MYSELF to contribute \$..... to the defense of Frank Watson, imprisoned by Canada's government for the crime of speaking out as a worker against the war of imperialism.

Negro skilled workers in the South was five times as large as the number of whites.

When a Negro in the South is kept out of a skilled job because years ago he had nearly all the skilled jobs. Quite true he was a They seek only to preserve their rule. We, on the contrary, seek the Plave. But the white mechanic starved. The white employer, making destruction of their rule, for if they continue for long to dominate his profit wherever he could and however he could, simply ignored the Soviet Union, the first workers' state is doomed. Only the prohe fact that by his own argument the slave was a barbarian, and letarian revolution in the West can save the Soviet Union. And in ertainly he did not care what happened to the white skilled laborer. the proletarian revolution, the Stalinists stand on the other side of

G-Men Frame Teamsters Union Leaders As Part of U.S. Preparation for War

trike was something of a turn- of \$40,000, or both. and helpers. During the past year course, none of them was. organization in the driving indusry in this area had made im-

mense strides in scores of cities n Sioux City, Omaha and other penalty on which we wish to foc-Nebraska towns, in Des Moines, us attention, it is the entire con-Fort Dodge, Mason City, Dubu- duct of the FBI in this case que, Kansas City-in every town which causes us such concern. of importance in the industry.

This organizational progress story. culminated early in October Since the arrest, drivers union Teamsters and more than 2,000 covered some startling facts. motor carriers, covering 350,000 Passing over the fact that the 2S of this year.

Upon arraignment on Sept. 23, vealed: the union officials-leaders of 1. FBI agents, led by a man ruck fourteen months earlier.

Each union official was charged with five things:

state line). Penalty: 5 years in time on the case and was out to jail, \$5,000 fine, or both.

000 fine, or both.

CAN THE WORKERS ACCEPT

MOLOTOFF'S EXPLANATION?

(Continued from Page 1)

Army and then by the Red Army, and nothing was left. . . ."

which it had asked the world working class to underwrite!

But this is not the whole story.

Army soldiers also thought so.

More Broken Promises

Thus did the Kremlin fulfill the promises it had made and

"At the same time, the Soviet government intends to

deliver the Polish people from the disastrous war into which

they have been plunged by their unwise leaders and to give

them the opportunity to live a life of peace." Daily Worker,

dispatches in those days reported that surrendering Polish soldiers

thought the Red Army was marching against Hitler, and that Red

How were his listeners and the Polish people supposed to under-

stand Molotoff's words? He was promising that the Soviet Union

"intends to take every measure" to give the Polish people "the

opportunity to live a life of peace," Could the premier of the gov-

ernment of the "Workers Fatherland" mean anything but what the

words indicated? Certainly he could not have meant to define "the

opportunity to live a life of peace" as-life under Hitler's boot!

Those who listened and heeded his words did not believe that that

is what his words means. If that is what he meant, he could

of the Western provinces. It is not repeated, or even hinted at, in

Molotoff's speech of Oct. 31. On the contrary, the speech is a pro-

German speech, calling upon the workers of the world to take as

good coin Hitler's offer of "peace," saying not a word about the

imperialist aims of the Hitler regime but, on the contrary, laying

the entire blame for continuation of the war on the democratic im-

perialists. Hitler is whitewashed, including his annexation of Poland.

Molotoff calls upon the workers of the world to accept his version of

to defend the cradle of the Socialist revolution. We stand ready to

defend the economic conquests of the October Revolution, the na-

the Finnish situation. Can the workers accept it? They cannot.

Stalinism Cannot Defend the Soviet Union

tionalized property wrested from the capitalist world.

After this string of broken promises in connection-with Poland,

We, the Fourth Internationalists, today as before, stand ready

We defend it, however, not at the bidding of Stalin-Molotoff.

Complete political and organizational independence of the world

That promise was, however, not repeated after the occupation

This promise, solemnly made to the Polish people by Molotoff,

among Middle West drivers, the eight drivers' union officials elementary legal rights. Some four months later the In- amount to 232 years in the peniternational Brotherhood of Team- tentiary, a fine of \$320,000, or sters signed a one-year contract both. Certainly one would have the FBI's behaviour: with the majority of the motor to agree that this was a disprofreight operators in over a dozen portionate penalty even if any of Miller, president and organizer of Moines, Iowa, and Omaha, Neid le Western states, a contract the officials had been guilty of the Omaha General Drivers Unembracing over 200,000 drivers damaging a truck, which, of FBI Instigated Case

However, it is not the extreme and brings us to the heart of the

1939, with the signing of a new officials have made a diligent inworking agreement between the quiry into all circumstances sur-International Brotherhood of rounding the case and have un-

drivers and helpers in thirteen union officials were denied such states and bringing wage in- elementary courtesies ordinarily dollars yearly. We mention this of a telephone call from authoridevelopment at some length be- ties asking voluntary appearance cause it has an important bear- at police headquarters, or arrest ing on the arrests occurring Sept. at a reasonable hour of the day, the union's investigation has re-

Drivers Unions in Sioux City, in named Coombs, have worked on Des Moines, and in Omaha- the case of the alleged damaged learned that the charges levelled truck for well over a year, at an to be raised for the Omaha union- ized labor movement, and have against them had to do with the expenditure of time and governists in the Sioux City area. alleged destruction of the bakery ment funds which can only be guessed at.

"Out to Get Unionists"

transporting stolen car across nesses that he had spent all his tice allowed such bond. "get" the drivers' union officials.

to "get" union officials, trucking very quickly became evident that them the right to organize." 3. Conspiracy to do both the operators in this very area were in the background enormous Referring specifically to the inabove: 2 years, \$10,000 fine, or flouting Interstate Commerce pressure was being exerted on lo-dictments returned against driv-Commission regulations of inter- cal bondsmen by Federal men ers' union officials in the nation's 4. Conspiracy to steal bread state trucking. When this laxity and employers to cause the capitol, Mr. Padway stated: and bakery goods: 2 years, \$10,- was called to the attention of the bondsmen to refuse bond. One afgovernment, it invariably gave ter another, the Sioux City bonds- law then no union is safe in pick-5. Possession of stolen bakery the excuse that there was "not men stated frankly that "the heat eting any establishment in the

(Continued from Page 1) | penalty of 29 years in jail, a fine ery obstacle in the way of the operators of the destruction of a arrested union officials when the bakery truck (a charge which ing point in union organization The combined penalty facing latter sought to exercise their has all the aspects of an act by

> FBI Hounded Unionists We furnish you examples of

When Walter Stultz and Louis ion, Local 554, two of those charged, were arrested on Sepfrom two local businessmen, who integrity and innocence of these leaders of a section of the organ-

was not tenanted.

Miller was freed.

Miller. This time they said there in the construction industry, etc. was "a technical error" in the bond. When defense counsel sought to discover what the error labor with increasing frequency waes, Federal officials refused have been calling attention to, point-blank to allow the bond at and condemning, the increasing all, stating that a new bond had use of the FBI against the organ-

that the best bond is raised in ganized labor by all anti-union the district where the defendants forces. A few days ago in Wash-2. At least one FBI agent is live and are known, and that ington, D.C., Joseph A. Padway, 1. Violation of the Dyer Act reported as boasting before wit- courts have as a common prac- legal counsel for the American

Put Pressure on Bondsmen 2. Interference with interstate 3. While the government was counsel then made an effort to Union "is a desperate attempt to commerce: 10 years, \$10,000 fine, expending large sums of money raise the bond in Sioux City. It wreck labor unions and deny g6ods: 10 years, \$5,000 fine, or enough money to enforce regulations."

is too strong on us." When several bondsmen were finally found ployer anywhere if interestate Each arrested union official is 4. The FBI agents have shown to make bond, their bonds were thus eligible to receive a total an extreme concern to place ev- rudely rejected by Federal offi-

owed day and night while in spiracy." Sioux City. At times their shadowers would speak with prospective bondsmen, with an official movement of the United States, air, insisting it was not a good we submit the record of FBI op-

The Kremlin lied when it made these promises. It did nothing idea to go bond. 6. The secretary of the Omaha to strengthen the struggle of Poland against Germany. The Stalin-General Drivers' Union, then in Hitler pact, far from encouraging Polish resistance, undermined it The Polish people got "uncompromising support for their freedom and independence" in the form of a Red Army invading Poland in and Miller out of jail for three the further hope that even now collaboration with Hitler's army. Forgetting what had been said on Aug. 23-more exactly, cynically putting it aside-Moltoff boasted in his Oct. 31 speech: "One swift blow to Poland, first by the German When the Red Army began to march into Poland, repudiating all the previous promises made by the Kremlin, Molotoff made new ities, in what is an apparent ef- and Asia. promises. In his radio speech to the Russian people explaining the fort to make it difficult for them reasons for the occupation of the Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian to prepare their legal defense. provinces, Molotoff said, as a concluding point to justify the Red

Trial Now On

Early in November, the trial of the eight union officials will begin before the Federal court in Sioux City. What the outcome will be, no one knows.

What we do know is that the Federal Bureau of Investigation was obviously meant to assure them that the Red army was not marching in collaboration with the German Army. It was meant to (popularly known as the G-men) assure the Polish soldiers in the western provinces that, if they has played a startling role in this yielded to the Red Army and surrendered their arms, it would not prosecution. Building on the basis mean that the Polish people would be delivered up to Hitler. Press of a minor charge by trucking

agents provocateurs), FOR FIF-TEEN MONTHS the G-men have painstakingly built up a case involving not only officials of the Sioux City Drivers' Union, but officials of drivers' unions in Des

braska, as well. Perhaps it would still be deemtember 23 and jailed, a \$10,000 ed unnecessary to call this case bond was immediately secured to the attention of the American labor movement were it not for thus indicated their faith in the the fact that the victims are ized labor movement that has had Bond was at first allowed and phenomenal success in the past both men freed. Then Miller was year; and were it not for the furre-jailed, and the court explained ther fact that in recent months that the \$10,000 property bond the FBI has been used against was invalid because the property organized labor in a number of cities; in Minneapolis in July, A second bond was secured, 1939, during the widely-publicized WPA strike; in Washington, D. On October 17, Federal agents C., just a few days ago against removed Stultz and Miller to union officials; in Cleveland and Sioux City and again jailed them. many other cities, against build-Defense counsel immediately presented bond. But the Federal offi- junction with the Department of cials refused to free Stultz and Justice investigation of monopoly

FBI is Boss Weapon Leading officials in the world of expressed concern lest this might Legal counsel have pointed out encourage a wide assault on or-Federation of Labor, declared that the Department of Justice Union officials and defense prosecution of the Teamsters'

ployer anywhere, if interstate commerce is involved." Padway cials on one technicality or an- the principles of the Railway Laasserted the indictments violated 5. The trade union committee Relations Act, and virtually "turn bor Act and the National Labor from Omaha that went to Sloux the clock back a century to the City to raise bond for the two days when merely formation of a drivers' union officials were shad-

In the interests of the union erations against the drivers' movement in the Middle West, with the hope that trade union-Sioux City, finally offered a bond- ists everywhere will give these ing company \$500 to get Stultz facts serious thought; and with days in order to permit them to the weight of public opinion will prepare their defense against the cause the FBI to withdraw from charges. The bonding company its present road, a road which is refused! Walter Stultz and Louis surely leading to the development Miller, the Omaha union leaders, on American soil of the same sort were kept in jail for eight days of anti-labor political police before being released. They were which is the instrument of the held on the flimslest of technical- ferocious dictatorships in Europe

SPECIAL!

The Labor Bookshop has on hand about 1500 copies of "America's Permanent Depression" by Art Preis. The pamphlets sell at 3 cents per copy. Offers for the lot or any part of the lot should be made immediately by any branch interested in the pamphlet. Write to the Labor Bookshop, 116 University Place.

22nd ANNIVERSARY of the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

WHITHER SOVIET RUSSIA?

MASS MEETING

THE MEANING OF STALIN'S ROLE IN THE EUROPEAN WAR.

What does the future hold in store for Stalin? Have the irresistible forces that erupted in October 1917 really been quelled? Or does a new and vaster revolu-

tionary explosion impend? Will mankind emerge from this war enslaved and be plunged into barbarism? Or will it march emancipated into Socialism?

Hear the Answer by

James P. Cannon

National Secretary, S.W.P.

IRVING PLAZA IRVING PLACE at 15th St.

Wednesday November 15th

Aus.: Local N.Y. S.W.P.-4th Int'l.

ADM.—25c