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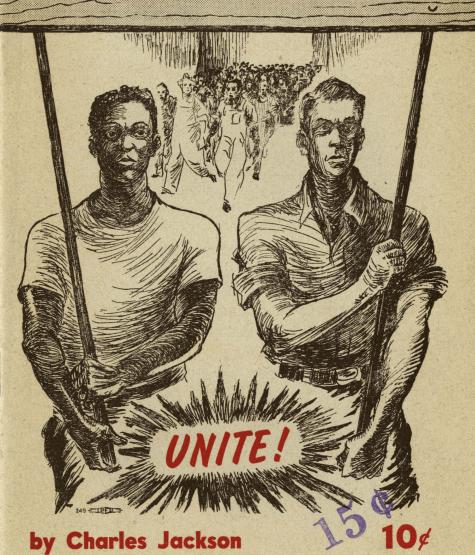
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A Practical Program to EXILL JIM CROW



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THE STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO EQUALITY

by JOHN SAUNDERS and ALBERT PARKER

with an introduction by Charles Jackson

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NEGROES IN THE POST-WAR WORLD

by ALBERT PARKER

Second edition March 1944
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A Practical Program to KILL JIM CROW

Nobody has to inform the Negro of present-day America that he is condemned to second-class citizenship and oppressive inequality. We have learned first-hand that our day-to-day activities and job opportunities are almost invariably impeded simply because our skin is the "wrong color." In every move we make in "democratic" America we are reminded that not the eagle of equality but old Jim Crow is boss of the barnyard.

Some of us have paid a higher price; some have paid in different coin. It depends in general on the part of the country in which one lives combined with the accidental circumstances one has encountered.

But it is an undeniable fact that every Negro is paying in one way or another for a condition based on the false doctrine of "white supremacy" and on the lie of "racial inferiority."

There are, without doubt, millions of white people throughout the northern part of the United States who do not know that such a thing as Jim Crow exists. They have been led to believe that this country is a democracy in every sense of the word.

They have no idea that a ten percent segment of our population is subjected to merciless discrimination and enforced segregation. They would swear on a stack of bibles that this is the "land of the free" and that there is "equality and justice for all." They would bet their bottom dollar that you are lying when you say that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution and the sacred Bill of Rights are being openly violated in America each and every day.

On the other hand, there are millions of white people who not only know that these things are happening and who take an active part in seeing that they do happen but who also actually believe that anti-Negroism is *supposed* to be practiced just as the sun is supposed to shine on a cloudless day. To them a Negro is just a dog. You can give him a pat on the head once in a



while when he licks your boots and wags his tail but don't neglect to give him a frequent kick in the rear to remind him that he is still a dog.

If you told them scientific investigation had proved that the black man was the equal of the white man in every respect they would be convinced that you were insane. In fact, to state that the Negro is not a dog would elicit about the same reaction in most Southerners as the statement that there is not a God in Heaven.

But believe it or not, the Negro, even without the benefit of stacks of scientific proof, knows instinctively that he is innately and potentially the equal of any other man of any other color. The serious-minded Negro, furthermore, intends to do all in his power to correct the conditions in society which force this false status upon him. This pamphlet is written with the purpose of showing every such dark-skinned American in clear and concise fashion just what he or she can do towards accomplishing this worth-while and necessary task.

Armed with this practical program you can become an effective leader of this struggle right in your own shop among your own fellow-workers and in mass organizations in your own city.

It is not our purpose here to rehash all the indignities which are visited upon the Negro people. To merely list our well-founded grievances would fill not only this small pamphlet but hundreds of volumes. However, for the benefit of those who may claim to be in the dark about this widespread domestic atrocity, let us lift the shade and let in some light on the subject.

In the backward South ten million Negroes and poor whites are denied the ballot in spite of the so-called sacred inviolability of the Constitution. The poll tax, the white primaries and the "grandfather clause" are each but one wheel in the imposing machinery designed to deprive the poor man of the right to vote. The elected officials from the Southern states represent only the tiny upper strata of wealthy capitalists and landowners.

To tell the truth, if all the legal snares including the poll tax were wiped out by Congress tomorrow the path to political equality in the South would by no means be clear. Those who know the South will testify to the fact that open threats, intimidation and brutality practiced by the forces of "law and order" or under their protection are by themselves enough to prevent

any man from running for office who will speak fearlessly for the poor people. And even if such a man were allowed to get on the ballot, the same legalized intimidation would be used to prevent the people from getting to the polls to vote for him.

When the Bilbos, Rankins and Ellenders can be put in office by three percent of the people in their constituencies and subsequently dictate the policies of Federal agencies, then anyone

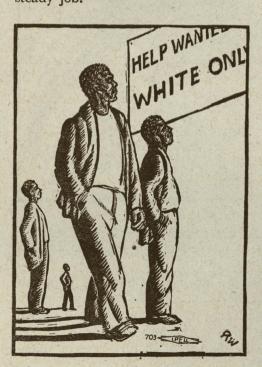


who proclaims that this is a "government of the people" is either living in a fool's paradise or else is viciously trying to mislead the public.

In the economic field we saw during this past war hundreds of plants from one end of the country to the other refusing to hire or to upgrade qualified Negro workers. In munitions plants, lumber mills, shipbuilding, trucking, communication and in other fields which were admittedly vital to Wall Street's war, many black workers were either given the thumbs-down sign or forced to accept only the lowest-paying jobs.

After the victory of the American imperialists over their German and Japanese rivals, millions of workers were laid off. As was expected, the Negro was the first to be fired. The employers had hired him, not because they wanted to, but because they were forced to by a temporary shortage of labor.

Even in unemployment compensation they handed the Negro the dirty end of the stick. Instances have been reported from industrial centers all over the country where colored women and men after being laid off were offered only the heavier and dirtier jobs—jobs that paid only half as much as they were previously making. Naturally they turned down such jobs, hoping to be lucky enough to find something whereby they could at least draw a more nearly decent wage. Thousands of them, however, later found out that by refusing the mop or shovel they were disqualified for unemployment compensation which they had counted on to tide them over until they could find a steady job.



Furthermore, in many of the plants which have reconverted they have met the same old sign that was so familiar before the war: "Help Wanted—White Only." Thus the slogan "Back to Normalcy" carries a hidden vengeance for the brown-skinned man or woman who hopes to earn a decent living.

This conspiracy to force the Negro back to the pick and shovel, back to the cotton farm and back to the soup line, was openly proclaimed by some representatives of the ruling class even during the war. Winifred Raushenbush, in her pamphlet Jobs Without Creed or Color, quotes the mayor of Shreveport, Louisiana, as saying: "Of equal importance with winning the war is keeping the Negroes out of skilled jobs."

The Fair Employment Practices Committee, which was created by Roosevelt in order to stave off A. Philip Randolph's threatened March on Washington, served as a token reminder to the bosses that they were supposed to pay lip service to job equality during the war. Even before the war terminated, however, we saw Republican and Democratic legislators unite to sound the death knell of the FEPC. They granted it a measly \$250,000 which was earmarked to be used by the committee to dig its own grave.

Although the Stalinist Daily Worker, following its sell-out policy, hailed this as a "great victory" for the Negro people, any sensible person knew even then that this was a heavy blow to our aspirations for equality in the postwar period. Although liberal groups still continue their feeble struggle to reform the Big Business government into permanently guaranteeing fair employment practices, the FEPC in its death throes will only have the resources, as far as Negro grievances are concerned, to "find 'em, file 'em and forget 'em."

But what about the war and the "victory of the democracies"? Of course we all know that before the war the Negro was subjected to all forms of discrimination. But what happened when the war broke out? Regardless of those who would have us believe that the Negro gained ground as a result of the war, the simple fact is this: the Negro was jim-crowed in the uniform of his own country.

The Federal government, through its War and Navy departments, became the greatest purveyor of Jim-Crowism that has ever existed in the history of this country.

As a result of this official policy the Negro was intimidated, beaten by white soldiers and civilians alike and relegated to the very dirtiest and most menial tasks available. Through the War Department, enforced segregation was exported to every field of operations. On every spot that the stars and stripes was unfurled, Jim Crow also reared its ugly head.

In 1940 Roosevelt answered the protests of leading Negro organizations by stating: "This policy (not to intermingle colored

and white) has proved satisfactory over a long period of years, and to make changes would produce situations destructive to morale and detrimental to the preparations for national defense." To whose morale would integration be detrimental—the morale of the Negro people or of the Southern Bourbons? Thus the fight against enforced segregation received a terrible set-back at the hands of the Federal government during the war.

Even after the war was over many units including the famous 614th Tank Destroyer Battalion were broken up and sent to the Pacific as service troops so that they would not receive any kind of heroes' acclaim at home. The brown-skinned occupation troops in Germany were used for guarding ration dumps, hauling construction material and digging up American bodies to be removed from German soil. In the China-Burma-India theaters of war the Army units as well as the Red Cross were jim-crowed throughout. Even in Japan, a non-white country, colored troops were singled out for special restriction to their bivouac areas. In describing their duties as occupation troops, Charles N. Loeb cabled the *Pittsburgh Courier* that "they spent a week killing rats in the big Japanese warehouses near the docks."

Yes, we are reaping today the fruits of "victory" in the second imperialist world war—a war that many of our own so-called civic leaders said was being fought for democracy—a war that Ben Davis, Doxey Wilkerson and the rest of the Stalinists (who falsely call themselves Communists) said was a "people's war" to

"eliminate fascism from the world."

Roosevelt helped draft the still-born Atlantic Charter which was supposed to allow the people to choose their own form of government. And it was Roosevelt who also said this was a war for the "Four Freedoms." Let us take inventory.

Do the Negro people have freedom from want?

For the millions of jobless and those who have jobs but can hardly make ends meet what with the rising cost of living, the answer to this one is obvious.

Do we have freedom of speech?

If you openly proclaim—especially in the South—that Negroes are entitled to full political, economic and social equality how long do you think the authorities will let you keep your job or your home or your life?

Do we have freedom from fear?

With the continuance of lynch law in the South and with recurring reports of intimidation, brutality and anti-Negro terror in the industrial North, how can a Negro in any of his daily activities have even for a moment complete freedom from fear?

Say what you will, a cold analysis of the facts shows that the only one of the four freedoms that was left for the black man is freedom of religion . . . Glory Be!



If you look at the scoreboard in the light of the truth you cannot fail to see what every Negro knows today: This is not a democracy—it is a mockery of democracy!

Now any military strategist knows that before we launch an attack it is essential to know precisely the nature and distribution of the enemy's forces. We must further know the location of his lines of supply and the source of his reenforcements. For the very same reasons it is necessary before we plan our attack on Jim-Crowism that we fully understand the nature and basic causes of this social plague.

Whether we meet racial discrimination in the form of a "For White Only" sign in a waiting room in Harry Truman's home town, Independence, Missouri, or in the form of a "No colored need apply" notation in the want ads of a newspaper in Washington, D. C., we must realize that Jim Crow is only an external manifestation of an internal social disease. It is not a cause, it is an effect. Racial discrimination is comparable to a sore on the skin that results from some internal disorder—and this disorder exists within the body of American society itself.

Now, what does a doctor do when he is called to see a sick patient? Isn't it true that he must first locate the cause of the complaint before he can prescribe the right medicine?

We obviously can see the immediate source of discrimination when practiced by a governmental agency or an employer. But what is the cause, when, for example, high school children who are all from working-class families go out on a strike and refuse to attend the same classes with Negro students? Why is it that backward white workers will often forcibly resist a colored man being upgraded according to his qualifications?

It is because the very life blood of our society is being constantly and overwhelmingly pumped full of the poison of racial prejudice.

What is prejudice? It is a prejudgment without a hearing. It is deciding on the merits or demerits of someone before you give him a chance to prove himself. A prejudiced Southerner, seeing a man with a black face or with kinky hair, automatically concludes that he is that man's superior. This particular Southerner may be mentally or physically inferior to this particular Negro, but judgment is already passed before the facts are known.

This false conclusion, it must be remembered, has no facts whatsoever to substantiate it. Those who care to study information in any library on the makeup and the function of the human species will find that there is no difference in races as far as internal organs, including the brain, are concerned. The evolution of the human and other animals in their struggles to protect themselves, and their changes in external appearance to conform with their surroundings, is no longer a theory but a fact. A black man would turn white or a white man black, given certain environmental factors over a long period of time. The blood, the brain and the bone of all men, regardless of race, are identical and indistinguishable. This fact no informed person can deny.

But let's go back to the prejudiced Southerner who lives by the false doctrine that the color of his skin alone makes him a superior person. Was this individual born with this prejudice? The facts prove that he was not.

In the first place, we know that small children, be they black, brown, yellow or white, will play together in a fashion that knows no color intolerance. Also in isolated communities which are not subject to the pressure of the customs of the country as a whole, we find colored and white living side by side and engaging in the most intimate social intercourse without arousing the slightest comment from the other townsfolk.

Furthermore, according to reports from the Soviet Union and those who know the Soviet people, there exists in these people who are taught racial tolerance rather than racial hatred, absolutely no vestige of color prejudice.

No. Prejudice is not inherited.

But if our Southern Negro-hater was not born prejudiced, then how did he get that way?



He had the false doctrine of "white supremacy" drummed into him from the time he was old enough to understand the spoken word. As he grew up, every law-enforcement agency showed him. He saw that neither the local, county, state, nor federal government gave the Negro an even break. And he was given to believe that the government could do no wrong.

His church, his family and his older playmates who had already adopted the prevailing customs, also influenced him. The movies, the radio, newspapers and books invariably portrayed the Negro as a shiftless, half-human clown. Like clay in the hands of the potter, his previously unformed mind was slowly and insidiously shaped to despise the Negro.

If the reader of this pamphlet, be he white or colored, will think back into his own early childhood he can probably recall the event that first made him "color conscious." I'll give you two to one that this event tended to establish "white supremacy" in your mind. Here are a couple of examples of chants which white children hear before they are dry behind the ears:

Mary's mad and I am glad but I know what will please her,

A bottle of ink to make her stink and a little nigger to squeeze her.

or:

Some folks say that a nigger won't steal
'Way down yonder in the corn field—
But I caught two in my corn field
'Way down yonder in the corn field.

And certainly every Negro can recall his first childhood experience with Jim Crow which, in many cases, gave him a strong anti-white prejudice from then on.

Prejudice, then, is an artificial poison that must constantly be replenished by some inner force in society.

What is that inner force? We know that when a premeditated crime is committed there is always a motive. Who has a motive for the social crime of Jim-Crowism? Who stands to gain from the spreading of anti-Negro prejudice? That is the \$64 question we must correctly answer. That is the lead we must follow if we hope to track down and punish the real criminal.

Is it our white fellow-worker? It is not. This we can check and double-check—and, incidentally, you shouldn't believe any statement made in this pamphlet or made anywhere else that you can't check and double-check.



Let's look at the facts from a basic, economic point of view. In the backward South where prejudice is most extreme the annual income of the white workers is the lowest in the country. On the other hand, in the industrial cities of the North where Negroes have a greater measure of equality, the average wage of the white workers is the highest.

The white people who work for a living, then, filled full of prejudice though they may be, have actually nothing to gain. Although many of them fall for this vicious propaganda, yet, if the truth be told, they themselves actually rob their own pocket-books when they indulge in Jim Crow practices.

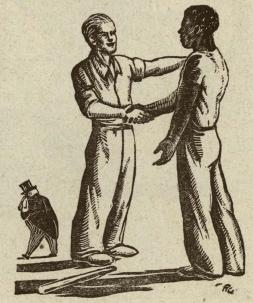
Without a doubt, it is only those who hire and exploit wage labor who stand to gain by pitting white against black and black against white: the wealthy planters, the big industrialists, the monopoly capitalists, and the Wall Street financiers; those who produce nothing themselves but who, like leeches, live by ex-

tracting a hidden toll from their employees.

The people who own and control the factories, the railroads and all the other means of production and distribution, stand to gain because interracial prejudice diverts the attention of both the black and the white workers away from their true foe. The real enemy of both races of workers is this economic class of exploiters who thus try to remain hidden from the fray. By keeping whites at the throats of blacks and blacks at the throats of whites, the capitalists hope to keep the struggle on a strictly racial basis. They do this to guarantee their own survival because they know how few in number they actually are. Here, as elsewhere, you have to roll over the log in order to expose the vermin underneath.

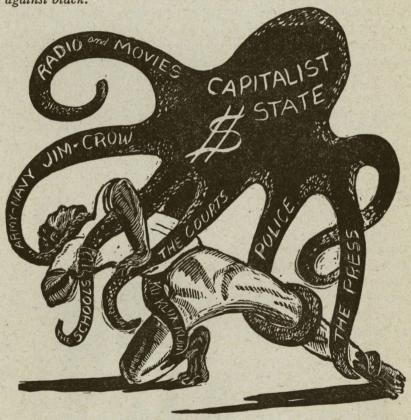
The white and colored workers who fall for interracial fighting are like two brothers playing against each other in a crooked game. All the time the dealer has the cards marked and neither one can win.

Comprising only a very small minority of the people, the capitalist rulers, in order to save their own skins, want to keep the workers constantly fighting against each other.



This policy of divide and rule is nothing new in the tactics of the ruling class. It has been used time and again throughout the history of the exploitation of man by man. Nor is the color division in America the only variant of this stinking practice.

For the British imperialist leeches in India it is the Hindu against the Moslem—divide and rule. For the Yugoslav landowners against the peasantry it was the Croat against the Serb—divide and rule. For Hitler, the demogogic pawn of the German capitalists, it was the Aryan against the Jew—divide and rule. In the United States the super-bandits have a "natural"—white against black.



Capitalist exploitation hangs like a tapeworm from the entrails of human society. It lives off the nourishment which is created by the labor power of both white and colored workers. In its parasitic existence it gives off increasing doses of poisonous prejudice. In America the poison of racial prejudice, which capitalism produces, circulates throughout society and is the direct cause of the external festering sores of segregation, discrimination, lynching and race riots.

Since these exploiters are the only ones who really gain in dollars and cents by driving this wedge between white and Negro workers, it is easy to understand that the capitalist system itself is the real cause of Jim-Crowism. Here, then, is the basic enemy against which we must battle.

The Negro will never achieve complete equality as long as the capitalist system, which makes race prejudice profitable, is allowed to exist.

Our fundamental task is to dethrone the ruling class which holds all the workers back by drawing the color line. In order to do this we must not only know who they are but also how they operate. We must understand that the government is controlled by them. Its policies and decisions are dictated by them.

When we elect a Republican or a Democrat it makes little difference. It is still a Big Business government. The Duponts and the other "Sixty Families" contribute to both parties. While we are whooping it up for one or the other, they are sitting back laughing, for they know that regardless of who is elected their interests will be protected.

Through their political hacks they control all the agencies of so-called law. Although we hear plenty of high-sounding phrases about "equality and justice for all," you and I know full well that if a wealthy white man, a white worker and a Negro are accused of a similar crime, the white worker will get less justice than the white capitalist and the Negro even less than the white worker. That is your "equality under the (capitalist) law."

Then we have our own Uncle Toms who say they favor more Negro rights but who defend in action the very system that breeds prejudice and inequality. They view with alarm what they call a "radical" solution. "It is bad enough," they say, "to be Black—let alone Red."

At the beginning of the war when Negro organizations were protesting Jim Crow in the Army, we saw Bishop Gregg make a tour of the theaters of war and report back that the Negro soldier was satisfied with his lot and his morale was high. When

Negroes were protesting the transfer of combat units to stevedore duty we saw Truman Gibson, Negro Judas in the War Department, make public the lie that the black 92nd in Italy was making a dismal failure in combat and "melted away in the face of the enemy." We have seen Negro school-teachers ask the whites for segregated schools so that they could get a job, and Negro doctors request Jim Crow hospitals so that they could more conveniently fleece sick people of their own color.

Such sell-out policies are the most despicable form of capitalist class influence within our own group.

Then there are many of our civic spokesmen who would have us believe we can successfully fight Jim Crow while still supporting monopolistic exploitation which some people are still naive enough to call "free enterprise." Let us ask ourselves: Is the healer who treats the sores on the outside while protecting the worm on the inside—is such a healer doing us good or is he doing us harm? Can he make us well or will he let us die? A Negro big-shot who "fights" Jim Crow while supporting the system that breeds it—is he friend or is he foe?

We say: to kill Jim Crow you must kill the system that makes it profitable.

Furthermore, the Negro people should closely scrutinize the past record of any working-class party which claims to be their friend. Witness the odious spectacle of the followers of Stalin who are still able to fool some Negro workers by fraudulently calling themselves "communists." During the time of the Stalin-Hitler pact they were apparently all-out for Negro rights and working-class rights. They correctly termed the war imperialistic.

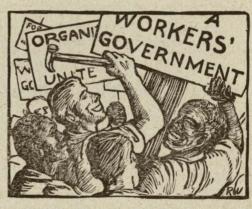
But when the Soviet Union was invaded, taking their orders direct from Moscow, they immediately changed their line and started outdoing the capitalists in spouting patriotic phrases. Doxey Wilkerson put out a pamphlet during the war entitled The Negro People and the Communists which every Negro communist who can stand the stench should now reread. In it he claimed that the Negro would make great gains in racial equality by engaging in the "people's war against fascism." Also Benjamin Davis and James Ford supported the no-strike pledge which tied the hands of labor both black and white. They came out for the slave labor-draft bill which would have placed 10

million Negroes at the disposal of Southern, slave-driving government boards.

They have now flopped back to a so-called militant line, but it is the same old hokum in a new wrapping. They are no longer interested in establishing communism here or anywhere, but only in perpetuating the backsliding Stalin regime in the Soviet Union. They now want to lead the Negro and working-class struggles only so that they can behead them later. Like a dead mackerel in the moonlight, they stink and they shine and they shine and they stink.

Only a Workers' Government as was established in Russia by the Bolsheviks in October 1917 can successfully abolish racial discrimination.

Why will it do that? In the first place such a government would have nothing to gain by keeping Jim Crow alive. We have seen that it is only the capitalist class, never the working class, that profits by keeping the Negro down. We know that to keep people prejudiced calls for a con-



tinuous, organized campaign similar to what is carried on today. The Workers' Government, devoid of capitalists, would have no motive for the premeditated crime of spreading the lie that darkskinned workers are inferior. Thus Jim Crow would die a natural death for lack of supplementary transfusions of poison prejudice.

Furthermore, in the workers' struggle to gain and maintain power, their earliest councils, i.e., representative bodies, would be forced to outlaw discrimination in order to survive. The strength of the working class, you see, lies only in its numbers and organization. Therefore, a Workers' Government would necessarily declare solidarity with all minorities in order to overcome the rabid attacks of the desperate capitalist exploiters.

It would also revise the entire educational system in order to show that individuals have a right to be recognized as superior not because of any external, skin-deep characteristics, but because they have demonstrated their ability and willingness to contribute to the advancement of society. It would be impossible for fascist conspirators to instigate anti-Negro strikes in schools or shops in a society where the people had been taught true brotherhood of man in the classrooms, in the newspapers and over the radio daily.

Full Negro equality can be attained only when we progress to a higher plane of society which we call Socialism. Under Socialism the exploitation of wage labor, that is, the exploitation of man by man, would be outlawed. There would be production for use of the many—instead of production for profit by the few.

Down with wars and depressions—for peace and job security!

Down with the exploiters' government — for the Workers' and Farmers' Government!

Down with capitalism—for Socialism!

That is the final answer. That is the only answer. Not only for the Negro workers but for the workers of the entire world.

But what can we do now in a practical way to fight this scourge of discrimination? We hear all kinds of answers to this pertinent question. Some say Jim Crow will never be abolished. Such a defeatist attitude is equivalent to surrendering to the camp of the enemy. It is similar to some of the Uncle Tom preachers who, during the time of slavery, said the Negro was "destined" to remain a servant for all time to come.

Some say it will take generations of "education" which, they say, is a "slow process." They hope to see "men of good will" sitting down on a lovey-dovey basis and agreeing that none will do any wrong. The rising struggle between the working class and the capitalist class with all its manifestations including increased racial friction should be enough to convince these dreamers that no such idyllic method exists to right the wrongs of a world under the terrible influence of a rotting capitalist system.

History has proved that the only time the masses are forced to cast aside a false prejudice with which they have been indoctrinated is when they become involved in a serious struggle for economic gain alongside their former antagonist and against a third force which is the common enemy of both.

Russia, a nation torn with all types of prejudices—racial, religious and nationalistic—saw these foolish hatreds cast aside when the people united against the Czar. When, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, the workers united to throw out the capitalist and landlord classes in October 1917, discrimination was made a criminal offense. In many European countries during the past war, people who had formerly hated each other united against the invading Nazis for self-protection.

During the great strike actions which unionized the auto industry, working-class solidarity against the bosses served to stamp out much previous racial prejudice.

In Yank magazine of September 14, 1945, a letter to the editor was published by a soldier in Germany who had read about the Jim Crow treatment of Negro soldiers. He said:

"... Now, I am from Mississippi. Until I came into the Army I hated Negroes. It wasn't anything they did to me; I just didn't like them ... I was wounded twice in one foxhole and a Negro saved my life by using his first-aid kit on me. Then he carried me to where a doctor could work on me. This was under heavy fire. Later he died. He was from New York and he knew I was from the South where he had no freedom.

"Many Negro soldiers have died on the front for American soldiers who thought Jim Crow was right . . . why not let the Negro race have what they fought for? I feel that they should and a lot of Southern GI's feel the same way."

This letter proves that "under heavy fire" lifelong prejudices are cast aside overnight.

The practical strategy, then, for the Negro to adopt if he wants to abolish prejudice is to take active part in any action against a common enemy of white and black.

Where is our best field of action? In the labor movement which is in constant and furious struggle against the boss class for a living wage and for decent working conditions.

Why is it that an increasing number of white trade unionists are putting up a militant fight for the complete equality of the

Negro people? Witness that the CIO and especially its most progressive unions, such as the United Auto Workers, have organized anti-discrimination committees all over the country, even in the deep South. That is not just out of good-heartedness but rather because they realize from experience the complete truth of a statement made 100 years ago by Karl Marx:

"Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded."

The profit-bloated corporations are today engaged in a union-busting drive. Despite the rising cost of living they are refusing to pay the workers a sufficient wage for them to support themselves and their families. The workers' most powerful weapon is mass strike action. More prejudiced whites have been convinced that the Negro is a man and not a dog by marching on the picket line beside him than have been convinced by all the pink-tea discussion groups ever held on the subject of "Tolerance."

Those Negro workers who are in the factories must be in the forefront of every strike action. That is the most practical thing that a worker can do to help kill Jim Crow and also to further gain basic job security.



Unite with your white fellow-workers in a militant fight against the boss!

Today the unions can no longer stand aside from political action. The forces of "law and order" from the County Sheriff up to the Federal government immediately intervene in any strike to protect the interests of the capitalist class. Therefore, just as we need an independent trade union on the economic field, we also must fight for an independent labor party based on the trade unions to achieve our political aims.

The Republican and Democratic parties both represent Big Business which profits by keeping the Negro down. This being true, how will we ever get anywhere by repeatedly shifting our allegiance from one capitalist party to the other?

No support for either of the capitalist parties which are nothing but Charlie McCarthy's for our real enemy!

For an Independent Labor Party based on the trade unions, which will give political expression to the urgent needs of the exploited class!

Only by uniting in struggle against the common enemy on both the economic and the political fields can the doubly oppressed Negro minority be liberated!

Since capitalism, the real enemy of Negro equality, is a world system we must fight it on a world scale. Therefore, we must struggle at every opportunity against international imperialism—especially the American brand which is by far the most oppressive force in the world today.

Full support to the oppressed workers of war-torn Europe and the colonial and semi-colonial toilers of India, Africa and Asia!

Hands off the European colonial revolutions! Bring the boys back home now!

Active participation in this struggle is not only worth-while, it is imperative. The decay of capitalism leads to increasing oppression of the working people and especially of the minority

groups. If the workers fail to purge society of the parasitic capitalist class a new and more vicious organization than the Ku Klux Klan will arise and anti-Negro riots will be incited from coast to coast. The Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith is today angling for the support of Big Business in his hope to lead America to fascism via the anti-Negro, anti-Semitic and anti-labor road of Hitler.

The labor movement must be mobilized now to drive this fascist scum out of the country.

In this struggle, too, the Negro people can unite in action with the white workers against a common enemy and thereby take a great step in destroying Jim Crow. We must take the lead in the fight against fascism for if it is allowed to triumph here every Negro, whether he be worker or not, would be the first and the worst victim. Even deportation or extermination are not far-fetched possibilities if the capitalist dragon is allowed to strike with all his fury.

Even those who are not in the shops can perform a helpful duty here. Whether in your local Negro organization, a veterans' organization or an unemployed organization, you can push to have your group unite with the labor movement to drive the fascists out!

Due to the extreme oppression suffered over a period of years by the Negro people we can expect Negro nationalist movements to arise. But such tactics alone can never be successful in killing Jim Crow. If we set out to whip all the whites, we are outnumbered from the beginning by 10 to 1. Furthermore, such tactics are playing right into the hands of the ruling class. Of course, in the South and other backward sections where the unions are not yet strong, all-Negro organizations which fight for Negro rights must be unquestioningly supported.

In general, however, we must not forget what the bosses know well: The Negro can be the Achilles heel of capitalist exploitation if he merges the race struggle with the class struggle. On the other hand, he could be the Achilles heel of the entire working class if he let the class struggle be diverted into a fratricidal racial battle.

All the vicious manifestations of capitalist reaction, including Jim-Crowism in America, have been and are being fought tooth

and nail by the followers of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. It is on the basis of their scientific and proven program that we fight today for equality and security.

We believe that the truth is the most powerful of all weapons. The program of the Socialist Workers Party, the Trotskyists, is based on the truth. That is why we are confident of final victory.

Negro Workers! Let us fight now against the second-class citizenship unjustly imposed upon us by this capitalist "democracy!"

Let us fight now against the lying white supremacists and the crawling Uncle Toms!

What is more, let us fight on the winning side with a winning program! Not as Negro against white—where we are outnumbered by 10 to 1; but as working class against boss class—where we are in the majority of 100 to 1!

The Socialist Workers Party seeks to unite all those sections of the population, exploited and oppressed by capitalism, around a program providing a fundamental solution to their problems. Our party is, therefore, in the vanguard of the struggle to eliminate the root cause of racial discrimination as well as every manifestation of this social plague.

Join the Socialist Workers Party today! Together we will send Jim Crow to its well-earned grave!

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