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## Negro and White Unity Against War

By HENRY WINSTON

**A** GAIN America is at the crossroads. We are faced with the imminent danger of America being drawn into another imperialist war. The American ruling class is feverishly working to prolong the conflict which already involves 500,000,000 people and to draw the people of all countries into this war. Naturally, a war which can produce only bloodshed, increased burdens and misery for the people will meet, and is meeting, with the stiff opposition of the American people as a whole and the Negro people in particular.

It is not my purpose to deal with the general struggle of the American people against the imperialist war. My task is more limited. I shall deal only in a limited way with certain questions which have arisen in the Negro movement as related to the entire problem of struggle against the war.

There exists among the Negro people a strong opposition to the present war and to America's taking any step which will give aid, directly or indirectly, to either side in this conflict. The Negro people are op-

posed to America's involvement in this war. These sentiments, in the main, are expressed in the Negro press, even though in many cases in a confused way, in the mass organizations of the Negro people, and by outstanding leaders in Negro life.

The Negro people remember the glittering promises made to them in the last world war. They vividly recall the deceptive slogans of "equality," "patriotism," "loyalty," and "war will bring jobs." These high-sounding slogans flowed very easily from the mouths of the learned orators and the paid agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the Negro people. But instead of what had been promised, the last imperialist bloodbath produced greater misery and placed greater burdens upon the backs of the Negro people in the form of increased discrimination, unemployment, denial of equal opportunities, denial of democratic rights, more insults and abuses, more lynchings (including the very lynching of returned soldiers in uniform) as well as the sending of Gold Star Mothers to Europe ir-

cattle boats. Such were the benefits the Negro people derived from the first world war to save "democracy" and "civilization."

The American bourgeoisie is today, once again, preparing to participate in an imperialist blood-bath. The slogans mentioned above are beginning to reappear. But 1940 is not 1917. The Negro people have learned well from the lessons of the past. They are looking for active and militant leadership to give expression to their anti-war feelings. As yet there does not exist an organized movement for this purpose. The imperative need of the moment is to find out why that is so and to take the steps necessary to set such a movement into motion.

In order to accomplish this, it is necessary that greater clarity and direction be given to the struggle of the Negro people against the war. The confusion on the most burning questions of the day which is being peddled about by petty bourgeois ideologists in the Negro press must be cleared up. These false conceptions create real dangers for the development of the broadest anti-imperialist unity among the Negro people. The struggle for anti-imperialist unity can only be developed simultaneously with the combatting of these false conceptions. In the words of Comrade Dimitroff, we must "explain, explain and explain again," to bring our Communist message to the widest strata of the Negro people on these questions.

What are some of the questions requiring clarification?

The petty bourgeois nationalists among the Negro people spread the idea that "this is not the war of the Negro people; it is a white man's war." This statement is a half truth and therefore an incorrect premise for formulating a correct policy of struggle against the present war. What is true in this statement is that the present war is "not the war of the Negro people." What is false in the statement is that the present war is a "white man's war." Such an approach is incorrect because it is an attempt to explain the origins, character and significance of the present war on racial grounds. This, of course, is a wrong assumption. As far back as 1936, Comrade Stalin, in an interview with Roy Howard, pointed out that the chief cause of war lies in capitalism and its imperialist, predatory manifestations. Here is what he said: "*You remember how the first world war arose. Today we have the same background. There are capitalist states which consider that they were cheated in the previous redistribution of spheres of influence, territories, sources of raw materials, markets, etc., and which would want another redivision that would be in their favor. Capitalism in its imperialist phase is a system which considers war to be a legitimate instrument for settling international disputes, a legal method in fact, if not in law.*"

And Comrade Dimitroff, in his

article "The War and the Working Class" points out that the present imperialist war is a direct continuation of the struggle between the imperialist powers for a new repartition of the earth, for world domination. And further, says Dimitroff:

"Only the blind can fail to see, and only out and out charlatans and deceivers can deny, that the present war between Britain and France, on the one hand, and Germany, on the other, is being waged for colonies, sources of raw materials, for domination over sea routes, for the subjugation and exploitation of foreign peoples. As is well known, Great Britain is a huge empire with a colonial population of 480,000,000 while France possesses colonies inhabited by 70,000,000 people. Germany, which as a result of the first imperialist war was deprived of its colonies, is now putting forward claims for a division of the colonial booty in the hands of British and French imperialism.

"The bourgeoisie of England and France, however, have no intention of letting their huge possessions slip out of their hands. They want to hold undivided sway over hundreds of millions of colonial slaves, to maintain their imperialist positions, to ensure the possibilities of new conquests, to enfeeble their rivals and to place it in a position of dependence on them. Herein lies the essence of the present war."

Hence, this war is one between

the major imperialist powers for markets, colonies, sea-routes, sources of raw material, a war directed against the oppressed peoples in the colonies and semi-colonies, a war which the imperialists would like to turn against the Land of Socialism. The operation of the same forces which make it true to say that this war is not "the war of the Negro people," likewise makes it true to say that it is not a war in which the white toilers have any interest. For can it be said that the white toilers own the big banks and trusts? Are they the munitions makers, the exploiters of the colonial peoples? To ask the question is to answer it—in the negative.

The conclusion, therefore, is clear: this is not the war of the Negro toilers, but neither is it the war of the white toilers. Hence, the interest of the white working class, poor farmers, middle class and professionals is identical with that of the masses of Negro people. Consequently, there is an imperative need for a common struggle of both Negro and white masses against the imperialist war and imperialist slavery which exploits and oppresses them both and reaps tremendous super-profits from this oppression.

This wrong view on a "white man's war" destroys the possibility of waging a struggle on the domestic front. For is it not clear that this war is promoted at the expense of the masses of people at home, as

expressed in the war economy program of the administration, the drive against living standards and the civil liberties of the people? The Negro people are the first to suffer from this drive. The toilers generally gain nothing from this war. Moreover, advances for the Negro people on domestic issues can only be made by uniting with the white masses. The progress in the past 10 years in this respect is the greatest single asset of the Negro liberation movement in the United States.

Hence, this whole position is not only an attitude towards the war, but towards all the domestic and foreign issues facing the Negro people. This position seems to be extremely pro-Negro; at first glance it has a certain emotional appeal to the Negro people. But a second reflection on this position shows that it is reactionary to the core because its meaning is to condemn the Negro people to defeat on every major question. It is not possible to combat the present unjust war which is to maintain domination over hundreds of millions of peoples in the colonies and dependent countries, and to save the Negro people by standing aside and "letting the whites fight it out," because in fact, the Negro people will be forced in. Their only hope is to actively join with the white anti-imperialist peace forces to impose their will as the policy of the country. Any other policy will give the imperialist war-

makers a free hand to drag our country into the war.

Now is the time for the Negro people to think swiftly, and deeply about this problem. It is anti-imperialist unity now—to keep America out of war, or unity under circumstances far more difficult, circumstances when our country has already entered the war. But then tens of thousands of the best sons of the working class will have been slaughtered. That can and must be prevented by unity and action now on the basis of an anti-imperialist platform which recognizes the need for unity of Negro and white.

The position of the petty bourgeois nationalist is based on failure to understand the need for allies in the struggle for Negro liberation, of which, today, the struggle against the imperialist war is a concrete expression. This is a cardinal question which must be clearly understood by the Negro masses if the cause of Negro liberation is to be effectively advanced. It is clear that the successes made by the Negro people, or the people as a whole, in this country is conditioned by the degree of unity achieved between Negro and white.

Any other policy or, to be more concrete, the policy of disunity, would be a suicidal policy which could only aid the war-makers and the enemies of the Negro people.

Would it have been possible for the Negro people to have improved their general living standards, in-

creased wages, better working conditions, shorter hours, etc., without Negro and white unity under the banner of the C.I.O.? Or win the freedom of Angelo Herndon, save the lives of the nine Scottsboro boys and win the unconditional freedom for four without the broadest unity of Negro and white? Or the victories made in the fight against discrimination and Jim-Crowism? Or would the fight against the poll tax and for federal anti-lynching legislation be in its present advanced position without the unity of Negro and white?

The answer is clear. All this would have been impossible without such unity. And just as this is true with regard to the struggle on the domestic front, it is likewise true on international questions. Just as advances were made in the past by Negro and white unity, they can be further extended in the future by a greater unity. Disunity will result not in the extension of these gains, but in their complete elimination. Any approach to the war which tends to place the interest of the Negro people at one pole and that of the white masses at another contributes not to the creation of that greater unity which is imperatively demanded by the present situation, both at home and abroad, but to disunity. It must be rejected. What is necessary is the fighting anti-imperialist unity of Negro and white—against a war which is neither that of the black nor that of the

white man, but opposed to the common interests of the masses of both black and white toilers. Such unity must of necessity lead the struggle against the concrete war measures of the Roosevelt Administration as a factor intensifying the social and economic oppression of the masses. Therefore, we must reject the petty bourgeois nationalist theory mentioned above and adopt a position that will adequately answer the problems.

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**MR. DOMINGO**, the export-merchant, openly supports British imperialism in its present war on the basis of the theory of the lesser evil, a special variant of the slogan that Anglo-French imperialism is conducting an anti-fascist war. Since the Negro people are overwhelmingly anti-fascist, Mr. Domingo comes forward with the following proposition: "The colonial people fare better under British rule than under German rule and since one side must win, why shouldn't the American Negroes support British imperialism?"

Let us, first of all, dispose of Mr. Domingo's assumption that the conditions of the colonial people are "better" under British rule. The entire history of British imperialism has been one of colonial rapine and murder, of slave-trafficking, repression and war—war against the peoples in colonies and dependencies. In this respect British imperialism

pursues the same policy as all other imperialist countries. Not to see this would be to close one's eyes to glaring every-day facts. Witness, if you please, the fomenting of strife between Jews and Arabs, the beatings and jailings of hundreds of British colonial subjects daily, the brutal bombings and wiping out of entire villages in India—all for the purpose of maintaining British imperialist domination.

To the demand of the Indian people for independence the British imperialists answer with terror, persecution and aerial warfare. Two Irish boys are hanged in Birmingham by the British imperialists because of their heroic struggle for Irish independence thereby adding to the long list of martyrs to British colonial policy. Or could anything be worse than British rule in South Africa where the wheel of history has been turned backward by a complete wiping out of the culture of the South African people; the denial of educational opportunities, the 14 to 18 hour work-day for men, women and children alike at a pauper's wage; the denial of democratic rights, the franchise, holding of public meetings, redress of their grievances; and in imposing laws restricting the movement of the people; curfew laws carrying heavy jail penalties?

There is certainly nothing to defend here, Mr. Domingo! These conditions are the same in all colonies whether they be under German,

French, British or American rule. Therefore, you commit a crime against the Negro people, Mr. Domingo, in asking us to support British imperialism!

It is very interesting to note that Mr. Domingo has conceded, in advance, victory to one or the other imperialist side. Only on this basis can he present to the Negro people the "lesser evil" alternative of supporting British imperialism. The alternative of a people's victory which will result in the overthrow of all colonial oppression does not enter into the thinking of Mr. Domingo. His outlook, while deploring the oppression of the masses of Negro people, is one of defeatism and surrender. It is one based on the expectation of a perpetual existence of colonial slavery. He has concluded that the people are licked before they start and because they are licked, and the struggle is a hopeless one, therefore any effort to struggle would only help to replace British oppression by German oppression. Mr. Domingo therefore dismisses from consideration a third alternative and hence the acceptance of the theory of the "lesser evil," the acceptance of the "status quo."

Thus, instead of calling for an anti-imperialist front of struggle against imperialist war and colonial oppression, for national and colonial liberation of the subject peoples, Mr. Domingo calls for support to British imperialism. This means tightening the rope around the mil-

lions of oppressed masses who suffer under the heel of imperialism, shackling them to the chariot of war and plunder at the bidding of the imperialist masters. Such a policy could only bring greater hardship and burdens not only for the masses in the colonies, semi-colonies, and dependent countries, but to the working class and toilers in the imperialist countries.

It follows that such a policy makes more difficult the struggle of the Negro people in the United States for national freedom. For what is the meaning of the theory of the "lesser evil"? It means (1) to paralyze the will of the masses to resist the attacks of imperialism and its war plans, to tolerate and, yes, come to an understanding with the imperialist bourgeoisie; (2) the subordination of the interests of the working class and all toilers to that of imperialism, abandoning the class and anti-imperialist struggle; and (3) acceptance of the blows of imperialism passively without struggle and consequently a failure to seek allies among the wide masses of white workers on the basis of an anti-imperialist platform.

The logic of Mr. Domingo's position is, under the guise of the "lesser evil" theory, to aid British imperialism in its war to maintain its colonies, its world supremacy, and to attack the Soviet Union. This is a back-handed way of getting the Negro people to support the war plans of Anglo-French and Ameri-

can imperialism. We are wise to this criminal and reactionary scheme, Mr. Domingo!

Mr. Domingo's logic is determined by his special position as an export-import merchant, whose success depends to a great extent upon his attitude toward the crown. But with regard to those sections of the Negro people who may be influenced by the theories peddled by such pro-imperialist ideologists, it becomes necessary to examine what lies at the basis of such a position as that advocated by Domingo.

We can find the answer in the following: (1) A failure to understand and appreciate the historical period in which we are now living, the favorable opportunities that exist for leading the national and colonial liberation movement to a successful end. (2) A failure to understand the internationalism of the working class, its leading role, the role of the Soviet Union; a lack of faith in the ability of the working class to lead oppressed humanity in a successful struggle against war and imperialist oppression. (3) A lack of faith in the ability of oppressed humanity to respond to the banners of anti-imperialist fight, their readiness to struggle and follow the lead of the working class and consequently, (3) an acceptance of the status quo which means (5) to hold back the tide of struggle by lulling the masses into a state of inaction.

The meaning of this position

therefore, is clear—nothing can be done about the plight of the oppressed. Hence, why bother? This theory of the “lesser evil” is nothing more nor less than the appeal of imperialism dressed up in Sunday clothes to drive the masses into war. Therefore, the anti-war forces of the Negro people cannot expect leadership from this quarter in the fight against war and for national liberation.

The Chinese people do not accept this theory. They see a third way. Instead of fighting for imperialism, they strike a blow for their own liberation and for this they are engaged in a great military conflict not alone against Japanese imperialism, but against Britain, France, and the United States—the most powerful capitalist countries in the world. The Indian people do not accept this theory. Under the leadership of the Indian National Congress, they are organizing a resistance campaign against the war bolans of British imperialism and for national liberation. The same is true of the Irish people, the people of the West Indies with similar beginnings in West and South Africa as well as all oppressed colonies inspired by the glorious example already set by the land of socialism. This is the road that the Negro people must take in unison with its allies, the white workers, poor farmers, middle class and professionals from the United States—the road of anti-imperialist struggle, the road of

struggle against American, British, German, French, Italian imperialism—for national and colonial liberation, for socialism.

No, Mr. Domingo is wrong. He is preaching defeat in face of tremendous possibilities for victory!

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NOW let us examine the slogan raised by Professor Rayford Logan of Howard University in the *Amsterdam News* that “war will bring jobs to the Negro people.” Mr. Logan seems to be gleeful about the fact that war exists in the world. This criminal imperialist war seems to meet with the approval of the professor who is doing some idle day-dreaming about “war bringing jobs.” Facts, however, indicate the exact opposite of Mr. Logan’s contention.

As a result of the drive of the American bourgeoisie toward war, instead of employment increasing, it is decreasing at the same time that the profits of the bourgeoisie mount.

Mr. Robert Stark writing in the *New Masses* gives us the following information: As a result of a survey made of 476 corporations, it was revealed that profits in 1939 rose 77 per cent over 1938 on the basis of a 23 per cent increase in production thereby giving the big magnates almost \$4.00 in profit on one dollar business improvement in such industries as steel, railway equipment, chemical, rubber, ma-



chine tool, etc. In the face of this, figures from the Department of Labor give us the following facts: 1,160,000 Americans were laid off in the 8 months leading to January 1940. A breakdown with regard to the number of Negroes laid off is not available, but the old saying, "Last to be hired and first to be fired," still holds true today.

In addition to this, Colonel Harrington reports that of the 775,000 laid off last August (125,000 of whom were Negroes) from W.P.A. as a result of the 18 months ruling, 87.5 per cent did not get jobs in private industry by November. It is expected by April that another 1,150,000 will be laid off—75,000 to 100,000 will be Negroes. This decrease in employment is part of the Roosevelt war and hunger program and while intensifying the social and economic oppression of the whole people, will be more sharply felt by the doubly oppressed Negroes in the United States.

Unemployment is a permanent feature of capitalism. Capital has always required an unemployed reserve in order to have a supply of labor at hand whenever it desires to expand production. The anarchy of capitalist production, the recurrent economic crises, the very process of large scale production under the conditions of capitalism, all result in the creation of what Marx called the reserve army of the unemployed. Every time the productivity of labor increases and more

goods can be produced, more workers are thrown out of jobs. The capitalists being interested only in profits, are only too ready to replace men by machines and to squeeze more work out of the few workers left on the job. They also use the presence of the unemployed to cut wages and reduce living standards of the employed workers. If unemployment has always existed under capitalism, it becomes a major feature in the epoch of imperialism and the general crisis of capitalism. While there were from one to three million unemployed in 1929, there are over eleven millions today.

It is the height of stupidity, or downright deceit, to expect that the war drive of the administration will mean one thing to the white workers and another thing to the Negro workers. It is impossible, furthermore, to expect that the masses of the white workers will be led off to war and the Negro workers will remain behind to receive jobs. This type of thinking has within it elements which can be of advantage only to the warmakers. Mr. Logan, therefore, is wrong—jobs for the Negro unemployed can be achieved in the process of the struggle against the war, a struggle which involves first of all the trade union movement which embraces both Negro and white.

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**T**HE Negro people as a whole do not fall for the Hoover relief

campaign to aid the Mannerheim government, the oppressor of the Finnish people, the tools of American and Anglo-French imperialism for war against the Soviet Union. Their suspicious attitude toward this whole campaign was well founded. They refused to be tricked into support of the war policies of the imperialist bourgeoisie even when it was disguised in the form of "aid." A glance at the editorials in a number of major Negro papers indicates their strong opposition to this "aid." Here we find emphasized the contrast between the attitude toward Finland and the treatment of the Ethiopian people, the posing of the question: If there are loans and credits to be handed out, what about turning them over to the sharecroppers in the South—to the unemployed of our country?

Even such a figure as W. E. B. Dubois had the following to say about this question in the *Amsterdam News* of December 23rd:

"The world is astonished, aghast and angry! But why? France seized her stolen Alsace-Lorraine after the World War. England has been seizing land all over the earth for centuries with and without a shadow of rightful claim: India, South Africa, Uganda, Egypt, Nigeria, not to mention Ireland. The United States seized Mexico from a weak and helpless nation in order to bolster slavery; and incidentally, when Italy took Abyssinia she was enabled to do it by means of the oil

and supplies which America furnished her in unlimited quantities and at the cheapest prices. This is the sort of world that has grown suddenly righteous in defense of Finland."

The hypocritical attack of imperialism against the Soviet Union is rejected by Dubois who thereby gives expression to the sentiments of the great masses of Negro people. At the same time, however, it must be pointed out that the action of the Soviet Union has nothing in common with the historic land-grabbing policy of imperialist Britain, France or the United States. Its policy is, as was amply proven by the terms of the Soviet-Finnish Peace, one of securing its frontiers against counter-revolutionary attack and helping to bring about the peace of the world.

And Paul Robeson says:

"I feel that England's influence is pronounced in the Scandinavian countries and that this influence is not democratic but reactionary. It possibly may have inspired the Finnish hostilities, which simply means that Russia is fighting a defensive war.

"According to my reasoning, aid to the Finns, then, in reality, is aid to the reactionary forces, which if the Allies win the war, still would leave world problems, the problems of the oppressed in the colonies, the problems of the workers, unsolved. The progressive policies of the liberals of all countries are not repre-

sented by the Chamberlain, Daladier or the Mannerheim governments."

And from the *Oklahoma Black Dispatch* answering the campaign of slander in the daily press against the effectiveness of the Red Army, we have the following:

"We wonder whether or not there is any relationship between the lies which say the Russians are losing and the Finns are winning, and the quite evident attempt to make extensive loans to a nation where the industrial system is in the control of America's international bankers.

"We wonder whether the nickel plate mines of J. P. Morgan would be benefited were we to make such loans. And we wonder again, when the weather moderates and ice and snow no longer protect the Finns; we wonder if we make the loans to Finland, whether or not the urge would not come to send America's sons to Finland to become fodder in another conflict."

And the editorial closes thus:

*"Who would be benefited by the dissemination of such falsehoods? When you have the answers to the questions we have asked, you will have gone a long ways towards discovery of vicious influences guiding America toward war."*

Such remarkable clarity is to be found in most Negro newspapers. They express the sentiments of the vast majority of the Negro people.

But to be sure, there are some

Negro leaders who are out of step with the main mass. They reflect the aspirations of their imperialist masters. Mr. Roy Wilkins, for example, the editor of *Crisis*, expresses deep disappointment at the "betrayal" by the Soviet Union and feels that the Negro people and the "democracies" have been let down. Mr. Wilkins would have liked very much, it appears, for the Soviet Union to pull Britain's chestnuts out of the fire, to be a pawn of the big imperialist powers in the imperialist conflict, to keep Leningrad under constant threat of attack, to lay itself open to a counter-revolutionary drive against it by the imperialist powers.

But since events move so swiftly nowadays, it is necessary to answer Mr. Wilkins who sees justness in the cause of the Mannerheim-Ry-Tanner tools of imperialism. The glorious march of the Red Army not only liquidated and wiped out the seat of imperialist intrigue and war in this area; it not only limited the area of conflict; but as a result of its efforts, the Red Army made a profound contribution to world peace, to the security and independence of small nations, and advanced the cause of the oppressed in the colonies and dependencies in their strivings for national and colonial liberation. This victory of the Red Army, therefore, was a victory for the Negro people in the United States whose fate is inseparably connected with the oppressed people

throughout the world. Let Mr. Wilkins be sad. The Negro people rejoice.

Mr. Elmer Carter, editor of *Opportunity*, the official organ of the Urban League, has begun to write about the "eternal loyalty" and "devotion" of the Negro people. The Negro people are loyal and devoted to those principles which advance the general welfare of all. The entire history of the Negro people in the United States has proven that. They were at all times and are now in the fighting ranks to defend and extend democracy. That is why they are in their majority opposed to the present imperialist war and to be found in the great camp of peace-loving Americans calling for an end to the war and against the American government taking any steps that would lead to a prolongation and extension of the area of conflict and are opposed to any steps that would lead to America's involvement. The loyalty and devotion of the Negro people is subordinated to the aim of peace, democracy and the well-being of the people of the United States and not to that of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

But why is it that these two little words, "devotion" and "loyalty," are beginning to reappear in public print? Is it to mobilize the Negro people for peace, democracy and security? Of course not. What is intended is an appeal to the Negro people to enlist in support of the

war program of the Roosevelt administration. Such support could only result in a worsening of the position of the Negro people. No, the Negro people are neither loyal nor devoted to such a program. They are unequivocally opposed to it. The Negro people well know the fruits of imperialist war, that it means slavery and not freedom. That is why the Negro people are responding to the call against the war, for civil rights, the right to vote, abolition of the poll tax, for federal anti-lynching legislation, against Jim-Crowism and segregation. That is why they are enlisting in the fight for a social and peace budget and not a war and hunger budget. The Negro people, the allies of the working class in the struggle against war, for national freedom, for socialism, are moving toward that leadership which will help them achieve these ends.

What the Negro people need most in the present situation is a program that will meet their needs; a program that will help to crystallize the existing anti-war sentiment among the masses as a positive force. That a basis exists for such a program cannot be denied. Upon what basis then can a militant anti-imperialist movement among the Negro people be constructed?

Since the outbreak of the war the position of the people in general, and the Negro people in particular, has been considerably worsened. Of the 485,000 Negroes on WPA dur-

ing the period when the administration was pursuing a progressive policy, there are now only 200,000 left on the rolls, resulting from the Woodrum amendment and the the Roosevelt war and hunger budget. Likewise, in private industry there exist no prospects for employment. And in regard to layoffs in private industry, the Negroes are the first to go.

The drive towards war brings in its train tremendous economic hardships for the Negro people. Thus the struggle for jobs and relief, against cuts in WPA and public works emerges as a central point in defending those gains which were won in bitter struggle and to push for an adequate program that will strike at the very heart of the war program of the Roosevelt Administration. Unity of the Negro people together with the labor and progressive movement is the answer to this. The administration, through the F.B.I., as well as the Dies Committee, is working to undermine the Bill of Rights and is taking concrete steps to stamp out the civil liberties of the American people simultaneously with and as part of the drive to drag America into war.

The fight for civil liberties today must be seen in the light of struggle against the imperialist war. In this respect the fight of the Negro people for full citizenship rights, and for civil rights assumes added importance today when the Roosevelt-Wall Street forces are driving

toward war. Thus the struggle for the endorsement of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments, passage of the anti-lynching bill, the passage of the Geyer Bill which would provide for the abolition of poll taxes governing federal elections, become of ever greater concern to the Negro people. And together with this the fight of the Negro people in the South to run for and hold public office; the fight against discrimination in regards to educational opportunities; discrimination in the major baseball leagues throughout the country, and in all other fields of endeavor; as well as the fight against Jim-Crow and segregation provide the basis for the widest inner unity of the Negro people, unity that will make for the maximum collaboration with the anti-imperialist movement of the whole American people.

In the Negro communities there is a need for a housing program that will do away with the poor housing conditions, overcrowding, high rents, etc. At the same time there exists the basis for the organization of the broadest movement against the high prices for inferior foods in Negro communities. There is the extreme need for an adequate health program that will meet the requirements of the Negro people—such as hospital clinics, medicine—which can serve as a powerful stimulus for unity. And last, but not least, is the fight for the maintenance and unfolding

of the cultural heritage of the Negro people; the fight against the slandering of the Negro people in the arts, literature, in the movies and over the air—the expression of which can be found in the film “Gone With the Wind.”

Such is the road of building and welding the effective anti-imperialist unity of the Negro people.

Therefore, depending upon our ability to explain our position to the

masses and to wipe out the confusion that is spread by the petty bourgeois ideologists, we will witness in a very short time the emergence of a movement of gigantic proportions among the Negro people, united on the basis of anti-imperialist struggle, collaborating with and as part of the great anti-imperialist camp of the whole people that will point the way for peace, democracy, and socialism.