"The enthusiastic action of whole shops walking out in recent days, shows the response of the workers to the demands formulated. Not the least important of these is the demand for Unemployment Insurance, a demand for which every worker should struggle and one for which all workers are urged to demonstrate on February 25, International Fighting Day Against Unemployment."

What are the facts? **Workers have all gone back on the old basis which is no conditions speed-up and long hours. Some shops have actually consented to reduction in wages and prices for piece work.** The failure of the strike is bound to result in a worsening instead of an improvement of conditoins.

The Daily Worker of March 6 gives added proof to the actual kind of settlements made when it reports:

What a tragedy for the left wing in the needle trades! A left wing that led masses in heroic struggles, the militancy and heroism of which were an inspiration to the entire labor movement.

The lesson of the dress strike debacle is: **Into the mass organizations of the workers, the trade unions! Organize anew and build the left wing! Fight for a program of unity against the bosses, against the reactionary officials in the interests of the workers.** Only by building the left wing in the needle trades, by organizing the unorganized, by a fighting program based upon the realities of the class struggle, will a mighty industrial union of all the needle trades workers be achieved and victory won.

Problems of the Negro Masses

WHICH WAY: LABOR OR CAPITAL?

by Will Herberg

(Concluded from last issue)

3. "Collaborating With the White Bosses"

But the most insidious, the most dangerous proposal is at the same time the most wide-spread: the idea that the Negro workers should adopt a conciliatory attitude to the white capitalists, should make "concessions," in order to acquire a better and firmer position in industry. This attitude is common to practically all trends of Negro bourgeois social thought, from the Urban League to Garveyism, as the following illuminating quotations indicate:

> "I believe that the interest of my people lies with the wealth of the nation and with the class of white people who control it." (Bishop Carey). (6)

> "It seems strange and a paradox, but the only convenient friend the Negro worker or laborer has in America at the present time is the white capitalist. The capitalist being selfish . . . is willing and glad to use Negro labor wherever possible on a scale reasonably below the standard union wage . . .

> "If the Negro takes my advice he will . . . always keep his scale of wages a little lower than the whites . . . by doing so he will keep the good will of the white employer . . . " (Marcus Garvey). (7)

> "There is every indication that it is the intention of the great industries to foster and favor the Negro workman . . . For the Negro wantonly to flout their generous advances by joining the restless ranks which threaten industrial ruin would be fatuous suicide.

> "At present the capitalist class possess the culture and conscience which hold even the malignity of race passion in restraint . . . Whatever good or evil the future may hold in store for him, today's wisdom heedless of logical consistency demands that he stand shoulder to shoulder with the captains of industry." (Prof. Kelly Miller). (8)

Is it necessary to undertake a serious refutation of Prof. Miller's remarks about the absence of race passion among the "cultured" white bourgeoisie? Race prejudice as such is an integral part of white capitalist ideology and it is precisely because the American working class is so **bourgeois-minded** (i.e., is so backward in class-consciousness) that it has allowed itself to be corrupted, in the most devious and subtle ways, by these "cultured" knights of the rope and faggot. Is not hiding this fact **objectively** almost the same as defending the lynchers and their protectors?

Is it not obvious that by "collaborating" with the white capitalist the Negro worker would be helping the oppressor play his old, old game: **"Divide and rule!"** By making himself the tool of the white boss, the Negro worker would merely strengthen the force that would beat him down still further. Certain sections of the white employing class might quite conceivably welcome the "offer of collaboration" made in the name of the Negro workers by the Negro bourgeoisie with the obvious purpose of playing off one section of the labor movement against the other; but what possible advantage—of other than merely temporary, illusory character—such maneuvers can bring the Negro workers themselves not even the persuasive tongue of Professor Miller can make out.

One of the most serious aspects of the Negro bourgeoisie's propaganda of class collaboration between the Negro workers and the white bosses is the fact that it adds fuel to the horrible flames of race prejudice which the white bourgeoisie is fanning (not only deliberately but primarily thru the objective mechanics of class domination) in the breasts of the backward American white workers. And in this way too the Negro bourgeoisie is unwittingly playing the game of the worst enemies of the Negro race, the lily-white capitalist lynch autocracy.

Not only does the "concessions" propaganda of the Negro bourgeoisie stimulate the anti-Negro prejudices of the backward white workers; it also has an extremely deleterious influence upon the growing signs of class-consciousness in the ranks of the Negro workers, hindering and suppressing its development. And here too the beneficiaries are simply and solely the capitalists.

But as against all of these arguments the contention is often raised that Negro-worker-white-capitalist collaboration represents the "racial interests" of the Negro! The Negro worker, we are told, should subordinate his "lower" class interests as a **worker** to his "higher" interests as a **Negro.** But this is a mere delusion. In helping the white capitalists, the Negro workers would help precisely that element in modern American society under whose inspiration, direction and protection the most shameful excesses against the Negro people are perpetrated. What the attitude of the Negro bourgeoisie in this respect really represents is a surrender of **both the racial and the class interests** of the Negro worker in favor of the class interests of the white capitalists! Between the class and racial interests of the Negro proletarian there is no conflict; both call him to struggle against and not collaboration with the white bourgeoisie.

The course proposed by the Negro bourgeoisie for the workers is a course of futility and collective group suicide for the Negro proletariat, both as Negroes and proletarians. It is a course that completely subordinates the interests of the Negro workers and the Negro people as a whole to the interests of the dominant white bourgeoisie (and; to a certain extent, to the interests of the upper strata of the Negro bourgeoisie closely bound up with the white capitalists). As against this course, the Negro workers and all elements of the Negro people who are alive to the real interests of their race must offer another course—a course of awakening class-consciousness and growing racial militancy, a course of firm labor solidarity with the white workers (in spite of the hateful anti-Negro prejudices of the more backward sections), a course of united struggle against the white capitalist masters of this country whose rule of ruthless exploitation rests upon the racial subjection of the Negro as well as upon the class subjection of the worker.

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(6) Bishop Carey, in the Chicago Whip, March 29, 1924.

(7) Amy Jacques-Garvey: Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey (1926), Vol. II, pp. 69-70.

(8) "The Negro As A Workingman," by Kelly Miller, American Mercury, November, 1925.

The Economic Week

WITH March practically gone and no tangible evidence of improvement at hand or in sight, the atmosphere is being prepared for postponing fully all hopes of a beginning of recovery until the Fall. The Department of Agriculture report that farm prices have reached the lowest level in twenty years has chilled the ardor of even the most fantastic optimists. All figures still indicate huge declines from the corresponding week of a year ago already seriously depressed and, when compared with the peak of figures of 1929, show the sharpest drop in many years. The car loadings increase for the week is below seasonal. There was a slight decline in automobile production last week. Steel is ending its very weak seasonal rise. A sharp zigzag movement still grips the stock market. The latest Federal Reserve report shows the U. S. capitalists to be in possession today of the largest gold supply ever held in any country—more than two and a half times the pre-war size and over twice the amount