

Toward Freedom

OBSERVERS who have been wondering where A. Philip Randolph is heading, will find their answer in his "Minorities and the World Today" speech before the recent national convention of the Workers Defense League in New York. Mr. Randolph is hastening toward political oblivion. He is seceding from the vital world of reality about him, and thus further isolating himself in the social democratic dream-world of impotence.

Proposing to talk about how to win the war, the peace, full employment and freedom, Mr. Randolph really presented the perfect 1944-45 formula for losing both the war and the peace, sabotaging the one great hope for full employment, and guaranteeing the triumph of fascism over freedom. His speech was in every respect true to that pseudo-"socialist" ideology which never misses a chance to serve Hitlerism the world over.

Mr. Randolph began with a three-sentence gesture on the importance of winning the war—BUT. He then proceeded to a lengthy address which distorted the true character of that war, "proved" that it really doesn't matter whether we win it or not, and sneered at all the promise of peace and security for which patriots the world over are now fighting—and winning!

What interpretation and proposals regarding the Negro's relations to this



By Doxey Wilkerson

war would now best serve the purposes of our fascist enemies? Answer that question and you have the main tenets of Randolph's speech.

He absolves the fascists from war guilt: "It wasn't Hitler, or Mussolini, or Hirohito" who "created this world war," says Randolph.

He irresponsibly spreads defeatism among the Negro people: "I know of not a single Negro anywhere who believes that this war is being fought for freedom or democracy or human rights of any kind. Negroes believe that the results of this war, if not its aim, will be the maintenance and glorification of white supremacy." "There is not one Negro in the armed services who does not hate the Army and distrust the government."

He endorses the fascist race theory of the Hitlerites: "The question of color and race is the great historical social issue of these times."

He implies (with apparent approval) the ultimate triumph of the Japanese fascists: "The hope for control and domination of the East by Nippon will never die. And history would seem to indicate that the pendulum will some day swing from the decadent capitalist western white world to a rising and growing eastern world of color."

He subtly tries to identify the interests of the Negro people with this undifferentiated "world of color," in opposition to "whites," looking toward "a world war of color [that is almost] certain to come."

Mr. Randolph Secedes From the World

He seeks to disrupt the growing coalition of progressive white and Negro Americans by proposing a third party "comparable to the Canadian Cooperative Commonwealth Federation."

He offers the best possible program at this time to frighten the democratic, pro-Roosevelt, pro-Teheran sections of capital into the arms of fascist reaction by calling now for a "socialist" America "where the means of production and distribution are owned and controlled and democratically managed by the people through their government."

ALL this, of course, is rank political poison. It would be of great value to our fascist enemies if it got a following among the Negro people. BUT IT WON'T!

Randolph is not misleading the Negro people; he is further isolating himself from them. That political maturity which led the masses of Negroes to disregard Randolph completely during the recent national elections will guide them surely along the path of even greater unity with their increasing white allies in the labor and progressive movement. Along that path alone lie freedom and security for the Negro and the nation.

Next Monday I shall interpret the promising world of reality which Mr. Randolph chooses to ignore. Let it suffice to record that he is withdrawing from that world, and thereby from any effective influence on the course of history.