NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

Dr. Charles Petioni is a Negro of West Indian origin who is an enemy of British imperialism. Many years ago, in the island of Trinidad, his opposition to colonial tyranny led him to leave the island. Today in Harlem he is president of the Caribbean Union and is still opposed to Britain. In an interview published but rather by the fact that the Bonapartist dictatorship in the Daily Worker of Oct. 5, 1939, he says:

"India, Africa, and the West Indies have no sympathy for Chamberlain. They will fight on the side of Britain only when

forced to do so."

So far, so good. Dr. Petioni's statement represents what we called last week in this column the powerful revolutionary instinct of the Negro masses. But in politics instinct is not enough. You must have political clarity. And the need for it is alarm- thus to bring the regime of the occupied territories into ingly, illustrated by Dr. Petioni's further statement.

"The imperialist countries are on the run. Russia is doing the only logical thing that could be done. When the little buffer states were set up in the Balkans during the last war, they were intended for future powder kegs to be set off the moment the big imperialist countries were ready to mop up with Russia. Now that Russia has removed these explosive the situation is much

A Trap to Be Guarded Against

a war which is not theirs, Dr. Petioni takes a further step and finds himself in the Stalinist camp. The Stalinists say today Oct. 6: we have to mark the date because nobody, not even reaucracy over the awakened revolutionary masses. This is they, know what they will be saying tomorrow) that the war one side of the matter. But there is another. In order to is an imperialist war. Dr. Petioni says that the war is an imperialist war. Therefore, say the Stalinists to Dr. Petioni, let us work together against the war and for the emancipation of the colonial peoples, etc.

A lie that is half a truth is ever the blackest of lies. The Stalinist policy is in reality a trap to catch the Negroes and make them serve the basest interests of world reaction.

the peak of the five-year campaign for a war of the "democ- the transformation of property relations in this or another racies" against the fascist aggressors. Said James Ford in his book "The Negro and the Democratic Front", "My earnest opinion is that we would make a tragic error in giving our support to any member of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo alliance." Even the world proletariat, the raising of their capacity for deafter the pact was signed, Ford continued to agitate for America's entry into the war. In the Amsterdam News of Sept. 23 appears a letter by Ford dated Aug. 31. In it he says:

with all nations and is a threat to no nation, ready at all times to enter into such alliances with the democratic powers to assure

world peace.

"We see it as our duty as Americans to support this policy with all our power, to enlist the support of our government for cooperative action against acts of aggression and to implement this policy by strengthening the democratic rights of the people cation of property in the occupied territories is in itself a in this hour of crisis."

Swallowing a Bitter Pill

The strengthening of democratic rights is the sugar. The pill is to enlist the support of our government for cooperative action to restore "law and order" in Eastern Poland, the advanced against acts of aggression." That meant war. The whole Stalinist policy for the previous five years was an incitement to war by the "democracies" and the Soviet Union to stop Hitler.

After Ford's letter, however, the international situation de veloped rapidly. Russia invaded Poland and shared in its partition. As time went on, it became clear that Stalin was tying the future of Russia to the victory of Hitler. If America went in to the war to fight for "democracy" it meant that a very powerful country would now be allied to the enemies of Hitler, Stalin's ally. The victory of Hitler, or if not his victory, at least the saving of Hitler from defeat, has become at the present stage. ful country would now be allied to the enemies of Hitler, Stalin's a vital necessity for Stalin and Stalinist policies. Immediately a vital necessity for Stalin and Stalinist policies. Immediately the Stalinists discover that the war is an imperialist war they the Stalinists discover that the war is an imperialist war they have to shed tears for the sufferings of the colonials. They raise the slogan of opposition to the war.

It sounds allright until you realize that what they want is to save Hitler, Stalin's ally, from defeat;

Is Dr. Petioni prepared to endorse this cynical use of the Negro revolutionary masses as a mere pawn in Stalinist foreign policy? Or is he merely caught by the superficial resemblance of the Stalinist policy to his own hatred of British im-

And if he has been trapped, what is the reason for it? It is because he has not taken his own opposition to British imperialism to its logical conclusion. Opposition to British imperialism can not stay isolated. You must be opposed to French imper- present "democratic" form of ialism also, to German imperialism, and to American. You government? Kiplinger answers must maintain an undeviating opposition to all of them. You must call on Negroes everywhere at all times, to use all their efforts to fight against imperialism in war as well as in peace. Once you grasp this, you are in a position where you will not allow yourself to be used by one imperialism against the other. And you are in a position also to see the true significance of the bargo affect business? Kip-Stalinist change from war for democracy in August to opposi- linger answers: tion to war for democracy in September. To this very moment the Stalinists do not call on all the workers, Negroes and all, wherever they are, to prepare for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of socialism and the independence of the colonial peoples.

The Road of Revolutionary Struggle

They don't because if the international position should change, as it well may, you will find the Stalinists, with that peculiar istic motives will be denied brazeness which distinguishes them, solemnly telling 150,000,000 all over the world that it is their business now to fight for British, French, and American "democracy" against fascist aggression. These treacherous scoundrels have done it before and will do it again. All this the Socialist Workers Party has explained in a pamphlet "Why the Negro Should Oppose the War" which will be on the market in a few days. The Caribbean Union will hold a mass meeting on Oct. 19 at St. James Presbyterlan Church (St. Nicholas Ave. and 141 St.) where Harlem Negroes will discuss their attitude toward the war. Negroes should get hold of this pamphlet and current copies of the Socialist Appeal. There they will see not only an analysis of the war but a program of action which will show them the road of revolutionary struggle and make them immune from capitalist propaganda and Stalinist trickery.

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Read The New International

The Soutet Union in the War. The Soutet Union in the War By Leon Trotsky Branded"-karl marx.

(Continued from Page 1)

occupied territories. Here an analogy literally offers itself The first Bonaparte halted the revolution by means of a military dictatorship. However, when the French troops invaded Poland, Napoleon signed a decree: "Serfdom is abolished." This measure was dictated not by Napoleon's sympathies for the peasants, nor by democratic principles based itself not on feudal, but on bourgeois property relations. Inasmuch as Stalin's Bonapartist dictatorship bases itself not on private but on state property, the invasion of Poland by the Red Army should, in the nature of the case, result in the abolition of private capitalist property, so as accord with the regime of the USSR.

This measure, revolutionary in character-"the expropriation of the expropriators"-is in this case achieved in a military-bureaucratic fashion. The appeal to independent activity on the part of the masses in the new territoriesand without such an appeal, even if worded with extreme caution it is impossible to constitute a new regime-will on Thus from his healthy opposition to seeing colonials fight in the morrow undoubtedly be suppressed by ruthless police measures in order to assure the preponderance of the bugain the possibility of occupying Poland through a military alliance with Hitler, the Kremlin for a long time deceived and continues to deceive the masses in the USSR and inthe whole world, and has thereby brought about the complete disorganization of the ranks of its own Communist When the Hitler-Stalin pact was signed, the Stalinists were at International. The primary political criterion for us is not area, however important these may be in themselves, but rather the change in the consciousness and organization of fending former conquests and accomplishing new ones. From this one, and the only decisive standpoint, the politics The Soviet Union pursues the policy of peaceful intercourse of Moscow, taken as a whole, wholly retain their reactionary character and remain the chief obstacle on the road to the world revolution.

> Our general appraisal of the Kremlin and Comintern does not, however, alter the particular fact that the statifiprogressive measure. We must recognize this openly. Were Hitler on the morrow to throw his armies against the East, workers would defend against Hitler these new property forms established by the Bonapartist Soviet bureaucracy.

Our Course Remains Unchanged

The statification of the means of production is, as we said, a progressive measure. But its progressiveness is relative; its specific weight depends on the sum-total of all the other factors. Thus, we must first and foremost establish that the extension of the territory dominated by bureaucratic autocracy and parasitism, cloaked by "socialist" measures, can augment the prestige of the Kremlin, engender illusions concerning the possibility of replacing the proletarian revolution by bureaucratic maneuvers and so on. This evil by far outweighs the progressive content of Stalinist reforms in Poland. In order that nationalized property in the occupied areas, as well as in the USSR, become a basis for genuinely progressive, that is to say socialist development, it is necessary to overthrow the Moscow bureaucracy. Our program retains, consequently, all its validity. The events did not catch us unaware. It is necessary only to interpret them correctly. It is necessary to understand clearly that sharp contradictions are contained in the character of the USSR and in her international position. It is impossible to free oneself from those contradictions with the help of terminological sleight-of-hand ("Workers State"—"Not Workers State.") We must take the facts as they are. We must build our policy by taking as our starting point the real relations and contradictions.

We do not entrust the Kremlin with any historic mission. We were and remain against seizures of new territories by the Kremlin. We are for the independence of Soviet Ukraine, and if the Byelo Russians themselves wishof Soviet Byelo Russia. At the same time in the sections of Poland occupied by the Red Army, partisans of the Fourth International must play the most decisive part in expropriating the landlords and capitalists, in dividing the land among the peasants, in creating Soviets and Workers' Committees, etc. While so doing, they must preserve their poltical independence, they must fight during elections to the Soviets and factory committees for the complete independence of the latter from the bureaucracy, and they must conduct revolutionary propaganda in the spirit of distrust towards the Kremlin and its local agencies.

But let us suppose that Hitler turns his weapons against the East and invades territories occupied by the Red Army. Under these conditions, partisans of the Fourth International, without changing in any way their attitude toward the Kremlin oligarchy, will advance to the forefront as the most urgent task of the hour, the military resistance against Hitler. The workers will say, "We cannot cede to Hitler the overthrowing of Stalin; that is our own task". During the military struggle against Hitler, the revolutionary

NEW RUSSIAN

PARTY PURGE

(Continued from Page 1)

tions to the local Soviets; and

last but not least (5) the de-

est emergency.

is as follows:

workers will strive to enter into the closest possible comradely relations with the rank-and-file fighters of the Red Army. While arms in hand they deal blows to Hitler, the Bolshevik-Leninists will at the same time conduct revolutionary propaganda against Stalin preparing his overthrow at the next and perhaps very near stage.

This kind of "defense of the USSR" will naturally differ. as heaven does from earth, from the official defense which is now being conducted under the slogan: "For the Fatherland! For Stalin!" Our defense of the USSR is carried on under the slogan: "For Socialism! For the world revolution! Against Stalin!" In order that these two varieties of "Defense of the USSR" do not become confused in the consciousness of the masses it is necessary to know clearly and precisely how to formulate slogans which correspond to the concrete situation. But above all it is necessary to establish clearly just what we are defending, just how we are defending it, against whom we are defending it. Our slogans will create confusion among the masses only if we ourselves do not have a clear conception of our tasks.

CONCLUSIONS:

We have no reasons whatsoever at the present time for changing our principled position in relation to the USSR. War accelerates the various political processes. It may

accelerate the process of the revolutionary regeneration of the USSR. But it may also accelerate the process of its final degeneration. For this reason it is indispensable that we follow painstakingly and without prejudice these modifications which war introduces into the internal life of the USSR so that we may give ourselves a timely accounting of them.

Our tasks in the occupied territories remain basically the same as in the USSR itself; but inasmuch as they are posed by events in an extremely sharp form, they enable us all the better to clarify our general tasks in relation to the USSR.

·We must formulate our slogans in such a way that the workers see clearly just what we are defending in the USSR, (state property and planned economy), and against whom we are conducting a ruthless struggle (the parasitic bureaucracy and their Comintern). We must not lose sight for a single moment of the fact that the question of overthrowing the Soviet bureaucracy is for us subordinate to the question of preserving state property in the means of production of the USSR; that the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the USSR is subordinate for us to the question of the world proletarian

September 25, 1939.

Big Business Sees

(Continued from Page 1) of intention-talk about staying out of the war, but is actually preparing to go into it.

Sorry if this shocks you, but it seems to us to be the fact. What will M-Day do to our —in one blunt sentence:

If we get into war, it means complete dictatorship, of

How will repeal of the em-

"Business effect of cash-&carry is bound to be stimulating. It means orders and jobs. And that's an influence FOR repeal of embargo, despite pious talk about "principle" or shuddery talk about "blood money". Of course, materialand deplored.

Has American business anything to gain by prolonging the war as long as possible? Kiplinger answers:

Further business gains for 1940 depend largely on the size of war orders, and on continuation of the war itself. If war goes on, as is expected, most estimates are that U.S. production for 1940 will be the highest of any year since 1929.

linger answers:

The Bureau of Labor Statistics wholesale price index recently was around 75. At present it is around 80, and the average is still rising. Somewhere between 5 and

10 points gain in the next 6

months is expected by most govt. price experts. This is regarded as "moderate". And what will the War Deal do about price rises? Kiplinger answers

Administration wants higher farm prices, and recognizes fact that many other raw materials are entitled to MODERATE price increases.

So the fears of higher prices

are largely crocodile fears. Is the War Deal right now engaged in preparations for going to war? Kiplinger answers: War taxes, if U.S. enters war: Studies are being quiet-

ly made.

Draft plans are nearing completion: Aim is complete selective service, with volunteers discouraged. Objective is, "Every man in his most useful place, civil or military." Register all men 18-to-45,

make them subject to military orders. Take those from 21-to-30 for

ACTIVE military service. . first. WPA workers of proper

ages are candidates for the military, but this is a subject which officials discuss ginger-Wage-hour law would

stand, but new emphasis would be given to military needs, resulting in flexibility. And this is one reason why an army officer, Col. Fleming may soon replace Elmer An-

Railroads have been served notice that if U.S. goes to war, and if they don't speed up AT ONCE on plans for handling war traffic, they are candidates for govt. operation. This notice is "official".

For power companies, the govt. has war plans which involve extensive interconnections of facilities of private and public plants. What military commitments

How much higher will prices has the War Deal already made go as a result of the war? Kip- to the Allied Powers? Kiplinger answers: There's close tie-in between

govts. of Britain, France, U.S. on war purchases here. Agents of these countries consult each other, through State, War, Navy Depts. and newly created War Resources Board, to prevent interference with our own industrial mobilization program.

Practically, materially, the U.S. is already an ally in war, despite the legal and technical "neutrality".

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the column in the Socialist directives to the Eighteenth Appeal by J. R. Johnson on Party Congress in relation to "The Negro Question". The the "advancement of new cadstands and at meetings will gorically: help to increase the sale of the paper to the Negro workal Negro Dept., 116 Univer- the starting point for advancing

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Expulsions on Grand Scale Begin as Members Question Wisdom of Stalinist Line

veloping crisis in economy. Stalin is preparing for the lat-BOUNDLESSLY LOYAL TO pulsions which has just started. pelled member. Some of these OUR PARTY AND CAPABLE At the Shachtman and Goldman are now being slated for ex-BOOKS BOUGHT in lots or in CF DEFENDING THE CAUSE mass meetings held here in pusion. single volumes. Estimates OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY Chicago groups of disillusioned Word has reached us, uncorgiven on request. Write or TO THEIR LAST BREATH." communists were well in ev- roborated as yet, of several ex-

Then follows this significant dence. passage: "During the last year In the Humboldt Park Youth Branch of the YCL as well as hundreds of thousands of can- Club (formerly Dimitroff Br. of breaks in the CP on the South DINNER to be held by the IN- didates have been accepted as the YCL), two or three young Side. More information on the DIA WELFARE LEAGUE members of the Communists have already been latter will be forthcoming in OF AMERICA. 49th Street, Party of the Soviet Union; hun-expelled and it seems very the next few days. One thing is near 7th Avenue. Saturday, dreds of thousands of eminent likely that another eight or nine evident-the Communist Party October 7 at 7:30 p.m. Prom- people have joined the ranks of will follow shortly. Even those and YCL are in for an awful inent Indian speakers will be the party." It is from the ranks expelled were astounded at the shock in their membership figof these new "hundreds of thou-lack of democracy that was ures. When the next party regsands" that new leaders are to supposed to exist in the YCL istration is held there will be An attractive poster has be elected. Pravda makes no since Joe Stalin made his so- many missing. These people, if been prepared to advertise bones about it, citing Stalin's called democratic constitution. they wish to remain in the rev-

Lack of Democracy that one of the leading com- working class, have only one use of these posters on news- res," the editorial states cate- rades of the Humboldt Park path before them. That is the Youth Club (outsiders were al- path of the 4th International. lowed to be present at this "Comrade Stalin's directive meeting) who was expelled last ers. The posters are on sale must be realized in the coming week was given only three minfor five cents by the Nation. elections; it must be taken as utes to express his views to the membership. After his plea sity Place, New York City, candidates to the party bureas, that one who had belonged to regional and city party com- the YCL and Pioneers for the last fifteen years should be giv-Apparently there is friction en adequate time to present his among the tops. For there is a views he was allowed the grand veiled warning contained in the total of five minutes. The resoeditorial which "reminds" that lution expelling him was full of the elections to the "upper" erroneous statements which the bodies will take place in six YCLer hardly had time to deny. months, in accordance with the He denied the accusations in one statement and launched in-The assumed calmness of the to an attack against the line of official press is a clear token of the League. He maintained that the tenseness of the situation. as a young communist ft was But every action taken denotes not in his nor his class interests that a storm is brewing; and to ally himself with any organithe "Helmsman" is again zation which defended any of

> More Expulsions Ahead He maintained that the policy of the league was dependent up-

the two warring imperialist

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) on the foreign policy of the So-CHICAGO, Ill.-Despite the viet Union which at times did campaign of silence in the offi- not correspond with the inter-The only passage from the cial Stalinist press regarding ests of the international work-Central Committee directives the attitude of members of the ing class. He had hoped that rerelating to the new elections Communist Party during the form of the Communist Interprinted by Pravda in bold type recent zig-zags in policy, it has national would solve the probcome to the attention of the lem, but he was now convinced "THE PARAMOUNT TASK Chicago office of the Socialist that reform was impossible and OF ALL THE PARTY ORGAN. Workers Party that there are that he was leaving the organi-IZATIONS IN THE COMING serious repercussions among zation to become once more a ELECTIONS IS TO ASSURE the rank and file. That there is revolutionary socialist. When THE ELECTION TO THE serious resistance by many the motion to expel was finally LEADING PARTY ORGANS members of the CP and YCL to carried, a large number of YCL-OF THOROUGHLY TESTED the recent polices of Stalinism ers and sympathizers walked BOLSHEVIKS WHO ARE is evident from the wave of ex- out in sympathy with the ex-

> pulsions in the Jack London olutionary movement and fight We have it on good authority for the emancipation of the

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