

THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

Dr. Charles Petioni is a Negro of West Indian origin who is an enemy of British imperialism.

"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.

A Trap to Be Guarded Against

Thus from his healthy opposition to seeing colonials fight in a war which is not theirs, Dr. Petioni takes a further step and finds himself in the Stalinist camp.

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.

When the Hitler-Stalin pact was signed, the Stalinists were at the peak of the five-year campaign for a war of the "democracies" against the fascist aggressors.

"The Soviet Union pursues the policy of peaceful intercourse 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 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 against acts of aggression.

After Ford's letter, however, the international situation developed 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.

It sounds alright 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 imperialism?

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.

The Road of Revolutionary Struggle

They don't because if the international position should change, as it will may, you will find the Stalinists, with that peculiar brazenness 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.

Save the Bulletin of The Russian Opposition

The Russian Opposition Bulletin is in grave danger! Published in France for the past few years, the war crisis and severe censorship there have forced it to again seek a new haven.

must be heard particularly at this time when it can play such an important role. But we cannot do this alone. We need your help.

Read The New International

The Soviet Union in the War By Leon Trotsky

(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, 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 territories—and without such an appeal, even if worded with extreme caution it is impossible to constitute a new regime—will on the morrow undoubtedly be suppressed by ruthless police measures in order to assure the preponderance of the bureaucracy over the awakened revolutionary masses.

Our general appraisal of the Kremlin and Comintern does not, however, alter the particular fact that the statification of property in the occupied territories is in itself a progressive measure. We must recognize this openly. Were Hitler on the morrow to throw his armies against the East, to restore "law and order" in Eastern Poland, the advanced workers would defend against Hitler these new property forms established by the Bonapartist Soviet bureaucracy.

Big Business Sees Nation Herded Into The War by Spring

(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 present "democratic" form of government? Kiplinger answers—in one blunt sentence:

If we get into war, it means a complete dictatorship, of course.

How will repeal of the embargo affect business? Kiplinger answers:

"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, materialistic motives will be denied and 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.

How much higher will prices go as a result of the war? Kiplinger 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.

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 quietly 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 gingerly.

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 Andrews.

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 has the War Deal already made 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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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.

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 wish—of 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.

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".

ON THE "INSIDE"



J. P. Morgan

ANNOUNCEMENTS

BOOKS BOUGHT in lots or in single volumes. Estimates given on request. Write or visit Labor Bookshop, 116 University Place, N.Y.C.

DINNER to be held by the INDIA WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA. 49th Street, near 7th Avenue. Saturday, October 7 at 7:30 p.m. Prominent Indian speakers will be present. \$1.00.

An attractive poster has been prepared to advertise the column in the Socialist Appeal by J. R. Johnson on "The Negro Question". The use of these posters on newsstands and at meetings will help to increase the sale of the paper to the Negro workers.

MAX SHACHTMAN (Bronx candidate)

for the City Council) speaks on

The Issues in the New York Election Campaign

P.S. 67 Auditorium MOHEGAN AVE. & 179th St. MONDAY, OCT. 9th at 8 P.M. Admission Free

STALIN ORDERS NEW RUSSIAN PARTY PURGE

(Continued from Page 1) tions to the local Soviets; and last but not least (5) the developing crisis in economy. Stalin is preparing for the latest emergency.

The only passage from the Central Committee directives relating to the new elections printed by Pravda in bold type is as follows:

"THE PARAMOUNT TASK OF ALL THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE COMING ELECTIONS IS TO ASSURE THE ELECTION TO THE LEADING PARTY ORGANS OF THOROUGHLY TESTED BOLSHIEVICS WHO ARE BOUNDLESSLY LOYAL TO OUR PARTY AND CAPABLE OF DEFENDING THE CAUSE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY TO THEIR LAST BREATH."

Then follows this significant passage: "During the last year hundreds of thousands of candidates have been accepted as members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; hundreds of thousands of eminent people have joined the ranks of the party." It is from the ranks of these new "hundreds of thousands" that new leaders are to be elected.

Lack of Democracy We have it on good authority that one of the leading comrades of the Humboldt Park Youth Club (outsiders were allowed to be present at this meeting) who was expelled last week was given only three minutes to express his views to the membership.

Friction on Top "Comrade Stalin's directive must be realized in the coming elections; it must be taken as the starting point for advancing candidates to the party bureaus, regional and city party committees."

Apparently there is friction among the tops. For there is a veiled warning contained in the editorial which "reminds" that the elections to the "upper" bodies will take place in six months, in accordance with the statutes.

The assumed calmness of the official press is a clear token of the tenseness of the situation. But every action taken denotes that a storm is brewing; and the "Helmsman" is again clearing the decks!

SOCIALIST APPEAL Subscribe to the

workers will strive to enter into the closest possible comrades 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.

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 revolution.

September 25, 1939.

Chicago CP Hit Hard by Rank and File Protest

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

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

CHICAGO, Ill.—Despite the campaign of silence in the official Stalinist press regarding the attitude of members of the Communist Party during the recent zig-zags in policy, it has come to the attention of the Chicago office of the Socialist Workers Party that there are serious repercussions among the rank and file. That there is serious resistance by many members of the CP and YCL to the recent policies of Stalinism is evident from the wave of expulsions which has just started. At the Shachtman and Goldman mass meetings held here in Chicago groups of disillusioned communists were well in evidence.

In the Humboldt Park Youth Club (formerly Dimitroff Br. of the YCL), two or three young Communists have already been expelled and it seems very likely that another eight or nine will follow shortly. Even those expelled were astounded at the lack of democracy that was supposed to exist in the YCL since Joe Stalin made his so-called democratic constitution.

We have it on good authority that one of the leading comrades of the Humboldt Park Youth Club (outsiders were allowed to be present at this meeting) who was expelled last week was given only three minutes to express his views to the membership.

Apparently there is friction among the tops. For there is a veiled warning contained in the editorial which "reminds" that the elections to the "upper" bodies will take place in six months, in accordance with the statutes.

More Expulsions Ahead He maintained that the policy of the league was dependent upon the foreign policy of the Soviet Union which at times did not correspond with the interests of the international working class. He had hoped that reform of the Communist International would solve the problem, but he was now convinced that reform was impossible and that he was leaving the organization to become once more a revolutionary socialist. When the motion to expel was finally carried, a large number of YCLers and sympathizers walked out in sympathy with the expelled member. Some of these are now being slated for expulsion.

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