

THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

(Continued from Last Issue)

Negroes! On Guard against The New Stalinist Line

If James Ford is asked why he and Browder spent five years persuading the American workers that their future lay with Roosevelt and the New Deal, he will lie like a trooper in reply.

Whereas Lenin and Trotsky always said, "How can we best help the workers in Russia and all over the world, for we are all one," Stalin, Ford's master today says, "How can I use the workers to help me and my bureaucrats preserve our 'wealth and power'?"

In 1935, he was trying to get an alliance with Britain and France. But the reactionary imperialists didn't want to make an alliance with a revolutionary. So Stalin gave his orders to his servants all over the world.

Acted against the Class Struggle

The Stalinists were simply killing the class struggle, as they had killed it in France and in Spain, and for the same reason—to help Stalin get his alliance with Britain, France, and America.

Naturally, to be able to influence the workers at all, the Stalinists had to maintain a show of militancy. But even while maintaining this show, their main business in life was to act in such a way as to give the capitalists the following impression:

"We are not real reds any more. See how we restrain the workers. See how we praise F.D.R. Make the alliance with Stalin and you can depend upon us to keep the workers quiet. If war comes we shall get them into it much more quickly and efficiently than you can."

The Stalinist rank and file didn't know that this was the real meaning of the policy. Ford and Browder knew all right.

But thinks didn't go well in Europe from Stalin's point of view. Britain and France wouldn't agree to his territorial expansion in the Baltic. Hitler, hungry for an ally, agreed to Stalin's demands.

Here was a fine mess for the Stalinists to be in. All they could do was to double back, put a good brass face on it, and start supporting the Hitler-Stalin Pact.

Hence, this strange spectacle of Ford in Harlem bellowing against the war, calling it a war of two imperialist groups (which it undoubtedly is), and saying that his purpose and the purpose of his party is to save the Negroes from wasting their blood and lives in a quarrel not their own.

A Judas Re-Born
There have been many Judases in the world, since the first and most famous one. Negroes have produced their fair share.

A Judas Re-Born

There have been many Judases in the world, since the first and most famous one. Negroes have produced their fair share. But of all the criminal specimens on that dirty list, you will have to search far before you meet one like Ford, a Negro, brought up in the South, knowing what his people suffer.

But F.D.R., as the Stalinists so lovingly used to call him, and Murphy allowed Ford and Browder plenty of "democracy" so long as the supported American imperialism.

The Negroes must beware of the Stalinists when they come whining that Browder has been made a martyr on account of his struggle against imperialism.

So when Ford comes around putting across his sorrowful tale about Browder suffering for "democratic rights" and as an anti-war fighter, the Negroes will tell him to go and tell that tale in Moscow.

And at the same time also let us, as vigilant revolutionary workers, not be taken in by the "democracy" fakers, with their ballyhoo about agents of a foreign power.

And at the same time also let us, as vigilant revolutionary workers, not be taken in by the "democracy" fakers, with their ballyhoo about agents of a foreign power.

Stalinists and Lewis Forces at Loggerheads On Auto Union Policy

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

FLINT, Mich., Oct. 24.—Indications of a brewing battle between Stalinist forces in the United Automobile Workers Union and the Lewis machine became evident in Flint this week, as the issue of a Chevrolet strike uncovered growing animosity between the groups.

The Stalinist forces, typically inconsiderate of the needs of the rank and file workers, and without adequately preparing the ground, are pushing for strike action in Flint Chevrolet plants.

Growing Discontent

Discontent has been brewing for months in the Flint plants, as the Stalinist leadership, together with conservative misfits who sold the offices, have allowed the company to pile up a mountain of unsettled grievances, initiate a speed-up and discriminate against union men.

While the Stalinists were following their pro-Roosevelt line, and Stalin, the Big Boss, was still a good "Democrat," they branded every attempt at militant action as an aid to "Fascists" and as a maneuver designed to embarrass Roosevelt.

Now, however, that Stalin has waved his magic wand, and has ordered his flunkies to oppose Roosevelt and lend aid to the Hitler-Stalin camp, these self-same Stalinist robots, with as little concern for the workers' needs, are vigorously pushing for strike action, and flaunting defiance in the face of the International Executive Board of the UAW-CIO.

That action is needed to settle the pile of grievances, and stop the speed up in the Flint plants is true without a doubt.

The fighting forces in Flint can easily be routed. Their background of militancy has proved that the auto workers will rise in a short time, when given the slightest chance to learn the issues involved, and when they feel they have an organization behind them.

But the conservative bureaucrats and the Stalinist leaders, who have spent the past several months trying to insure their own salaries, who have hesitated to

spend a few dollars on leaflets or other means of publicity, are now rushing ahead without any concern whatever for the manifest confusion that has swept the plants.

Vigilance Necessary

A strike under these conditions, opposed by R. J. Thomas and Lewis, led by Stalinist flunkies and other incompetents, pulled as a political maneuver, will not succeed in settling the host of serious problems now confronting the union.

Once however they are in action, it is possible the rank and file of the union will sweep ahead, go over the heads of their irresponsible leaders, and by sheer weight of their numbers and militancy, manage to hold together the union and force concessions from the company.

But workers must be aware of the new political turn of the Communist Party, and beware of their attempts to provoke premature strikes, or other irresponsible actions, without adequate preparation.

Who Will Lead?

Lewis, Thomas and his aides are not to be depended upon either to lead the battles of the auto workers. While the Stalinists are agents of Hitler-Stalin, Lewis is going to help sell you to the war mongering Roosevelt and the Allied camp.

The speed-up can be ended only by struggle. But to struggle you must have weapons! First prepare your army. Mobilize the union. Inspire the ranks. Once this is done, no force on earth can stop the advance of the auto workers.

The Stalinist, irresponsible policies will only lead workers into the trap set by the corporations, who know well enough that they have picked a moment when the unions are none too well prepared.

There is no reason in the world for the UAW-CIO to be eueched out of its just demands. Chrysler must meet competition with General Motors and Ford. It must place cars in the hands of its dealers, who are already howling under squeeze of the competition.

On the other hand, Chrysler workers are more than ready to fight. Every Chrysler local has

Let the People Vote on War!

NEW YORK PARTY PREPARES BANG-UP CLIMAX TO DRIVE

(Continued from Page 1)

must fight side by side with the Young Peoples Socialist League for:

A peoples vote before war can be declared.

A lowering of the voting age to 18 years to permit the youth, who will be called upon to fight in war, to vote on war.

For youth WPA projects instead of NYA handouts, and the transference of the two billion dollar war budget to provide youth with jobs and a chance to live, instead of guns and death.

Support Teachers' Demands
In answer to the questionnaire of the Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations, comprising 40,000 New York school teachers, Shachtman and Paine denounced all attempts to cut the school budget and called upon the teachers to rally against any attempt to cut their salaries.

In reply to the City Affairs Committee and the League of Women Voters, both candidates stated their support of the plan for County Re-organization as a step toward ridding the city of petty grafters and corrupt sinucures, many of whom thrive on what they extort from the poor.

Shachtman and Paine endorsed the fight against the Lyons Residence Bill, which, they stated, discriminates against many workers of long service in the various city departments.

In Manhattan, candidate Paine will speak between Lexington and Third Avenues on 86th St.

CHRYSLER CO. SEEKS TO BALK AGREEMENT

Workers Stand Ready To Fight Company By Strike Action

(Continued from Page 1)

in feeder plants and in the rubber and glass industries.

Top officials of the union agreed to modify their original demand for a union shop. (The "union shop" requires only that new employees hired shall be required to join the union within a specified period of time). But the corporation flatly rejected this compromise.

The original demand of the union for the setting of production standards by joint committees has been whittled down by the corporation. In its stead they place an ambiguous proposal lined with yards of red tape: production standards are to be set by the corporation; in case of complaint they are investigated by a joint union-management committee; if satisfaction is not obtained through this procedure the dispute is to be thrown into the regular grievance machinery.

There is undoubtedly a concession in this proposal since corporation officials previously labelled every demand of the union for a voice in production-schedules "sovietization."

And now the corporation is holding out on the demand that a corporation-wide contract be signed instead of separate agreements for each plant. They use as a pretext a technicality in the N.L.R.B. ruling. This after the union had conclusively demonstrated in the N.L.R.B. elections, called on company insistence, that it had the allegiance of 80 percent of the workers.

In the yielding attitude of Thomas, Frankenstein and the other negotiators of the union, there is a great danger for the Chrysler workers. There is now a move on foot, initiated by government "mediator" James Dewey, to return Dodge workers to the plant and resume work during negotiations. These negotiations, it is conservatively said, can drag out for at least three weeks—and probably more.

During this time the corporation will stall the union negotiators until they are green around the gills. And meanwhile they will speed hell out of the workers in the plants to complete their 1940 program. Then the union can whistle for its agreement.

There are numerous other indications that the various camps hostile to Trotsky are seeking ways and means of putting him out of the way. The need for constant guard precautions within the household has been reinforced by this latest incident.

Democratic Feudalists and the Independence of the Ukraine

By LEON TROTSKY

In Kerensky's periodical, "Novaya Rossia" for July 12, 1939, my article on the independence of the Ukraine (printed in Socialist Appeal, May 9, 1939) is subjected to a "criticism" of its own kind. From the standpoint of socialist, scientific, literary, etc., criteria, "Novaya Rossia" is of course of no interest at all. But it possesses this merit, that it enables one to peer into the heads of the Russian middle and petty bourgeois democrats. Scratch any of them hard enough and you will find a feudalist.

The periodical fumes over the fact that I wholeheartedly and completely stand for the support of the Ukrainian people in their struggle for national and state independence. "The separation of Soviet Ukraine from the U.S.S.R. doesn't embarrass L. Trotsky at all." Absolutely so! As regards Messrs. Democrats, they are not only embarrassed but deeply roused by the prospect of the separation of the Ukraine. The democratic urge of an oppressed nationality to gain its complete

independence cannot fail to arouse the ire of feudalists. "The question of how this revolution (the national Ukrainian revolution) will be utilized by Hitler for the realization of his plans is not touched by Trotsky." The gentlemen of "Novaya Rossia" consider that "the separation of the Ukraine will lead to the military weakening of the U.S.S.R.," and they come very close to the conclusion that Trotsky's politics serve Hitler. The same opinion is held also by the Kremlin. Great minds run in the same gutter, reads a French proverb.

Let us grant that the separation of the Ukraine does actually weaken the U.S.S.R. What to do then with the democratic principle of the self-determination of nations? Every state which forcibly retains within its boundaries some other nationality considers that the separation of the latter would weaken the state in economic and military spheres. Hitler annexed the Czechs and semi-annexed Slovakia precisely because this leads to the military strengthening of Germany. Wherein does the criterion of our democrats differ from the criterion of Hitler? As regards the nation of the Ukrainians, the democrats of "Novaya Rossia" following the not uncelebrated democrat Milluikov are perhaps ready to answer to this question that the Ukrainians are "by and large and in general" in all likelihood a nation, but after all there are limits. In other words, if they are a nation, it is a second-class one inasmuch as the fate of the Ukraine must be determined by the interests of Russia, i.e., the Great Russian majority. And this is precisely the viewpoint of the chauvinist feudalists.

TRIES TO ENTER TROTSKY HOME

(Continued from Page 1)

point the police arrested Barrechenca.

Barrechenca attempts to pass as a Spaniard from Malaga, but fails to conceal his Central American pronouncement. He had no papers of any kind or personal belongings. He had a Pan-American-Airways schedule on him, and a scribbled note listing the days when Pan American flies. It is believed here that he was the agent of a group attempting to organize the assassination of Trotsky, assigned to make a preliminary survey of the possibilities.

In a similar incident recently, a man with a package attempted to enter Trotsky's house, saying that he had been sent by General Mugica with fertilizer for the garden. While the secretary checked over the telephone, General Mugica denying any knowledge of the man, the suspect fled before police could apprehend him.

There are numerous other indications that the various camps hostile to Trotsky are seeking ways and means of putting him out of the way. The need for constant guard precautions within the household has been reinforced by this latest incident.

Independence cannot fail to arouse the ire of feudalists. "The question of how this revolution (the national Ukrainian revolution) will be utilized by Hitler for the realization of his plans is not touched by Trotsky." The gentlemen of "Novaya Rossia" consider that "the separation of the Ukraine will lead to the military weakening of the U.S.S.R.," and they come very close to the conclusion that Trotsky's politics serve Hitler. The same opinion is held also by the Kremlin. Great minds run in the same gutter, reads a French proverb.

Let us grant that the separation of the Ukraine does actually weaken the U.S.S.R. What to do then with the democratic principle of the self-determination of nations? Every state which forcibly retains within its boundaries some other nationality considers that the separation of the latter would weaken the state in economic and military spheres. Hitler annexed the Czechs and semi-annexed Slovakia precisely because this leads to the military strengthening of Germany. Wherein does the criterion of our democrats differ from the criterion of Hitler? As regards the nation of the Ukrainians, the democrats of "Novaya Rossia" following the not uncelebrated democrat Milluikov are perhaps ready to answer to this question that the Ukrainians are "by and large and in general" in all likelihood a nation, but after all there are limits. In other words, if they are a nation, it is a second-class one inasmuch as the fate of the Ukraine must be determined by the interests of Russia, i.e., the Great Russian majority. And this is precisely the viewpoint of the chauvinist feudalists.

In the sad and sorry days of the February revolution, the Provisional Government brazenly refused to extend to the Ukrainians not only independence—the Ukrainians did not demand that at that time as yet—but also mere autonomy. Messrs. Democrats haggled over the national rights of the Ukraine like horse-traders. They then took their direct and immediate point of departure the interests of the old Great Russian "masters" of the landlord, bourgeois and democratic type. Today they are translating the very same great and glorious tradition into the language of the emigres.

From a much higher historical standpoint, namely from the standpoint of the socialist revolution, it would be quite possible to subordinate for a certain period of time the national interests

THIRTY DOLLARS-THIRTY HOURS IS SLOGAN OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS MANIFESTO-PETITION

Leading the fight for the six-hour day and the thirty-hour take advantage of the machine EFFICIENCY which has been developed today. million signatures to evidence wide support for the thirty-thirty plan.

The Manifesto declares: WHEN!!

Public and Private INDUSTRIAL Policy has entirely failed to take advantage of the machine EFFICIENCY which has been developed today.

NATURE has the same inherent WEAKNESS.

THIS COMMON FAULT IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE RIDICULOUS ECONOMIC SITUATION WHERE-IN WE HAVE PEOPLE STARVING IN THE MIDST OF PLENTY; OF PEOPLE GOING THREAD-BARE AND RAGGED IN THE MIDST OF THE GREATEST INDUSTRIAL SURPLUS EVER KNOWN.

Over-production, it is called, but it is not over-production at all, but UNDER-CONSUMPTION.

UNDER-CONSUMPTION, because the greatest market in the World, the Consuming American Public, is in need of Money.

The Generosity of Nature could be developed to its fullest extent, and the Machines in all of the MILLS and FACTORIES could be working twenty-four hours every day, creating National Basic Wealth, and the American People could have money to buy EVERYTHING PRODUCED, if that WEALTH were more equitably distributed amongst the men and women WHO ACTUALLY PRODUCE WEALTH.

There are to-day approximately 42,700,000 Workers employed at 44 hours per week, and 10,600,000 Workers unemployed.

There is expended every week 1,878,800,000 work-hours. By working every-body but THIRTY HOURS PER WEEK, there would be 62,600,000 jobs available, which would put everyone to work and leave several MILLION JOBS open for our SCHOOL AND COLLEGE GRADUATES each year.

WHEN the American Public forsakes its tolerance and DEMANDS that the THIRTY-HOUR WEEK be made mandatory under the LAW, and says so at the POLLS and to the LAW-MAKERS, then we will have adopted the PRACTICAL SOLUTION FOR UNEMPLOYMENT.

DO YOUR BIT. SIGN THIS PLEDGE SHEET AND INDUCE OTHERS TO SIGN IT ALSO.

There is no TIME LIMIT short of our goal, which is ONE MILLION SIGNATURES IN NEW YORK CITY, AND FORTY MILLION SIGNATURES IN THE ENTIRE UNITED STATES.

Yours for a SIX-HOUR DAY, THIRTY-HOUR WEEK.

KEE WOODWARD, Chairman Educational Committee, Local Union No. 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, 130 E. 26th St., N.Y.C.

THE MARXIST SCHOOL

announces its FALL TERM COURSES

to be held at the Cultural Center, Room 201, 125 West 33rd St., N. Y. C.

Classes Begin Monday, November 20th

- 1. HOW CAPITALISM OPERATES TODAY Frank Demby Mondays—7:15 p.m.-8:40 p.m. 6 Sessions, \$1.00 A course in Applied Marxian economics, dealing with such matters as the basic causes of the breakdown of the automatic processes of the business cycle, war and inflation, economics under a fascist system, the economics of the farm problem, etc., etc.
2. SOCIALISM AND WAR Max Shachtman Mondays—8:50 p.m.-10:15 p.m. 6 Sessions, \$1.00 Beginning with the great wars and revolutions of the last century this course will proceed to a consideration of the theoretic and practical problems of today. What are just wars? How can the social conquests of the Soviet Union be defended? Why do Marxists condemn pacifism? How should we act in the present war situation?
3. THE DESTINY OF THE NEGRO J. R. Johnson Tuesdays—7:15 p.m.-8:40 p.m. 6 Sessions, \$1.00 This course will trace the history of the Negro peoples from their enslavement to their present struggle for emancipation and equality. The chief solutions for the Negro problem will be examined.
4. ELEMENTS OF SOCIALIST THEORY AND PRACTICE Tuesdays—8:50 p.m.-10:15 p.m. 6 Sessions, \$1.00 A course designed to suit the needs of young people and those in the labor movement who seek an understanding of basic principles.
5. ORGANIZING AMERICAN LABOR E. R. Frank Wednesdays—7:15 p.m.-8:40 p.m. 6 Sessions, \$1.00 First hand accounts of the great strike struggles in the recent past, close-ups of leading trade union personalities, analyses of current trade union events by one who personally participated in many of the great organizing drives of the last few years.
6. THE WAR DEAL IN ACTION James Burnham-Dwight Macdonald Wednesdays—8:50 p.m.-10:15 p.m. 6 Sessions, \$1.00 Lectures on the week by week developments in American politics. Consideration will be given to such matters as Congressional legislation, M-Day plans, developments in the business world in relation to the war, etc.

Registrations now being taken at the Labor Bookshop, 116 University Place, N.Y.C. from 1 p.m. to 6 p.m. Registration can also be made by mail to the school office, 116 University Place. Prospective students are urged to register early.