

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

Another indication of the depth of the break between John L. Lewis, CIO chairman, and President Roosevelt over both domestic and foreign policy was furnished last week at the United Rubber Workers of America convention.

It was revealed in the speech of Eli P. Oliver, executive vice-president of Labor's Non-Partisan League, and Lewis henchman, on the 1940 elections.

Oliver spoke of the need for a "progressive" president but very pointedly did not mention Roosevelt's name, although just before he talked the convention had endorsed Roosevelt for a third term!

This incident exposed completely the utter stupidity of Lewis' "realistic" politics. Lewis is spent so much time placing the CIO behind Roosevelt in the last six years that Lewis is now unable to shift the position of the CIO easily. (Even Phillip Murray and Sidney Hillman didn't like his labor day speech.)

Besides, the U.R.W.A. convention endorsed Roosevelt mainly because of a rabble-rousing speech by Michael Quill, Stalinist president of the Transport Workers Union, a guest speaker at the sessions.

The chief opponent within the CIO of a break with the Roosevelt administration will be the Stalinists. Lewis' allies of yesterday become his opponents of today. And Lewis is really going to pay for the way he allowed the Stalinists to run wild within the CIO, disrupting union after union, capturing control of key unions, etc.

The expected removal of Elmer Andrews as Wages and Hours Administrator to be replaced by an army officer is another blow at the CIO by Roosevelt. It means no enforcement of the wages and hours provisions.

John L. Lewis understands too well that the New Deal has become the War Deal. That is one reason why he is paving the way for a public break with Roosevelt at the coming CIO national convention.

The famous Labor Day address of Lewis showed that he understood the strategy of Roosevelt's war deal. Yet Lewis is caught in a terrible dilemma for a labor bureaucrat from which there is no escape, except turning sharply to the left, and this is most improbable.

After spending 30 years as a labor bureaucrat, after supporting the first world war to make the world safe for democracy, after living the luxurious life of a Washington gentleman, and after preaching the glories of American "democracy" to his followers, Lewis can hardly be expected suddenly to become a Eugene V. Debs.

The powerful pressure of the CIO rank and file which wants no part of a "foreign war," and the dangers to Lewis' own position in war time caused the Labor Day speech against "meddling in Europe."

But what does Lewis propose? A break with Roosevelt? Fine. But where will the CIO go?

Already Lewis has sent out a "feeler" to the effect that he was going to support Senator Wheeler for president in 1940. A deal with the Republicans?

What will that solve? How will war be stopped by that maneuver? Utterly futile!

It is up to the ranks of the CIO to force Lewis to quit playing Hamlet. The coming convention can do a tremendous job towards slowing down the march to war by demanding a popular referendum on war, and by announcing its determination to run a labor candidate for president in 1940.

Lewis is incapable of solving even his own dilemmas.

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FARMER LABOR PARTY SILENT ON WAR THREAT

Old-Style Minnesota F.L.P. Signs Its Own Obituary

MINNEAPOLIS—The Socialist Workers Party has maintained since last November's election that the Farmer-Labor movement in Minnesota, in its old form, could never be revived. Between the Stalinists and the right-wingers the old Farmer-Labor movement was hopelessly wrecked.

The Minneapolis municipal election of 1939 could in no sense be termed a contest between the F.L.P. and the Republicans. Rather it was a struggle between the trade unions acting concertedly as a labor party, and a coalition of Republicans and Democrats.

Two Timid References Striking proof of our obituary on the Farmer-Labor movement is provided by the September 13 Minnesota Leader (fittingly enough it is called the "August Issue").

The ONLY reference to the war is contained in two brief editorials which are way to the right of editorials that can be read in most of the boss papers in the Middle West.

The first editorial merely suggests to its readers that they "Look before they leap to conclusions" when reading their papers. Becoming even more militant and subversive, the paragraph points out that "American taxpayers are still paying a million dollars a day for the last European war."

The second editorial, another one-paragraph filler, points out that the wheat traders have made 30c a bushel and quotes President Roosevelt approvingly in his righteous and wholly

JUST DOING THEIR BIT

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Impatient with the slow progress the militarists are making in hog-tying the American labor movement to the war machine, the Stalinist leadership of the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, got a bright idea.

President Lewis Alan Berne and other union leaders held a conference with Navy department officials on personnel problems.

"The maximum efficiency of the Navy's emergency program can be reached only if workers operate under progressive personnel policies," Berne explained.

meaningless statement that "No American has the moral right to profiteer at the expense of his fellow citizens."

And that is what the Minnesota Farmer-Labor movement has to tell the people about the second World War!

1940 Deal The leading story on the front page tells us "What a Republican Victory in 1940 Would Mean Is Now Clear."

The recent relief bill—need I tell you—was the result of a Tory victory in Congress. President Roosevelt, Heaven forbid, was no place around. Indeed, the session of Congress just ended was the result of a "Tory Coalition staging a revolt against Roosevelt and the New Deal."

Just that crudely the tattered bankrupts of the old Farmer-Labor machine are making their deal with the Democrats for the 1940 election.

Workers and farmers can hope for no progressive leadership from the Minnesota Leader and the spineless opportunists it represents. The ONLY party that fights against the boss war is the Socialist Workers Party. And you can't fight the war without fighting the Number One War-Monger, the hypocrite in the White House.

Chinese Fourth Internationalists Mourn Loss of Comrade Lo Han, Loyal Soldier of the Revolution

By M. Y. WANG SHANGHAI, Aug. 17—The Communist League of China, Chinese Section of the Fourth International, is mourning the loss of one of its best and most devoted comrades, a valiant fighter for China's liberation, a loyal soldier of the proletarian revolution—comrade Lo Han—word of whose untimely death has just reached Shanghai.

Comrade Lo met his death in Chungking, the provisional capital, during a Japanese air raid on June 4.

Our deceased comrade was one of the forerunners of the Chinese Communist Party and one of its first members. A proletarian revolutionist to the core, he was also one of the earliest participants in the Bolshevik-Leninist movement which grew into the Chinese Section of the Fourth International. He was in his prime—45 years old—when Japan's air raiders dropped the bomb which mangled his body to a pulp.

Of Peasant Family A native of Hunan province, comrade Lo was born into a peasant family. His political activity dates back to the years immediately after the first World War, when together with many other poor but ambitious Chinese youths he managed to travel to France.

In France, where he spent three years, comrade Lo studied engineering. The stirring events of the post-war years drew him into politics. At first he was an Anarchist, but it was not long before he gravitated toward the Marxist movement. He founded the Society for the Study of Marxism, together with Chou En-lai, Li Li-san and Tsai Hu-sen, now leaders of the

Stalinist party. This society later became the European branch of the Chinese Communist Party.

Sent to Moscow Upon his return to China, comrade Lo was sent by the Communist party to work in the Kuomintang army in Canton and was head of one of the political departments. After Chiang Kai-shek's coup d'etat of March 20, 1926, he was expelled from Canton and the Party sent him to Moscow to study the lessons of the Russian Revolution. In Moscow he enrolled as a student in the Far Eastern University.

At that time the internal struggle in the Communist party of the Soviet Union was reaching its climax. On the basis of his experiences in China, comrade Lo quickly discovered that the Left Opposition was the repository of revolutionary tradition and action. He joined the Opposition ranks and conducted propaganda among the Chinese Communists in Moscow. The writer of this article was one of the many Chinese comrades who were influenced by him.

Heartily disliked by the Stalinist bureaucrats, comrade Lo was sent back to China in 1927. He carried on underground work in Peking for one year and was then arrested by order of General Yen Hsi-shan, the Shansi warlord who then ruled the northern capital. For two years he was confined in the jail of the City Garrison. Torture and general mistreatment, in efforts to force him to recant his revolutionary views, were the lot of comrade Lo. But he never faltered. Finally he was "bought out of jail" by a personal friend, a professor at the

Peking Normal University, who paid comrade Lo's jailers 60 dollars for his release. That was in 1930. The movement of the Chinese Left Opposition was just beginning to take definite form. Four separate groupings were preparing to unite in a single organization. Comrade Lo took an active part in the unification movement although he was in poor health after his prison experiences.

When released, comrade Lo departed for Shanghai. That was in 1930. The movement of the Chinese Left Opposition was just beginning to take definite form. Four separate groupings were preparing to unite in a single organization. Comrade Lo took an active part in the unification movement although he was in poor health after his prison experiences.

On May 1, 1930 the unified organization of the Left Opposition was elected a member of its first Central Committee. In the ensuing years, the committee was several times wrecked by police arrests and comrade Lo had many narrow escapes from a fresh prison term. To help maintain the organization and his own livelihood, he accepted a job in a porcelain factory as an engineer. By Chinese standards this brought him a high salary, and comrade Lo used most of it to finance the revolutionary movement and to assist comrades less fortunately situated.

When the Sino-Japanese war broke out in August, 1937 all the Stalinists and many Trotskyists held in the prisons of the Kuomintang were released. One member of the Communist League—the writer of these lines—was, however, still detained in a secret prison in Nanking. Comrade Lo went to Nanking and endeavored to secure my release. He approached General Yeh Chien-ying of the 8th Route (former Red) Army, who was his personal friend for many years. General Yeh at that time took a somewhat liberal attitude toward the Trotskyists, and although he failed to set me free (I secured my freedom some time later) he proposed to comrade Lo that he should take the initiative in bringing about a united front between the Communist party and the Communist League of China.

On his own responsibility comrade Lo accepted the proposal and travelled to Sian to negotiate with Mao Tse-tung. This naive move naturally brought no good result. Mao refused to discuss a united front. The Communist Party had only recently capitulated to Chiang Kai-shek and Mao demanded that the Trotskyists capitulate to the Communist party. Disillusioned, comrade Lo returned to Shanghai where he was severely censured for engaging in political negotiations without the authority of the League.

In the spring of 1938, comrade Lo was in Hankow. There General Yeh Ting, newly-appointed commander of the New Fourth Army, a C.P.-controlled semi-guerrilla force, invited him to conduct political work in the army ranks. If not for the violent opposition of Chou En-lai, comrade Lo would have taken on this work.

On Hunan Front

Since last summer, he was with the Kuomintang army on the Hunan front, working as an engineer, constructing military fortifications. He proceeded to Chungking on army business only a few days prior to the June 4 air raid in which he lost his life.

About a year ago, the Hsin Hwa Jih Pao, Stalinist organ in Hankow, launched a violent attack on our comrades Chen Tshui and Lo Han. They accused comrade Lo of being a spy for the Japanese, from whom they said he received a monthly payment of \$300. By his work in the army, by his entire life, comrade Lo disproved the shameless slanders of the Stalinists.

By the death of comrade Lo, the Chinese proletariat has lost a valiant fellow-fighter, a stainless revolutionary warrior. His untimely death has made a gap in our ranks which it will be hard to fill. In the hard battles ahead we shall remember him. His dauntless spirit will march with us to the great revolutionary victory.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SWING YOUR GAL at the Downtown Barn Dance, 51 E. 7th St., Saturday, Sept. 23. Folk dancing, games—costumes optional.

YOU ARE INVITED to join the Labor Bookshop Circulating Library. Hundreds of titles. Latest novels, Marxian classics, books on Economics, History, etc. Lowest rates in the city! 15c per week. Join now! 116 University Place.

TROTSKY ON THE NEGRO QUESTION

In the Socialist Appeal of September 15, we published an article by J. R. Johnson on the role of Negro soldiers in the armies of the allied "democracies." As a continuation of that article, we publish below a letter written by Leon Trotsky to Claude McKay, the famous Negro poet who represented the revolutionary Negroes at the World Congress of the Communist International (1922). McKay had requested comrade Trotsky to answer a few questions regarding the struggle for emancipation of the Negro race.

Comrade Trotsky's reply appeared in the International Press Correspondence, official organ of the Communist International, March 13, 1923.

Dear comrade McKay:

1. What are the practical steps to be taken to prevent France from employing black troops on the European continent?—this is your first question.

The blacks themselves must offer resistance against being so employed. Their eyes must be opened so that they realize that when they help French imperialism to subjugate Europe, they are helping to subjugate themselves, in that they are supporting the domination of French capital in the African and other colonies.

The Time for Action

The working class of Europe and particularly of France and Germany, must realize that their own most vital interests are involved in this work of enlightening the colored race. The day of general resolutions on the right of self-determination of the colonial peoples, on the equality of all human beings regardless of color is over. The time has come for direct and practical action. Every ten Negroes who gather around the flag of revolution,—and unite to form a group for practical work among the Negroes, are worth a hundred times more than dozens of the resolutions establishing principles, so generously passed by the Second International. A Communist Party confining itself to mere platonic resolutions in this matter, without exerting its utmost energies towards winning the largest possible number of enlightened Negroes for its ideas, within the shortest possible time, would not be worthy of the name of Communist Party.

2. There is no doubt whatever that the use of colored troops for imperialist war, and at the present time for the occupation of German territory, is a well thought out and carefully executed attempt of Euro-

pean capital, especially British and French capital, to raise armed forces outside of Europe so that capitalism may have mobilized, armed and disciplined African and Asiatic troops at its disposal, against the revolutionary masses of Europe. In this way the question of the use of colonial reserves for imperialist armies is closely related to the question of European revolution, that is, to the fate of the European working class.

Educating the Cadres

3. There is no doubt whatever that the employment of the backward colonial masses for economically and culturally the world conflicts of imperialism, and still more in the class conflicts of Europe, is an exceedingly risky experiment, from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie itself. The Negroes, and indeed the natives of all the colonies, retain their conservatism and mental rigidity only in so far as they continue to live under their accustomed economic conditions. But when the hand of capital, or even sooner, the hand of militarism, tears them mechanically from their accustomed environment, and forces them to stake their lives for the sake of new and complicated questions and conflicts (conflicts between the bourgeoisie, conflicts between the classes of one and the same nation), then their spiritual conservatism gives way abruptly, and revolutionary ideas find rapid access to a consciousness thrown off its balance.

4. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance, today, immediately, to have a number of enlightened, young self-sacrificing

Negroes, however small their number, filled with enthusiasm for the raising of the material and moral level of the great mass of Negroes, and at the same time mentally capable of grasping the identity of interests and the destiny of the Negro masses with those of the masses of the whole world, and in the first place with the destiny of the European working class.

The education of black propagandists is an exceedingly urgent and important revolutionary task at the present juncture.

Black and White Solidarity

5. In North America the matter is further complicated by the abominable obtuseness and caste presumption of the privileged upper strata of the working class itself, who refuse to recognize fellow-workers and fighting comrades in the Negroes. Gompers' policy is founded on the exploitation of such despicable prejudices, and is at the present time the most effective guarantee for the successful subjugation of white and colored workers alike. The

fight against this policy must be taken up from various sides, and on various lines. One of the most important branches of this conflict consists in enlightening the proletarian consciousness by awakening the feeling of human dignity, and of revolutionary protest, amongst the black slaves of American capital. As stated above, this work can only be carried out by self-sacrificing and politically educated revolutionary Negroes.

Needless to say, the work is not to be carried on in a spirit of Negro chauvinism, which would then merely form a counterpart of white chauvinism,—but in a spirit of solidarity of all exploited without consideration of color.

What forms of organization are most suitable for the movement among the American Negroes, it is difficult for me to say, as I am insufficiently informed regarding the concrete conditions and possibilities. But the forms of organization will be found as soon as there is sufficient will to action.

With Communist greetings, L. Trotsky

'LEADERS' FAIL TO LINE UP INDIAN MASSES FOR THE WAR

(Continued from Page 1)

before the British authorities. (1) What were the war aims of the British government? (2) What did the British intend to do about granting India its freedom once the war had been concluded? Gandhi, in a speech has admitted that he stood alone in opposing this resolution. He wanted to give unconditional support to the British and ask for nothing.

Seek Bargain

There is no doubt as to the aims of these nationalist leaders. They are in a position to drive a bargain which will benefit the small native, Indian capitalist class whom they represent. This is what they are seeking when they place their demands before the British.

But at the same time these men must bend every effort to appease the angry discontent of the Indian workers and peasants whose last desire is to fight for their oppressors, the British. This resolution is a direct reflection of the opposition and hostility to the war on the part of India's 375,000,000 colonial slaves. And the last word has by no means been said.

British Fear Revolt

Opposition to Britain's imperialist war will take on increasingly bitter forms before long. Imposition of the Indian Federation scheme has already been prevented, despite its approval by the British Parliament and the native princes of India. The British fear more than ever a mass revolt on the part of the Indian people. We shall shortly see whether or not they intend to reveal their war aims. The war is two weeks old and already they have been placed on the spot by the people of their Empire.



The thriving Lynn, Mass. local of the S.W.P. proceeding quietly, but efficiently and energetically with various activities, made another sharp advance in the circulation of the Socialist Appeal. Lynn last week increased its regular bundle quota from 50 to 100 copies and thus went several times over its quota of an increase of 20 in the War Referendum Campaign.

Rochester, New York, likewise more than exceeded its quota of 15 by increasing its regular bundle order to 50 copies, and besides has on several occasions ordered extra quantities for special sales. St. Paul, Minnesota, which has done splendid work in obtaining new subscribers, has also made another increase in its bundle order from 75 to 100 copies, representing a total increase of 50 per issue. The St. Paul comrades are not sure that the second increase will be permanent, but can be depended upon to make every effort to do so.

NEW MEMBERS MEAN MORE APPEAL SALES

In Newcastle, Pa., additions to our movement have resulted in a spurt in Socialist Appeal sales. The small, but promising, San Diego, Cal. Branch has increased its bundle once again, this time from 8 to 12 copies regularly.

Reading, Pa., reflecting increased activity in that territory, has increased its regular bundle order from 5 to 10 and now receives a bundle of 25 each issue.

SMALL BRANCHES BEST ON NEW SUBSCRIPTIONS

In the field of subscriptions Los Angeles sent in 5 during the past week, New York, 6 new subscriptions, but the small units at Washington, D.C. and Baltimore, Md. did the best by mailing in four new subscriptions each.

Several cities sent in one or two additional subscriptions for a total of 34 new subscribers in the past week. New York City likewise obtained five renewals, and the total number of renewals in the past week was 18. To date, since the inception of the War Referendum campaign, a total of 189 new subscriptions and 55 renewals have been turned in. The figures to date are as follows:

Branch	New	Re-nwzl
Los Angeles	12	1
San Francisco	4	1
New Haven	2	2
Wash., D.C.	7	3
Chicago	12	1
Kansas	4	—
Detroit	4	5
St. Paul	16	2
Baltimore	7	—
St. Louis	5	1
E. St. Louis	1	—
Boston	4	3
Minneapolis	18	7
Newark	11	—
Fresno	2	—
Toledo	5	—
Cleveland	2	1
New York City	43	18
Akron	6	—
San Diego	1	—
New Castle	1	1
Lynn	1	—
Texas	1	1
Philadelphia	3	4
Evansville	1	—
Calais	5	—
Youngstown	1	—
Pittsburgh	6	—
Hartford	—	1
Worcester	—	1
Miscellaneous	4	3

Several cities have responded well in the distribution and sale of the tri-weekly Socialist Appeal, but the financial problems of our Press has been accentuated by the increased frequency of issue. Several locals are considerably in arrears with their bundle bills, and this is public notice that these locals will either have their bundles out or sent to them C.O.D., unless payments are forthcoming in two or three days. These locals are being advised by private correspondence.

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