

# Party Members Discuss Problems of National Anti-War Convention

## In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

With lengthy negotiations over a period of five months dragging into a state of ineffectiveness, the Teamsters' Unions in Ohio felt forced this week to set an absolute deadline for final acceptance or rejection of their proposed contract by employing truckers in this area, Edward Murphy, international representative of the union, announced.

Action in establishing the deadline of June 17 was taken by the Ohio Highway Driver Council at a special meeting held last week in Columbus, O., attended by union representatives from all parts of the state.

Speaking for the council, Murphy stressed the fact that the proposed contract was in line with other wage agreements for the same type of employment in other sections of the country through which the same companies operate, and that further delays would be unreasonable.

The proposed contract in no way varies from other similar agreements and there is no real reason why the employers should not sign it, Murphy added.

### Terms of Contract

Demands made upon the employers are only that a pay rate of approximately 75 cents an hour be established; pay for over-the-road drivers is to be based on a mileage basis of 3 1/2 cents per mile for single units, and 4 1/2 cents a mile on double units, and the straight 75 cent per hour rate is only paid when the trucks are halted for checking, spotting, breakdowns, etc.

However, Murphy points out, a single unit driver would have to average 22 miles per hour to receive 75 cents under the "rolling" rate—a difficult task with the huge single and double trailer outfits.

Where the driver owns his own equipment, the proposed agreement sets forth that in addition to the amount he receives for operating this equipment, he also be paid at the union rate.

It seeks to guarantee that all drivers be permitted one off day in every seven days and that no driver be called upon to work more than 60 hours in any one week period, according to Murphy. Establishment of seniority rights is included in the terms.

Around 30,000 truck drivers in Ohio were represented in the Council through representatives of their unions when the contract was proposed and the deadline set.

Among the prominent Ohio truck drivers officials present at the council meeting were: Paul Lave, secretary and business agent Akron Local 348; B. V. McGriff, business agent of Cleveland Local 401, who is also president of the Ohio Highway Drivers Council; Harry Card, business agent of Toledo Local 20, who is secretary of the Council; and the following members of the Council's executive board which includes Lave, David T. Finn, business agent of Dayton Local 957; Leonard Newmaker, president of the Columbus Local 413; Sam Butcher, business agent of Cincinnati Local 100, and Thomas Oakes, business agent of Canton Local 92, and president of the Canton Federation of Labor.

In general this development follows along the lines of the Over-the-Road contracts which were negotiated in the nine-state area during the past year under the direction of a special Teamsters' committee set up in that section of the country with official sanction of the International Union.

### On Labor Spies

Unionists throughout the country should pay the closest attention to the latest public findings of the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee which were released on June 11. They concern spies in labor organizations.

A prominent member of Goodrich Local, United Rubber Workers of America, was accused in the report of being an agent of the Corporation's Auxiliary Company of Cleveland.

## On Leadership-What A Rank and Filer Thinks

By BEN LIEBERMAN

Our Transition Program implies a drastic change in our habits of work and organization. Its adoption signified that it is no longer sufficient for us to reach the few thousands we usually do. We have to reach hundreds of thousands. There are some comrades who doubt that we can do this, whatever our efforts, given the present period of world reaction. Such pessimism is dangerous to us. For to use the defeats of international labor as an excuse for reconciling ourselves to a lack of growth is to doom ourselves to extinction in advance. The time is short—what with the startling rise of fascist tendencies in the U. S., and the impending war.

May Day, New York City held an outdoor demonstration at which Comrade Shachtman made a brilliant speech. One could see people in the audience, who had never heard of us before, nodding their heads in agreement with the speaker. Yet all Shachtman was doing was talking the Transition Program—and it all sounded so simple. For the first time I realized that in these Transition Demands, we really had the elements of about as popular a program as one could wish for. Then as an afterthought, it struck me that this was the first time in the year or so of its existence, that I had ever heard a prominent party spokesman deliver a speech centering around this Transition Program.

### The Key Question

And in this lies the nub of the party organizational problem. After having adopted a policy calculated to jerk us out of our isolation, we have thus far neglected, except for occasional stabs at it, to adopt the attitudes and organizational steps that such a policy necessitates. The fault lies with all of us and no section of the party is blameless, whether amongst the ranks or in the leadership. But certainly one of the first places to correct the fault is in the leadership; for the ranks will succeed in making the turn towards mass agitation only when the leadership itself makes that turn and not before. Let no one misunderstand. I think that by and large we have a pretty good group of individuals leading the party. We have in our top cadre some of the best political brains, orators, agitators and writers any group was ever blessed with. The trouble is that, as this cadre conceives its duties, its sole business is to formulate policy and run party institutions. I do not wish to minimize these important functions; but such a narrow conception of leadership hardly suffices for our present needs.

What our party needs most now is a popular leadership. Our leaders have to consider, as part of their job, to do for us what Debs did for the old S.P., what Coughlin does for his movement, what Roosevelt did for the New Deal. Even Norman Thomas understands this particular function of leadership. Our leaders must popularize our program and popularize ourselves. The two things go together, for without a popular leadership we can never hope to popularize our program. Mr. Average Citizen of the U.S.A. is no theoretician. He never considers any program apart from the promise of a better life.

He is John Grisby and has denied being a spy. Conclusive evidence was introduced, however, that Percy Booth, former corresponding secretary of the Akron Central Labor Union, an officer in the Machinists Union, and later very active in Goodyear Local, U.R.W.A., was on the payroll of the spy agency. Booth is reported being in California now. William O'Neil, former president, business agent and one-time secretary of the A.F. of L. Retail Clerks Union was also named. He skipped town two years ago with a large sum of union funds and went to Pennsylvania.

H. D. Hanna, prominent in the Diamond Match Local Union and in the Barberton Central Labor Union was declared to be a paid spy. He is reported to be in Michigan now. In listing the spies active in the Akron area, the La Follette report says they are based on a confession of the chief director of the Corporation's Auxiliary, and the names are taken from the 1935 payroll of the company.

sky conceived his duty otherwise. Wherever the front was weakest there you would find him, inspiring the ranks to tremendous efforts, showing by example and self-sacrifice—a living example of what a revolutionary leader, who is serious about his business, has to be.

That an orientation on the part of our top cadre towards popular leadership, mass agitation methods and organization mindedness is fraught with difficulties, is obvious. Not all of them are capable of being mass agitators, some are poor administrators, most of them are already pretty busy men. But these difficulties are always put forward as excuses for not even tackling the problem, and that is wrong. The first thing is for our leaders to seriously consider the problem, and to adopt such an orientation for themselves as crucial for the party. That the membership will respond is certain. The fact is that whenever our leaders have stepped out in this direction response was enthusiastic—witness the Madison Square demonstration and its effect all over the country, and the twice-weekly Appeal campaign.

### Progressive Action



Progressive Painters demonstrating outside the offices of the New York District Council of the Painters Union Wednesday evening, June 7, in protest against Weinstock's plan to hold the coming elections in the St. Nicholas "concentration camp" in Harlem. The progressives want the elections, which are scheduled for June 24, to be held in the center of the city.

## Who Is Father Coughlin, What Is His Program?

(Continued from Page 1)

Mussolini's fascist state. "A corporate state in which parties would be abolished and the President would be chosen by a House of Representatives elected by occupational classes was proposed Sunday by Father Charles E. Coughlin." (United Press dispatch in the New York World Telegram March 14, 1938.)

But he has been more frank even than this. In a signed article in the February 13, 1939, issue of *Social Justice* (page 7) he declared:

"I am beginning to understand why I have been dubbed a 'Nazi' or a 'fascist' by the Jewish publications in America; for practically all the sixteen principles of social justice are being put into practice in Italy and Germany." Like all true fascists he is bitterly opposed to the great majority taking power and favors the rule of a small minority—the capitalists. In an editorial in *Social Justice* (February 20, 1939) he stated:

"The principle of mere 'majority-ism'—sometimes called democracy and sometimes Bolshevism—is not enough. The popular fallacy is that '50 million Frenchmen can't be wrong.' As a matter of experience and historic fact, 50 men are much more likely to be right than 50 million."

In this case Coughlin can add TEN to his fifty men and make it the SIXTY FAMILIES.

During the 1936 election campaign, Coughlin clarified his position still further in an unguarded moment. In an interview at which Dale Kramer, former national secretary of the National Farm Holiday Association, was present, Coughlin stated that "Democracy is doomed" and "I take the road to fascism." (Coughlin, Lemke and the Union Party, by Dale Kramer.)

(To be continued in next issue)

Do you want to see this series of articles on Coughlin published in a popular pamphlet, at a low price, for mass distribution? Pioneer Publishers is undertaking to get out a large edition immediately—if it receives contributions from all friends and comrades to make it possible. Readers are urged to send contributions for the Coughlin pamphlet to Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York City.

## Party Must Overcome Organizational Defects

RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY THE CALIFORNIA STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, S.W.P.

"The progress and revolutionary maturing of our party in the last few years can best be gauged by the adoption of the Transitional Program as the point of departure for the solution of the problems of the American revolution. Of equal importance is our active participation in the formation of the 4th International, our pan-American work, our aid to foreign sections, the steady anti-war agitation, the marked improvement in the agitatorial character of the *Socialist Appeal*, the tremendous achievement of a twice weekly and the anti-fascist demonstrations. All this testifies to the fundamental ability of the political leadership of our party and to the revolutionary internationalism and devotion of the membership.

2. In adopting the conception of the Transitional Program, in posing sharply before ourselves the tremendous task of the revolutionary party in this country, it was to be expected that every weakness, every habit of routine inertia inherited from the past isolated existence would stand out in bold relief. Precisely at this time, when the party has launched itself on the road of direct struggle for influence over the majority of the working class do we feel the insupportable weight of every weakness in the party structure and activity. A party that has the courage to pose great tasks for itself must also have the courage to ruthlessly overcome all habitual, organizational weaknesses that stand in the way of carrying out these tasks.

3. To overcome this contradiction between the enormous political responsibility of our party and its lack of Bolshevik training, the tendency to confine ourselves to routine agitation and our lack of energy, alertness and self-sacrifice in the day to day activity, is the central organizational task of the party in the coming period. With our correct program and the organization geared to the swiftly moving events, we will then have the instrument to overcome the great contradiction of the political backwardness of the American working class and the maturity of the objective factors for a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

4. Some comrades recoil before the immensity of this problem and choose the road of desertion. This road can lead nowhere. It is the "solution" of prostration and fear before difficulties.

5. For serious revolutionists, the party's weaknesses in structure, leading personnel and activity in the past year must be critically examined in the light of a united conception of the party's task. In comradesly and loyal collaboration the entire party from top to bottom must systematically and energetically root out every one of these weaknesses. However, utilization of the criticism of our national leadership in order to create bitter and hostile relations between our local organization and the Political Committee is an activity incompatible with Bolshevik inner party practice. It is with this understanding and in this spirit that we list those features of the party's work which merit serious criticism.

6. It has been recognized over and over again that the main task of the party is the penetration of the trade unions. This understanding was summed up in the slogan "90% of our activity in the trade unions." The simple fact that every point in the party's program from the struggle against war to the struggle for a Labor Party is dependent upon the degree of party entrenchment and influence in the trade unions, should indicate that in this sector the maximum of national leadership and direction as well as organizational efficiency should exist. It is not the aim of this resolution to examine the party's policy in different trade union situations or on the whole. What is pertinent to the problem we are dealing with is the absence of a functioning Industrial Department during the past period. To our knowledge such a Department does not exist to this very day. As a result of inadequate financing the Labor Secretary has functioned sporadically. Correspondence on vital questions of national trade union work was conducted very poorly and at times not at all. The formation of national fractions proceeded painfully and without direction from the Political Committee. During the crisis in the auto union, the party experienced an internal crisis that was characterized by the absence of any firm di-



### THE BRANCHES AT WORK:

"During the coming week we are making a special drive for more subs and hope to send in several." — R. D., literature agent of the Toronto Fourth Internationalists.

"Our comrades are following up former subscribers for the purpose of getting renewals and at the same time are trying for new subs. L. Schlosberg is still Boston's Ace sub-getter. He won the sub-drive Prize and now leads with four subs.

"Street sales of the *Appeal* are going o.k. Four times each week, Saturday night mobilizations in the streets, street meetings, etc. Our branch passed a motion that every member give one night to selling *Appeals* on the streets. This has worked very well. Those comrades exempt for one reason or another must sell 3 *Appeals* each issue." J. T., Boston *Appeal* agent.

### RENEWAL CAMPAIGN EXTENDED:

Since many branches have

stated they need more time to finish up on their renewal campaigns we are extending it until July 1.

So far the results have not been up to our expectations. A total of 50 renewals has been obtained in about 3 weeks time. The branches can do lots better and have 2 more weeks in which to prove it.

### STATEMENTS IN MAIL:

This week each branch and *Appeal* agent will receive the regular statement itemizing his *Appeal* bill.

We are depending upon a prompt payment in all cases. Our financial difficulties are not over by a long shot and we expect a steady response from the branches. Liquidate all back debts by the Convention!

NOTICE: Please make all checks, money orders, etc., payable to the *SOCIALIST APPEAL*. Do not make them out to the manager or editor of the paper. Please observe this request.

## N. Y. PARTY AT WORK

Throughout the last weeks, the party in New York has been conducting a widespread agitation against the growing menace of Father Coughlin and his fascist movement.

Sales of the *Socialist Appeal* have increased appreciably over the previous period and we can state definitely that our Socialist message is reaching hundreds more workers in New York than at any previous period.

The Bronx branch has been conducting a variegated series of activities, including numerous indoor and outdoor meetings, mass sales of the *Socialist Appeal* and distribution of thousands of anti-fascist handbills. Last week they invaded the Fordham area with their Socialist message, thus carrying the anti-fascist fight right into Africa.

Results thus far: The Bronx branch is beginning to root itself in the Bronx community, the sales of the *Socialist Appeal* have been greatly increased, several new members have been recruited into the party within the last two weeks.

The Boro Park branch has had several tussles with the local Chamber of Commerce in which the latter has come off second best.

The other branches are swinging into line, holding large open air meetings, establishing from the Center and complete failure to keep all sections of the party workers in auto informed on changes in party policy.

We propose: (a) That one of the first tasks of the incoming National Committee be the formation of a National Industrial Department.

(b) The Department should be headed by an Executive Secretary who shall be a member of the Political Committee, and a Field Secretary. The Executive Secretary shall maintain constant contact with all trade union fractions, correspond on the current problems and convey the line of the P.C. to the localities. The Field Secretary shall be sent to all vital points in the trade union situation either to establish connections for the Party or aid the party fractions in the situation.

(c) The Industrial Department shall issue a regular Bulletin containing information on party activity in different unions, analysis and estimation of the general trade union situations, exchange of experiences in trade union work. Directives on campaigns the party is carrying on within the unions, etc.

(d) The immediate formation of national fractions with a fraction secretary in every union feasible.

(e) Adequate financial provisions must be made from the very first for the efficient functioning of the Department and its personnel. This work must be carried on well even if we must sacrifice other important projects. It must not be thought that we do not recognize splendid trade union work that has been done during the past period under the guidance of the national leadership. Many examples can be given. However, the crying lack was and remains the absence of national co-ordination and direction.

lishing themselves in their local neighborhoods, gradually gaining recognition as THE Socialist movement of New York City.

Meanwhile mass sales of the *Socialist Appeal* are going full steam ahead in the Times Square and other main thoroughfares of the city.

Let the old ladies of both sexes, let the cowards and the chicken-hearted snivel and weep; our anti-Coughlin campaign has demonstrated to us that we are on the right track, that the workers of New York are by no means licked and by no means reconciled to the rise of fascism in America.

With the anti-Coughlin campaign, which we will continue and extend, our party in New York has hit its true stride!

## WAA ENDS BUSY LOBBYING WEEK

(Continued from Page 1)

government employees (W.P.A. workers) had no right to strike against the government.

In full agreement with Mrs. Roosevelt that W.P.A. workers ought silently to accept the New Deal-engineered dismissals, the Workers Alliance "Congress" spent most of the sessions palavering "to keep the New Deal in the White House after the 1940 elections."

### Businessmen's Slogan

The keynote of the convention, hoarsely sounded by Davison Lasser, was "to promote business recovery." It sounded like a businessmen's gathering. The promotion of a fighting program for more adequate relief and better housing went wholly unmentioned. The sole effort made by the W.A.A. convention to secure more adequate relief was confined to a one-week lobbying campaign, during which all available Congressmen were asked to be indulgent enough to vote favorably on the Casey-Murray Bill.

In the matter of more adequate relief, the Casey-Murray Bill provides for less W.P.A. jobs than existed prior to the last general election. The Casey-Murray Bill provides for the maintenance of an average of three million W.P.A. jobs, which is 350,000 jobs less than existed in November, 1938.

Conscious betrayers of the hungry masses whom they misled, the Stalinist organizers of the "Right To Work Congress" had simply brought 1200 delegates here to baffle them into thinking that something had been done by coming here. But the business of sitting and listening to windy speeches, walking around Washington and sitting in Congressmen's offices, was a deliberately-planned substitute for the necessary street demonstrations in the cities and towns back home. The "Congress" was simply a run-around, and worse than useless.

**Boston, Mass.**  
Benefit Supper for the Socialist Appeal  
FRIDAY, JUNE 16, 6:30 p.m.  
Byron Hall, 6 Byron St.  
Admission, 49 cents