

Bureaucrats Rule C.P. Convention

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instinctively loyal but bewildered rank and file, who the continual shifting of leaderships and chaotic "new turns" has plunged into apathy.

The dues paying membership has sunk to a "new low"—6,617 in January 1930. The Party influence in the old unions has been annihilated. The new unions under this suicidal leadership and zig-zag course have been reduced to mere shadows of their former selves. The National Textile Workers Union has been reduced to a membership of 2,000. The Amalgamated Food Workers has been split with a small minority of 500 workers pulled out by the Stalinists to form a dual union. The National Miners Union has shrunk to a few hundred members while the Daily Worker carries screaming columns of bluff about its "strikes against Unemployment." The Needle Trades Industrial Union is down to a few thousand members. A call has been issued by the Stalinists which will split off the few badly organized Left wingers from the main body of the workers in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

While the capitalist class is intensifying its drive on the Communists as the spearhead of the militant working class, the present Browder-Ellacht sub-agency of the Stalin regime has utterly failed to organize a mass movement against the Gastonia sentences, against the victimization of the leaders of the New York Unemployed demonstration and elsewhere.

The demonstration on March 6th showed the potential opportunity for developing a great unemployed movement around concrete demands—but the incompetent Centrist leadership could not have ruined these opportunities more successfully if they had deliberately set out to do so. After the March 6th demonstration—April, May, June have passed without any organization, without any planned attempt to give form to the movement, without any popularization of a concrete program. The truth can hardly be covered up that there is no organization of the workers, no linking up with the employed—no councils except those being hastily improvised for the Chicago Convention. And the Chicago Convention looms up as another glorified mass meeting to give the Daily Worker its material for columns of yellow sensationalism.

But the American Party situation is no exception to the situation in the rest of the Comintern. As we have demonstrated repeatedly the roots of the Party crisis are international. We will continue energetically to prepare fresh cadres in the Party who will take up the struggle of the Left Opposition for the revolutionary principles of Marx and Lenin

THE NEW UNIONS AND THE UNITED FRONT

In the work of forming new unions of the unorganized workers, no less than its work in the A. F. of L., the Party must revive and apply the united front tactic. Maintaining always its independence and freedom of criticism, the Party must form alliance with groups and organizations willing to co-operate with us on a minimum class struggle program and win the non-Party militants over to the course of joint struggle. An approach to revolutionary syndicalist workers in the spirit of Lenin is especially necessary.

The Party must strive to establish its decisive influence and leadership in these united front struggles by its initiative, superior tactics and conscientious persevering work. These methods must replace the growing tendency towards exclusiveness and mechanical, monopolistic Party control which only result in the narrowing down of the base of the new movements and organizations, in their degeneration into impotent cliques, in their isolation and defeat. Under the present conditions and relation of forces, the Party cannot put forth the demand for arbitrary and mechanical control without endangering the developing movements and blocking its own approach to the awakening non-Party masses. The leadership of the Communists, which is alone able to steer the new movements on a correct course, must be won in struggle.

— FROM THE PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION ADOPTED (CHICAGO) MAY 20 1929

In Germany Fascist Gains in Saxony

The results of the Saxony elections make ominous reading to the German and international working class.

It is generally known that the result of the Thuringian elections some time ago gave the Fascists ("national socialists") the direct and legal control of the police power. They became the governing party and have launched on the open suppression of the workers' press and organizations. The tabulation of the returns from the election to the Saxon diet (it used to be the Saxony!) now shows that the Fascists ("National Socialists") have tripled their strength and advanced from the position of seventh among thirteen parties to the second strongest party in the state. They polled 376,724 votes and acquired 14 seats as against five in the old legislature. The social democrats, it is reported, held their own, and the Communists won two seats. The socialists now have thirty-two, the fascists fourteen and the Communists thirteen seats.

These terrible results for the working class in a province that once had the strongest proletarian movement in Germany are the consequences of social democratic betrayal, developing deep disappointment among the masses. But instead of the revolutionary Communists being the gainers, it is chiefly the fascists. The Communist Party is hamstrung by its adventurist leadership, its false centrist theories, its third period policies. The Stalin regime, with its Molotovs and Manuilskys is, continually pounding the tom-tom of radical-

ization. The German situation really is the most fertile soil for the radicalization of the workers. The German capitalists have publicly announced their intentions for a universal wage cut, the Young Plan has been set into operation, the economic crisis will be sharpened by the situation in the United States.

But the disastrous course of the Stalinists must be held jointly accountable with social democratic betrayal for this failure to give leadership to the revolution and to bring the processes of mass radicalization to the surface in the form of political and industrial action.

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On Friday June 20th some 400 workers employed by the Long Island Railroad were discharged. These fresh recruits to the army of the unemployed were mainly engaged in the maintenance of way department and the passenger and freight services. In addition 100 temporary employees taken on three months ago were dismissed. The corporation did not of course consult the workers before firing them out on the slave market.

The learned professor Carver of Harvard should try consoling these workers by proving that now they will live off the stocks, shares and dividends they own as capitalists. Suppose they start a business for themselves?

Switchmen's Union Convention

The Switchmen's Union of America concluded on June 18th a ten day convention at Buffalo, N. Y. Two hundred and forty-one delegates attended. During this long period the convention failed to deal adequately with the major and immediate needs confronting the Union. The greater part of the delegates was made up of those having seniority rights. Thus they failed to comprehend directly the acute issue of unemployment taking its toll among the railroad workers in the United States and Canada by the tens of thousands through layoffs, speed-up and rationalization.

The convention as a whole carried through a reactionary program, only relieved here and there by an occasionally progressive act of resistance to the reactionary proposals of the organization officialdom.

After Secretary of Labor Davis of the Hoover Administration had recited his piece of cant, the officers reports began. These reports were hopelessly inadequate and did not deal in any sense with the Switchmen's and railroaders' needs generally. They consisted of details on this and that point, but contained no proper review of the organization's gains and losses. As perspective for the union, the question of the unorganized, the unemployed, etc. The officers' reports had, as one rank and file delegate expressed it, no more information than a time-table. Of course, the officers showed why they needed an increase in salaries.

Nevertheless, a rank and file delegate took the floor and wanted to know where the union was heading? What were the aims of the organization? How were they going to meet the attacks of the railroad barons, the smashing of the unions, etc. A three hour discussion followed, in which sharp criticism was made of the poor and flabby reports of the officials. But nothing happened as a result and the convention returned to its routine work.

Red-Baiter Resolution Defeated

Later the Resolutions Committee brought in a resolution calling for the expulsion from the Union of all Communists, Amalgamationists, revolutionists, Reds, etc. In line with the ideas and practices of the Greens, Wolls and Cashens. This resolution aiming to eliminate all opposition and all remaining militants from the Union, was attacked by a delegate from the floor. He pointed out that the passage of this resolution meant playing the game of the bosses and of the bureaucratic officials, and was the way to break, not build, the union. He described the role of the "Reds", etc. as that type of union militancy which made

fighting organizations of the workers against the employers. His speech aroused the delegates and the resolution was overwhelmingly defeated.

To everyone's surprise the reactionary officials tried to introduce the same resolution again in different clothing. But other delegates arose and denounced the resolution and it was once more defeated.

The program adopted was a lifeless, hopeless one, so far as the needs of the rank and file is concerned, with the bare exceptions irrefuted.

The Convention adopted a resolution addressed to the railroad workers of all crafts and industries to cooperate in a movement to establish the six hour day and five day week.

Resolution for Railroad Councils

The most important action of the Convention, if properly understood and measures are taken to carry it through, was a resolution for the establishment of Railroad Councils of all railroad workers in all railway centres. This is similar in plan and scope to the Railroad Council initiated in April by a delegated body of railroad men in Minneapolis and St. Paul. This Twin City Council, among other things, also called for a national campaign among railroad workers for the six hour day and five day week. The Railway Councils have potentialities for rank and file control by the railroad workers and for the rebuilding of the railroad organizations on a militant basis.

Railroad workers everywhere should strive for the establishment of Railway Councils similar to that begun by the Twin City Railroad men.

Another resolution adopted by the Switchmen's Convention provided for the attempt to set up machinery to consolidate the insurance features of the various Railroad Unions into one; and also to investigate ways and means to wipe out jurisdictional disputes. What the officialdom has in mind are those jurisdictional disputes which hinder their bureaucratic hold in their field. The rank and file have to agitate for actually removing causes for jurisdictional disputes through the amalgamation of the railroad unions, as a first step toward the reorganization of the railroad workers on an industrial union basis.

The officials not satisfied with their present huge salaries, even while unemployment is heavy, sought a further increase in salaries. To the bitter disappointment of the officers the Convention voted this down.

—RANK AND FILE DELEGATE

GENERAL STRIKE IN SPAIN

Ever since the fall of the Spanish dictator Rivera, the atmosphere in Spain has been charged. The general strike declared in Seville against police brutality towards strikers in a wage dispute in an olive factory, indicates how great the tension is. Police and guards brutally fired, killing and wounding men, women and children indiscriminately. One hundred and fifty people were injured as the police attacked with sabres and rifles.

Fourteen strike and trade union leaders and fifty "agitators" are under arrest. Workers are assembling in throngs in various parts of Seville. The city is virtually under martial law.

Alfonso's henchman General Berenguer issued the usual official "Order, has been restored in Warsaw" statement. "It appears that the trouble is past" he declared after a cabinet meeting.

The General is mistaken. The Seville strike is symptomatic of the development of a mass movement that will compel Alfonso and his corrupt regime to think seriously of suitable European refuges for aristocratic emigres.

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BUFFALO, N. Y., June 14th—There are 23,499 unemployed men and women in this city according to a preliminary report by the Federal Census Bureau.

This does not include those who are ill, suffering from injuries or temporarily unemployed, but only those "usually working at gainful occupations"

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