

The New Course in Economy of Soviet Union

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The Restoration of the Right-Center Bloc

For how many months will the present leadership whip up the Party on the road of ultra-Leftism? We think not for very long. The more frenzied the character of the present course, the sooner and more acutely its contradictions will come out. Then to the former 180 degrees, the leadership will add another curve, coming near to its starting point from another end. So it has been, so it will be again.

The tempo of industrialization must guarantee not the building of national socialism, but the reinforcement of the basis under the proletarian dictatorship, as well as the improvement of the conditions of the working masses of city and country. This is an entirely realistic task. It demands a combination of courage and prudence. It excludes both over-caution and wild recklessness.

It would be absurd to pretend that the Opposition has ready a priori a plan for a painless way out of the new dangers created by a combination of adventurism and opportunism. Having the best directions for following the road with a line of motor-cars will not help, if the head of the line has already succeeded in getting off the road into the mud. Then a whole system of measures ad hoc is necessary to bring the column back on the right road. We can assert that even the best driver staying at the wheel, would not be able to solve the problem. The collective effort of the Party and the class are necessary, with help from below, which presupposes the right and the possibility of collective, creative initiative.

At present, this measure seems most immediate and imperious: the strictest financial discipline. It is absolutely necessary to tighten as strong as possible the strings of the state's purse, along both the budget and the credit lines. There is no doubt that this measure will prove painful from the start, as it will inevitably stop half-way a whole list of undertakings and enterprises. But this measure is unavoidable. Financial discipline must become the first step of a general economic discipline.

What To Do?

The problems briefly outlined in the present article will constitute the object of an extensive work which we hope to bring out in a few weeks. Therefore our treatment of the subject here is in the nature of a synopsis. In the same way we briefly answer the question: what to do?

The industry is racing towards a crisis, first of all on account of the monstrously bureaucratic methods used in the construction of the Plan. A Five Year plan can be constructed with the necessary proportions and guarantees only on condition of a free discussion of its tempos and terms; only with the participation in these discussions by all interested industries and by the working class; with all its organizations and first of all of the Party itself; only with an evaluation of the whole experiment of the Soviet economy of the last period, including the monstrous faults of the leadership.

The most important element of the Plan is not a question of what it is that the peasants want and are able to consume immediately, but what it is that they can save and accumulate. The question of the tempo of industrialization is not a matter of bureaucratic imagination, but one of the life and culture of the masses.

Therefore the Plan for building socialism can not be issued as a priori bureaucratic order. It must be worked out and corrected in the same way in which the construction of socialism itself can only be realized, i. e., through the broad Soviet democracy. The decision, for instance, of what place should be given to the chemical industry in the plan for the near future, can be established only through an open discussion between different econ-

omical groups and branches of industry interested in chemical products. The Soviet democracy is not an abstract political demand and still less a moral one. It has become an economic necessity.

Save the Party and the Proletarian Dictatorship

The first condition for the success of socialism is, for us to conserve, or what is more correct, to save the Party. Without this basic historical instrument the proletariat is powerless. In the meantime the Stalinist bureaucracy is killing the Party. To the wholesale collectivization in the country, it adds the wholesale admittance to the Party of whole plants and guilds. The vanguard is disappearing in the mass. The thought and the will of the Party is crushed underfoot. The bureaucracy has its hands completely free. The leadership is blind and uncontrollable. The Party will not be able to create a far-seeing leadership until it becomes the Party again. What must be done, then? Take from the usurpers' apparatus the power which has been usurped from the Party. Who can do that? The proletarian nucleus of the Party, relying on the working class.

The second condition is to conserve, or, what is more true, to restore the proletarian dictatorship. This is possible only in case the proletariat shows from year to year an improvement of its economic and cultural level, and the growth of its importance in the state and country, and if simultaneously the scissors of agricultural and industrial prices draw together, offering the peasants real advantages from the October revolution.

If the road to these swollen and insurmountable undertakings is not immediately barred, if the tempo is not brought back to reality, the overinflation might easily enlarge them in the future to a perilous size, with consequences from which not only the false reputation of the ignorant leadership will suffer, the reputation which is founded on moral inflation, but also the values of immeasurably greater importance—the October revolution.

Restore the Comintern

Again and again we decidedly refused the task of building "in quick time" a national socialist society. Collectivization as well as industrialization we bind by an unbreakable tie with the problems of world revolution. The problems of our economy are decided in the last account in the international arena. It is necessary to restore the Comintern. It is necessary to go over the revolutionary strategy of the post-Leninist period and to condemn all three of its stages: Zinoviev's, Bucharin-Stalin's and Stalin-Molotov's stage. It is necessary to remove the present leadership, because it is precisely in the realm of international questions where the Stalinist faction reaches such limits of theoretical cynicism and practical licenses (laissez-faire) which are threatening the proletarian vanguard with numberless disasters. To refute the theory of national socialism and the practice of bureaucratic adventures, is the elementary premise for the renaissance of the Communist International.

Φ

NEW YORK OPEN FORUM

Albert Glotzer, member of the National Committee of the Communist League (Opposition) will speak at the Open Forum of the New York Branch of the League on Saturday, March 15th, 1930 at 8 p. m. His subject will be: "WHAT IS THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION?" Admission is free and all interested workers are invited to attend.

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ALLENTOWN, Pa.—Four hundred workers of the Arcadia rayon mills of Allentown are out on strike under Natl. Textile Workers Union leadership, in protest against doubling up knitters' work from eight to sixteen machines.

CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION CHARTS LABOR DANGER ZONES

NEW YORK—(FP)—Black spots on the union organizers map as drawn by the American Civil Liberties Union include North Carolina textile towns, Pennsylvania coal and steel towns, Ohio mining towns and Southern California. North Carolina is worst of all, with seven killed, 24 wounded, seven kidnapped and seven condemned to prison in 1929, according to the Union's survey of civil liberties—or the lack of them—last year.

Strikers, Communists and Negroes suffered the most frequent violations of civil rights; Socialists and I. W. W.'s escaped prosecutions and injunctions, asserts the liberties report. Three Communists, sent to prison in Pennsylvania under the criminal syndicalism act, were the first political prisoners committed in the entire country since 1924.

Boston, Philadelphia and New York are listed as the cities in which police most frequently interfere with public meetings. Boston remains the hub of censorship, Pennsylvania leads in the number of attacks on free speech press and assemblage while New York City police broke up 43 of the 52 meetings interfered with in 1929.

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HOSIERY SCABS KILL STRIKER, WOUND TWO

PHILADELPHIA—(FP)—Carl Mackley, 22, was killed and William Zimmerman and John Cooper wounded when a carload of Aberle hosiery mill strikebreakers fired a volley into a union auto which grazed theirs in traffic. The three men shot are union knitters, members of the Hosiery Workers Union. They carried no weapons.

Four scabs arrested with smoking automatics admitted firing into the union car and regret missing the fourth occupant who escaped unhurt. They are held without bail. Eight unionists were held as material witnesses and released under \$1,000 bail each.

Although no scab in the Aberle mill has been shot or seriously injured in the hosiery workers' strike, they have threatened gunplay from the start. An Aberle official drew a gun on a striker 15 minutes after the tragedy.

Labor in Philadelphia lays the responsibility for the murder on Judge Jay Gordon who ruled in the court of common pleas two weeks ago that scabs may carry guns if they feel that their lives are endangered.

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OPEN SHOP PAPER APPROVES A.F. OF L.

NEW YORK—The American Federation of Labor's policy of cooperating with employers is bearing fruit in unexpected quarters. The Iron Age, trade paper of the open shop steel industry, in the course of a diatribe against progressivism in general, comments: "The American Federation of Labor will agree that there is no contest between toilers and capitalists."

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ELLA MAY LYNCHING O.K.'D

CHARLOTTE, N. C.—(FP)—North Carolina's unwritten law that union agitators go to the penitentiary while lynchings of unionists go home has been upheld once more in the freeing of five of the members of the Loray mill mob who were in the murder of Ella May Wiggins, the Bessemer City union woman shot to death Sept. 14 while on the way to a Nat'l. Textile Workers Union meeting in Gastonia.

Well-drilled witnesses marshalled by the Loray defense counsel testified monotonously to fake alibis; those at the scene of the murder where the union truck was surrounded by a score or more of autos filled with mobsters recited stories of "happening" to be passing by and stopping to see an auto accident.

The jury ignored evidence from a score of occupants of the union truck that they were surrounded by a mob which opened fire on the open highway. A shot from Horace Wheelus' gun found its way to Ella May's heart; they testified, while other workers were fleeing across the open fields, followed by a rain of bullets.

The prosecution was crippled from the start by the unwillingness of Solicitor John C. Carpenter of Gaston county to prosecute his friends, the Loray mill boss-men. A corps of Loray attorneys conducted the defense.

North Carolina's record of "justice" in labor disputes shows seven organizers condemned to prison for terms of 5 to 20 years for defending the Loray mill strikers' tent colony from an unwarranted attack by drunken police, during which Police Chief Aderholt was killed. Mobs composed of Gastonia business men carried on a reign of terror, which resulted in a few indictments for kidnapping and flogging, but no convictions. On the other hand many strikers were framed on various counts and sentenced to jail.

The verdict in the Wiggins case practically sets the state's seal of approval on murder and other violence against union organizers.

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