

The Soviet Union In Danger

(Continued from Page 1)

moujik fell into the same relation to commodities as a lottery ticket stands in relation to the prize. The new form of the link, which is so important in the perspectives of transforming the village, namely the productive link, which is realized by tractors and farming machinery, lost at once all its force of attraction in the eyes of the peasant, insofar as its actual fruits remain unrealized by him. Fifteen million peasant farms have been collectivized, and ten million private enterprises have been conscientiously placed under such conditions as not to permit the exposure of the superiority of barbaric small-scale economy over the purely bureaucratic collectivization. Thus by means of combined resources the bureaucracy succeeded in weakening if not in killing all stimulus for work within the peasantry. The harvest of crops, even previously extremely low, began to drop ominously. From quarter to quarter the supply of industry with raw materials and of cities with food-stuffs worsens catastrophically. The onerous conditions under which the workers live generate the turnover of labor within enterprises as well as lapses, careless work, damaging of machinery, high percentage of damaged products, and low quality in grade of production. The entire planned economy falls under the blow.

MONEY INFLATION

The bureaucracy has rid itself not only of political control on the part of the masses but also of the automatic control on the part of the chervonets. All the draft figures pertaining to the economic budget, to the quality of production, to basic costs and the productivity of labor—all these have been swirled away like so much dust when the inflation completely liquidated the stable unit of value. Bureaucratic supervision tried its hand in this case as well to supplant economic reality; the gospel of "Stalin's six conditions" was designated from then on to fulfill the function of a stable system of currency. This amounts to the same thing as feeding excerpts from a cook-book in place of proper food.

Money inflation means an ever increasing tax upon the living standards of the masses. By killing the interest of the worker in piece-work wages, by fostering the indignation of the peasant against fixed prices for rural products, inflation sets a frenzied premium upon speculation and the speculator.

He lies who affirms that under socialist construction there would be nothing to fear from inflation. On the contrary, during the first steps of planned economy—and this covers a series of five year plans—inflation becomes especially dangerous, not to say ruinous. That is precisely how a plan checks itself by being compelled to make both ends meet without inflation. To proclaim that the very existence of a plan nullifies the danger of inflation is approximately the same thing as to insist that the presence of a compass on the ship eliminates the danger of an existing leak. Money inflation becomes the source of credit inflation. The gaps which in the plan are stuffed with printed paper. Real criteria give way to fictitious criteria. Planned economy is ravaged from within. For the employees of the Planning Commission there should be hung signs within all offices where the contradictory specifications of the Political Bureau are translated into statistics, each sign with the warning: "Inflation is the syphilis of Planned Economy".

WHO WILL PREVAIL?

The costliness of premature rudimentary bureaucratic collective farms alongside of dislocation of the ties between rural economy and industry, leads to the paralysis of the peasants' will to economic activity. In order to partially return to the moujik the economic stimulus he has lost, the Stalinist leadership has legalized within well-known limits, free markets, screening them under the jargonical name of kolkhoz trade. The exclusion of traders—middlemen—under the legalization of private trade, signifies a monstrous crazy-quilt of prices in a speculation which is atomized and therefore more insane. The prices on the markets at once rose ten, fifteen and twenty times over the fixed government prices.

Naturally enough, the collectivized farmer sent bread and other products into those channels outside of the state. "This constitutes the negative side of kolkhoz trade," asserts Stalin, without, however, drawing any further conclusions. "Negative sides!" But this very fact—the fact that the collectivized moujik prefers the channels of private trade and speculation to the planned trade with the state—means nothing else but that the

economic link between the state and the peasantry has still not even been attained.

Free trade, by raising to the most excessive heights the column of mercury that gauges prices, has brought out into the open the malignant condition of the economic organism. The struggle against this disease demanded a radical re-examination of economic plans and a no less radical revision of the methods of management. Frightened by the facts recorded by the rise of the mercury, the bureaucracy, however, decided to direct its activities towards the thermometer itself. Molotov proclaimed the impending "regulation" of market prices. According to the signs, the economic centers have already taken to this course. As if it is possible to reduce the temperature of a sick organism by lowering the zero point on the scale of the thermometer! The economy must be cured. One must begin with an open acknowledgment that the question *Who Will Prevail?*, despite the official boasting, remains not only still unsolved even in the rough, but that the very conditions for its solution have excessively worsened as a result of the incessant and uncoordinated bureaucratic coercion of the living tissue of economy.

The piling up of fixed prices, those set conventionally and the prices in the free market; the transition from planned collection of raw material stocks, that is, the semblance of trade between the government and the peasantry, to grain, meat, and milk taxes; the struggle not for survival but against death itself, against the mass pillage of kolkhoz property, and against the mass concealment of pillage; the out and out military mobilization of the party for a struggle against kulak sabotage, after the "liquidation" of the kulak as a class; and simultaneously with all this: the undernourishment in the cities, the return to the card system and to the ration, and finally, the restoration of the passport system—what do all these measures mean, independently of the fact whether they are correct or no, if not the return of that cruel struggle between the capitalist and the socialist tendencies, which in 1932 revived a number of features of 1918-1919?

The bureaucracy leans harder and harder upon the administrative lever instead of pulling asunder the framework that restricts the personal interests of the peasants in conformance with the real condition of rural economy. It has been decided "to place" Communists, who will obey the orders of the ruling center, in charge of the kolkhozi which ideally represent volunteer producing cooperatives. Simultaneously with this, the CEC testifies that the village Communists are becoming soaked with the spirit of peasant opposition and must undergo a mass purification. In the meantime, no less than one and a half million of kolkhoz Communists are required in order to fill the commanding kolkhoz positions by party members. Where will they come from?

THE BALANCE SHEET OF THE FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN

The moment at which the first five year plan was concluded coincided with the extreme sharpening of economic difficulties which did not obtain since the period of civil war. But the bureaucracy leads a double life, one for display and the other—in reality. This duality it transfers everywhere, among others, into the sphere of economic statistics.

With a stop-watch in his hands, Stalin insists that if the plan is fulfilled only 93.7, and not 100 percent, it is only because the threat of Japanese intervention, which could not have been foreseen at the time the plan was formulated, had swallowed up 6.3 percent. In other words, the blueprints of the CEC have been confirmed to the dot by the fulfillment of a gigantic plan which constitutes the first experiment of mankind in that sphere, which encompasses from all sides the life of a nation with a 170,000,000 souls and which moreover, was drawn five full years beforehand! If nothing else, this astonishing pretension in identity between the design and the realization must arouse the acutest distrust in the entire report on the part of anyone familiar with the A. B. C. of statistics. The question is sufficient to remark that, according to the casual admission of Molotov, the productivity of industry in 1932 grew only 8.5 percent against the 36 percent which was set by the yearly plan! Where has this grandiose lapse disappeared as well as the lapses of preceding years? Stalin can produce falsified figures, consciously misleading workers and peasants. The report is necessarily drawn in rubrics. Within this supple implement of the key report there is to be found the life to the secret of the astonishing coincidence between the initial and final figures. Thus, the tremendous over-expenditures in construction are set down as over-fulfillments of the plan, when as a matter of fact, the material results of the construction, despite the billions of over-expenditure, lag behind the plan several times ten per cent.

We are least of all inclined to look upon the fulfillment of the economic plan as a hit and miss affair and would have considered the fulfillment of the five year plan within six, seven or eight years a grandiose success, under the condition that, simultaneously, the proportions were mitigated, and the standard of living of the masses was raised. But it is precisely upon these more important criteria that we have the most unfavorable evidence.

The composers of a plan proclaimed in their own time as their task, "to lift up the country to a new and hitherto unseen, high level of material and cultural development". Even during the first two years the mitigation of the famine in commodities was to have been attained; the next two years were to have initiated the superabundance of goods. In the fifth year, the consumption of industrial products, should have increased, according to various categories, one and a half, two, and two and a half times. The increase in meat consumption was specified at 25 percent, in dairy products—50 percent, etc., etc. In actuality, the shortage in commodities has become unbearably acute, the supply of bread has sharply decreased, meat and dairy products have become rarities. But in return for this, there has been created the theory that socialism is not a consumers' organization of society. The consolation bears too close a resemblance to mockery! In the midst of newly erected fac-

ories' plants, mines, electric stations, collective and Soviet farms, the workers and peasants begin to feel more and more as if they are in the midst of gigantic phantoms, indifferent to the fate of living men. An acute feeling of disillusionment has possessed the masses. The populace, as consumers, can no longer understand to what end they are straining their forces as producers.

Had Stalin openly confessed, "the results obtained did not match our expectations because we had neglected much, over-estimated a great deal, and failed to fulfill a great deal more."—then the toiling masses, of course, would not have fallen into ecstasy about the leadership; but they would have taken the confession into account; and, in all probability, would have extended the leaders an additional respite. But Stalin said the plan was marvelous, the leadership holds the heights, the design has been fulfilled to the slightest detail. In that case, what about the lamentable results? Stalin is imposing upon the masses the idea that it is not he, Stalin, who is rotten, but the very elements of the plan. The bureaucracy identifies its own blindness with socialism and, while saving the reputation of its own infallibility, villifies socialism in the eyes of the workers and especially the peasants. It seems as if the bureaucracy is consciously striving to force the masses to find a way out other than socialism.

Continued in the next issue

Since the Union Meeting, which gave it birth, the Minneapolis Railroad Council has held a number of council meetings at which new members were added from different local unions of the Brotherhoods. A letterhead program has been drafted, discussed and printed. The program contains a brief outline of the Minneapolis Railroad Council, and the aim and purpose of railroad councils in general together with nine proposals covering amalgamation, organization and other needed changes inside of the Railroad Brotherhoods. The program also proposes organized and united action for the six hour day without any reduction in pay as a counter-proposition to unemployment and wage cuts which flow automatically from the profit system and the growing productivity of labor. The Council program is being well received by railroad workers wherever it reaches them and although it is less than two months old it has already been read in a limited way from coast to coast. When the R. B. Council idea permeates the minds of the organized railroad workers we think it will become a National Movement inside of the Railroad Brotherhoods which will promote healthy and much needed changes and developments towards amalgamation and organization of transportation workers in general.

On Sunday, February 26th, the Minneapolis Railroad Council held its first Union Meeting of the 21 Railroad Brotherhoods on the following program with reference to the next wage move which is expected to shape itself shortly after June 15th, the expiration date agreed upon at the wage confab of December last. The question proposed for discussion and action was divided in two parts, as follows:

- (a) "What position shall we take, and what should be our policy and procedure?"
- (b) "Should the 21 Brotherhoods vote and act as a UNIT, or should each organization vote and act separately, and make separate settlements and agreements?"

Handbills advertising the meeting and the program were printed and circulated. Through its chairman, A. F. Whitney, the Railway Labor Executives Association was asked by letter, signed by five members from four different organizations, to furnish the meeting with its spokesman on the questions involved. Another letter, signed by three members from three of the Brotherhoods, was sent to about 20 General Chairmen located in the Twin Cities urging their attendance at the meeting to help the membership to decide on the best program and policy to pursue in the expected wage move after June 15th. No Grand Lodge Officer showed up at the meeting and their Chairman Whitney did not even reply to the letter sent him. No reply was received from any of the General Chairmen and only one of them attended the meeting. He said he was for unity and amalgamation without telling the audience what he had done to promote those things.

100 members from 38 Lodges and 12 of the railroad unions attended this Union Meeting. The composition of the meeting was determined by register. The seven shop crafts had only 8 members at the meeting on account of the fact that most of the are still in the Company Unions where they have been left practically unmolested for over ten years by B. M. Jewel and the rest of the official drones. The

Pioneer Publishing Fund

THE ONLY ROAD

In response to our appeal for funds for paper for "The Only Road" comrade B. J. Field made us a loan of \$35 for this purpose. Work on the book is moving forward again. In a week it will be on the press. It will be a hundred page pamphlet and will sell for a quarter. All comrades are asked to help us rush the book to completion by ordering it now. Enclose five cents extra for postage.

THE PUBLISHING FUND

With comrade Field's loan the total raised in loans is \$129.50. Of this \$38 has already been paid back as it came due. The balance will be paid as it comes due.

In addition about fifteen dollars were raised in donations. When you realize that with about \$150 dollars we have got out three pamphlets in 12,000 copies and are preparing two more in 7,000 copies you can readily see that a great deal of one dollar accomplishes.

Once more we appeal to all our comrades and friends to lend us a helping hand. This is invaluable work we are doing. The literature we put out are the texts by which the cadres of the revolutionary movement will be educated. The work must be speeded up and its extent increased. Help it along with donations and loans—donations first and loans second.

Remember that every penny donated and lent is used exclusively for the purpose of getting out literature. It is a separate fund and is not mortgaged by other obligations. Send all funds immediately to Pioneer Publishers, 84 East 10th St., New York City, N. Y.

Move to Unite Rail Unions In M'p'lis

Minneapolis.—On October 23rd, 1932, at a Union Meeting of the 21 Railroad Unions, the "Minneapolis Railroad Council" was organized. The aim and object of this Council, and Railroad Councils in general, is to provide a medium whereby the railroad workers, now divided into 21 separate unions, may have an opportunity to meet together at each terminal occasionally to discuss and take action on any question in which they are all interested.

Since the Union Meeting, which gave it birth, the Minneapolis Railroad Council has held a number of council meetings at which new members were added from different local unions of the Brotherhoods. A letterhead program has been drafted, discussed and printed. The program contains a brief outline of the Minneapolis Railroad Council, and the aim and purpose of railroad councils in general together with nine proposals covering amalgamation, organization and other needed changes inside of the Railroad Brotherhoods. The program also proposes organized and united action for the six hour day without any reduction in pay as a counter-proposition to unemployment and wage cuts which flow automatically from the profit system and the growing productivity of labor. The Council program is being well received by railroad workers wherever it reaches them and although it is less than two months old it has already been read in a limited way from coast to coast.

When the R. B. Council idea permeates the minds of the organized railroad workers we think it will become a National Movement inside of the Railroad Brotherhoods which will promote healthy and much needed changes and developments towards amalgamation and organization of transportation workers in general.

On Sunday, February 26th, the Minneapolis Railroad Council held its first Union Meeting of the 21 Railroad Brotherhoods on the following program with reference to the next wage move which is expected to shape itself shortly after June 15th, the expiration date agreed upon at the wage confab of December last. The question proposed for discussion and action was divided in two parts, as follows:

- (a) "What position shall we take, and what should be our policy and procedure?"
- (b) "Should the 21 Brotherhoods vote and act as a UNIT, or should each organization vote and act separately, and make separate settlements and agreements?"

Handbills advertising the meeting and the program were printed and circulated. Through its chairman, A. F. Whitney, the Railway Labor Executives Association was asked by letter, signed by five members from four different organizations, to furnish the meeting with its spokesman on the questions involved. Another letter, signed by three members from three of the Brotherhoods, was sent to about 20 General Chairmen located in the Twin Cities urging their attendance at the meeting to help the membership to decide on the best program and policy to pursue in the expected wage move after June 15th. No Grand Lodge Officer showed up at the meeting and their Chairman Whitney did not even reply to the letter sent him. No reply was received from any of the General Chairmen and only one of them attended the meeting. He said he was for unity and amalgamation without telling the audience what he had done to promote those things.

100 members from 38 Lodges and 12 of the railroad unions attended this Union Meeting. The composition of the meeting was determined by register. The seven shop crafts had only 8 members at the meeting on account of the fact that most of the are still in the Company Unions where they have been left practically unmolested for over ten years by B. M. Jewel and the rest of the official drones. The

The Hitler Press & "Moscow"

The government press in Germany offers quite a picture of the strategy of the Fascist coalition after its rapid consolidations. Differences within the coalition itself are carefully suppressed and covered up: the working class must be made to feel that its counter-revolutionary opponents as a solid mass. Every rumor or report of the establishment of the proletarian United Front is quickly squashed and discredited. A consistent attack is made above all on the workers faith in proletarian internationalism. These are the lines along which the counter-revolution is exerting every effort to scatter, to demoralize, to pulverize the as yet gassy hosts of the German working class.

One outstanding example: While in the past this Rightist press has always been painfully engaged in "proving" the "hand of Moscow" in the most phantastic plots against the German nation, this same press, thundering against Marxism, calling for the ruthless extermination of the Communist party (utilizing such obvious frame-ups as the Reichstag fire) has the following to say about "Moscow" today:

IS RUSSIA NO LONGER INTERESTED IN THE C. P. G.?

"Moscow, Feb. 1.—The appointment of Adolf Hitler as Reich Chancellor was received quite in the Russian official circles. There are reassuring explanations that Hitler does not represent any danger for the German-Russian trade relations. Insofar as the measures of the Hitler Cabinet against the C. P. G. are concerned, the official circles appear to be quite disinterested. The Soviet government is said to have only an academic interest in whatever happens to the Communists outside of Russia. That is the affair of the III Inter-

national, which has nothing to do with the government." (Der Tag, Feb. 2, 1933.)

Innumerable such samples could be cited. Their primary aim is of course to cast despair and discouragement into the ranks of the workers, to cut them off from that tower of strength, from the USSR—the fortress of the world October. And it must be said openly: By its silence, by its criminal abstinence from official pronouncement, the Stalinist leadership is helping along this cunning game of the German counter-revolution. If the Stalinist leaders were in the slightest degree true to the internationalist colors of Communism, the purpose of the Fascists and their allies would quickly come to naught, the German working class would rapidly be awakened from its lethargy and impotence and Germany would soon present a different scene. The betrayal of proletarian internationalism which began with the establishment of the theory of "socialism in one country" is being posed in a sharp and concrete manner in Germany. Shall the German reactionaries be allowed to bank on this betrayal in their campaign of annihilation against the organized working class? Shall they thus be permitted to make the most adequate preparations in the longed-for assault on the U. S. S. R.? Or will the Communist workers wake up and demand that the Communist International, that its Stalinist leadership speak up and give the counter-revolutionary strategists of Der Tag the answer of the Leninist Comintern? Let the Communist workers themselves sound the alarm. Let them put the Stalinist leadership to the test in the crucible of the tremendous events in Germany. —S. G.

The Left Opposition at Albany

The Conference was called by a Provisional Committee initiated by the official Party. It was hoped through the "united front" call to have as broad a representation of labor organizations as could be mustered within the "from below" policy of the initiators. The result was that the conference was confined to Party members and Opposition groups. Some of the more conscious Party members asked themselves, "How is it that 1933 finds the American proletariat still passive? When in 1927-28 the official policy was oriented around the mythical 'revolutionary upsurge of the American masses'?"

The Left Opposition participated wholeheartedly to steer the Conference toward a genuine united front policy. Comrade Cannon, secretary of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition) addressed to the convention. He told the delegates that if they intended to put into action the purpose for which they were assembled, it was necessary to abandon the false and sterile "united front from below." He drew a sharp line from the adventurist agitational slogan for a "general strike" proposed by Clarence Hathaway, member of the Provisional Committee and District Organizer of the C. P. At the conclusion of his remarks comrade Cannon received a round of applause, which testified that his speech had not fallen on deaf ears.

The steering committee pretended an approach at genuineness. They selected a member of the Left Opposition for the "Bills Committee", and at the same time to which committee he would be least effective on. It must be mentioned that the steering committee guaranteed their line a majority on

all committees.

The Communist League delegate on the Bills Committee objected to the seven-hour day drawn up for approval. Presenting to the committee the necessity and concrete reality of the six-hour day, five-day week without reduction in pay. During the discussion "the theoreticians" Overgaard and Alexander were called in; sustaining the seven-hour day as formulated by the majority of the committee. However, while not allowing a minority report on this bill, the chairman agreed to mention the objection, whom raised by, and the organization he represented. This of course would have the same effect as a red flag to a bull. It however offered an opportunity to the Left Opposition to present its point of view on this important question. Concluding his remarks the delegate of the Opposition requested the conference to send the Bills Committee back into session and to come in with the proposals of the organization he represented—the six-hour day, five-day week without reductions in pay. Alexander, again took the floor for the seven-hour day, which was carried by the conference.

An important feature was the fraternizing spirit prevailing throughout the conference. Or as a ten percent bureaucrat mentioned, "You fellows ought not have any kick against workers' democracy. You're getting plenty of it here. We replied that it was no accident that the bombshells from the arsenal of the Left Opposition had thrown the bureaucrats into such a frenzy that in actuality they don't know what to do.

We marched on the capitol to present the bills we had drawn up but Lehman was too busy with the bankers to see labor delegates, so that all discussions over the insertion of a "whereas" or another "adjective" in this clause, all came to naught. This conveys to the Left Opposition at any rate that legalistic phraseology of "whereas" and "be it now resolved" will remain ineffective mediums to seek concessions from the Lehmans and the Roosevelts. That the burning question is to the masses, and with the masses we will compel Roosevelt and Lehman to listen to us. The first prerequisite for this is the tactic of the genuine united front from top to bottom as proposed internationally by the Left Opposition. —JACK CARMODY.

Webb and Wang must not be left to rot away behind prison bars! Efforts are being made to appeal the Webb-Wang case to a higher court. Progressive Miners and other workers everywhere must demand the immediate release of Webb and Wang! —J. ANGELO.

2 Illinois Miners Framed

(Continued from Page 1)

proving its resistance, refusing to remain in slavery, or to suffer violence and tyranny by the Peabody-Lewis machine in silence. Because just a few days ago the miners of Springfield poured into the streets and succeeded in closing the four Peabody mines and driving many scabs out of town. All this was a terrific blow against the Peabody-Lewis machine. And so, Al Greening, State Attorney of Sangamon County, acting as the bloodhound for the Peabody-Lewis machine is feverishly attempting to smash the Progressive Miners of America by railroading the militant leaders to prison.

State Attorney Greening stamped Capt. Webb as "Public Enemy No. 1 of Sangamon County" weeks before Webb came to trial. Who is Capt. Webb? He was one of that large army of youth that answered Woodrow Wilson's hollow call to save democracy. Since coming back from France he has found out through experience that the democracy he fought for was owned body and soul by Morgan bankers. He went to Washington with the Bonus Marchers and after being driven away from there by the "heroes of 1932" he came to Springfield and established Camp Neal, where a large group of world-war veterans have built themselves hovels from anything they could pick up here and there.

From the very inception of the struggle against the Lewis-Walker machine, Capt. Webb and his group of veterans cast their lot with the Progressive Miners of America and wherever the fight was thickest, in Taylorville, West Frankfort or Springfield, the miners could always find Capt. Webb and his men in the front ranks. Because of Webb's organizing ability, and his militant speeches to the miners and because he fought courageously and spiritedly to build the Progressive Miners of America—that

OFF THE PRESS!
Two New Pamphlets By
LEON TROTSKY
Soviet Economy In Danger In Defense of the Russian Revolution
72 Pages 10 cents 48 Pages 5 cents
3 for twenty-five cents Minimum number per order 5
Postage 1c extra per copy
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
84 East 10th Street, New York

Bankers Consolidate Control

(Continued from Page 1)

attempt to reconcile this ever-present contradiction. With this, goes the problem of attempts to drive in an indirect wage cut by inflation and rising commodity prices. The liquidation of the internal debt helps certain sections of the other exploiters besides the imperialists who are in the final analysis responsible for the tightening up of the American productive force to enable them to compete more effectively on the world market and reduced costs at home, and to squeeze out the excess baggage of the lesser exploiters and "debt" upon the American industrial structure.

terminal end of this problem they have been forced off the gold standard, even though they deny it as Japan denies it has a war on China. This enabled England to take a blow of the American imperialists that was very effective for the Pound. But the war-time powers of the President and the measures which followed, the embargo on gold and the return of gold to the central banks and the process of consolidations—all this is enabling America to prepare a stronger internal base—not only for further onslaughts against the American workers but also against the other imperialists, especially England and France.

While they are busy with the in-

—RUGO OBELEB.

—NATIONAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION)