WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

MILITA

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LEON TROTSKY Problems of the Soviet Regime

(The Degeneration of Theory and the Theory of Degeneration)

Socialism developed to completion (communism) means a society period from capitalism to socialism a little cross on the other side of fected by the danger of war are had been going for some fifteen up. While the acquittal does not demands an extreme strengthening the ocean. of the functions of the state (dichistoric dialectic of the state has to "make the world safe for de- bandits. It is they who must raise theory of Marxism.

ionger needs any juridical control, is being prepared.

living functions with the aid of its brink of a world slaughter. manifold and flexible organs which no longer stand in need of coercion. the ill-concealed hypocrisy of butch-

the state takes place along two different roads. To the extent that stroyed the greatest bulwark of the the classes are being liquidated, October Revolution, the revolutionthat is, dissolved in a homogeneous ary German working class organisociety, coercion withers away in zations, with the aid of the treachthe direct sense of the word, drop- ery and capitulation of the socialist ping out forever from social circubecome more complex, more detailed. They pentrate into ever new fields which until then remained as Against Machado if beyond the threshold of society (the household, children's education, etc.) ond for the first time subject them to the control of the

The general manner of posing the wave of terrorism has broken loose question does not change whether in Cuba. The guerilla outbreaks in it concerns a single country or the the central and eastern provinces whole planet. If we should assume of the island are only one, and over an extended period of ups and that a socialist society is realizable perhaps not the greatest of the danwithin national boundaries, then gers threatening the dictatorship. the withering away of the state in the cities and especially in could also occur within the frame- Havana, virtual civil war exists work of a single country. The nec- between the "A.B.C." student teressity, of defense against capitalist rorist organization and the famous enemies threatening from without "porra" at the service of the muris in itself entirely compatible with derous pseudo-bonapartist Machado the weakening of state coercion regime. from within: the solidarity and conscious discipline of the socialist society should yield the greatest results on the field of battle as are already darkening the sky in well as on the field of production.

The Stalinist faction declared as sions, new contracts, new loans, far back as two years ago that the and a shake-up in those quarters classes in the U.S.S.R. are liqui- where political jobs are given out. dated "in the main"; that the question who will prevail is decided to the laws of Marxian logic, it with theg rowing beet sugar in cause of the lack of a positive and necessity of class coercion is "in and the ever-increasing warehouse front. the main" liquidated and that the surpluses, the Cuban government's period of the withering away of financial income has been reduced the state had begun. But such a to a minimum. For many months, conclusion, insofar as it has been school teachers and other governattempted by some indiscreet doc- ment employees have been unpaid, trinsiries, was immediately declared but until very recently, enough as "counter-revolutionary."

the army and police "loyal". At However, let us leave aside the perspective of socialism in one the almost sole remaining supportcountry. Let us proceed not from bureaucratic construction, already Recent dispatches from Oriente ers of the regime, are wavering. brought to an absurdity by the march of development, but from the actual state of affairs; the USSR is of course not a socialist society but only a socialist state, that is, a weapon for the building of a socialist society; the classes are as yet far from abolished; the question who will prevail is not decided; the possibility of capitalist restoration is not excluded; the necessity of a proletarian dictatorship therefore retains its full force. But there still remains the question of the character of the Soviet on Friday, May 12th, at Spadina view of the fact that the night of They are examples of utter and of some 50 bosses of the Associated state, which does not at all remain [Hall, they attempted systematically the meeting called by the L. O. criminal confusion. unchangeable throughout the whole to break up a mass meeting on the the party issued a leastet denounctransitional epoch. The more successful the economic construction, Toronto Branch of the Left Oppo- terms of meaningless fury, as dis- cloakmakers strike under the austhe healthier the relation between sition. The happenings of the rupters of the solidarity of labor pices of the International, provided wing in the attempt to force the be smashed by preserving the untherefore should be the development of Soviet democracy. This does not activity on the part of Opposition asked, did they tolerate them at ing agreement in the shops. It Fur Workers Union. constitute as yet the withering forces, and this demonstration of the anti-Fascist conference and further declares its readiness to The drive was inaugurated a few away of the state since Soviet democracy is also a form of state ruptcy has made a deep impression in Queen's Park? The crowning the past betrayals of the Internacoercion. The capacity and flexi- in Left wing circles. bility of this form, however, best reflects the relation of the masses to the Soviet regime. The more the proletariat is satisfied with the tivities of united front conferences forth objections from those bodies heralds this declaration as one that to terrorize the furriers into subresults of its labor and the more against Fascism, which included not associated with the party which clarifies the attitude of the NTWIU mitting to the demands of the riers in their struggle. The fight beneficial its influence on the village, the more the Soviet government resentatives. Events had already porting such vile tactics, attempts to be-not on paper, not given the former ample opportuin a program, but in reality, in nity to expose the utter incompeeveryday existence—the weapon of the Stalinist leadership. the German situation which the ment, whether the Left wing par- May 25 as the deadline. The work-

(Continued on Page 4)

Fight Against Warl

AND SECTARIANISM OF STALINISTS—IN UNITED STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR. ALL OUT ON MAY 30th!

the festive places of the nation to geoisie. The hour draws close.

tatorship of the proletariat). This his heroism in laying down his life blood money for the imperialist but this failed. The economic basis for the with- is now breaking through the fog ter.

dictatorship to classiess society but a gigantic rehearsal for a new show the exploiters that the guns cannot be accomplished by decree. imperialist conflict, more bloody, that are placed in their hands will powerful and culturally higher race for armaments, brings Europe same exploiters, their real enemies. socialist society conquers all the and the whole world closer to the

The fake pacifism of Roosevelt,

Regime in Cuba

of government means new conces-

funds have been available to keep

(Continued on Page 2)

On May 30th, the jingoes, mu-i and Stalinist bureaucrats, Hitler nition makers, war mongers and grooms himself for the role of the workers demonstrated against the 24, Tom Mooney was acquitted by stained hands of the bosses.. The ingredients into the mixture of all the "patriots" will gather in super-Wrangel of the world bour- Fascist envoy Hans Weidemann, at a jury called to hear an indictment unified movement set on foot at liberal medicines from which he is

the young workers who -will be minutes, an attempt was made by clear him legally of the original They will talk of his bravery and used as cannon fodder to coin the the police to end the demonstration, charge, it proves the entire unten-

the imperialist war into a civil war! ably defended by the Bluecoats. the streets of New York and over off the boat in the Harbor or to barons are in utter dread of cam- to free Mooney will open up a new 1. The Withering of the State

The process of the liquidation of The Process of the Process of the liquidation of The Process of the Proce Soviet Union and against the war (Continued on Page 2)

NAZI ENVOY IN SOLIDARITY WITH GERMAN WORKERS

On Thursday morning a thousand

When the representative of the been sufficiently illuminated by the mocracy." But their culogies are the strongest and most determined Y.P.S.L. got through speaking and guilty of one and the same thingall lies and deceptions. The truth protest against the coming slaugh- the Chairman was about to an- fatalities all caused by the bombering away of the workers' state of war propoganda. It was for It is they who must say to the this time reinforced by plenty of class of California against the is the high development of economic Morgan's millions that the Ameri- war mongers that they are ready dicks, began to maul the workers. power when productive labor no can workers had their bodies riddled to put an end to the system that The workers put up a good fight, longer needs to be driven and the with bullets. And it is for essentially starves them in "peace" time and using stones and sticks against the distribution of human goods no the same purpose that a new war must have recourse to war to clubs of the cops; many workers settle their conflict for profits and were caught by the horsecops, The transition from revolutionary The "war to end all wars" was markets. The young workers must dragged through the strets and even more for the bankruptcy of beaten with blackjacks.

The Army Base, housing a regi-Down with imperialist war! Turn the Brownshirts to defend him, was before a judgment is arrived at.

tant, was too small to have any Mooney was ordered back to San resistance to the capitalist offensive real effect. The tight against Fascism must be broadened; as one of the speakers stated, "to include (Continued on Page 2)

National Youth Day: Protest Admission of Hitler Agent On American Soil Evidence Muzzled Roosevelt Program

YOUTH MUST BREAK THROUGH SABOTAGE OF SOCIALISTS HUNDREDS OF WORKERS JEER CALIFORNIA BOSS CLASS EXPOSES ITS OWN FRAME - UP BY ADMINISTRATION MEASURES ACTION AT TRIAL. FINAL MASS EFFORT NEEDED TO FREE TOM MOONEY. NEW YORK CONFERENCE ON JUNE 18th

letarian whose body rests beneath Most concerned and vitally af- before 9 a. m., after the meeting for which he was originally framed achieving this end.

ability of it. makes him both guilty and not nounce the next speaker, the police, ing in 1916. The case of the ruling veteran labor leader is thereby considerably weakened. It is shown to be on its last legs.

But the procedure of Judge Ward who conducted the trial, speaks than the acquittal itself. The judge, A state cannot be dissolved by more wanton and more destructive never be used against their fellow ment of the Reforestation Army were in recommending a verdict of not special order but gradually dis- than anything ever seen in the his- workers of some other nationality the onlookers all through the wel- guilty, barred all evidence and reappears from the scene, "withering tory of mankind. The jockeying or race. That they will direct their come of American Imperialism to fused the class war prisoner's inaway" to the extent to which the for position, secret alliances, the weapons instead against the self-Weidemann, who though without evidence of the case be presented

> The frame-up has, it appears, Despite this, he managed to sneak become so flimsy that the Coastal ments against the vertict and the starting point of a smashing able of cooperation on the national Quentin prison.

On Wednesday afternoon, May tear its martyr from the blood-

No worker in the United States, the eyes of still larger masses. The indignation of all strata of

The work of the National Tom not fail to swing labor behind them in solid ranks, if they pursue outlined at Chicago, conscientiously; waiting for some improvement in if they challenge the leaders of the S. P. and the A. F. of L. before their mass following, to join in the fight.

Now is the time to bring the

on all fields of class struggle-on The 17-year struggle to free Tom' the economic, on the political front Mooney is bearing fruit. Only one -and in the defense of all the last powerful push on the part of other victims of boss class oppres-

Roosevelt Program

MEAN TO FORESTALL MILI-TANT LABOR STRUGGLE

Roosevelt has thrown two more the foot of 58th Street, Brooklyn, against him which concerned the Chicago at the beginning of the brewing the cure for what ails shed crocodile tears for the pro- Young Workers, to the Fore! the Army Base. A few minutes preparedness day parade bombings month is a tremendous factor in business. He appeals to capitalists to raise wages voluntarily, and he proposes to them that they form or in the world, can now doubt tion of the industry; for good meas-Mooney's innocence. No worker can ure, he throws in a bill for public fail to see the crass swindle of the works expenditure in the amount boss class in this frame-up. The of over three billions. These medfake trial only serves to open up icines go to join the minimum wage bill, the shorter hours bill, reforlabor against California class control, lowering of tariff walls, poestation, centralization of banking justice is pitched to a high key. licies of international cooperation, "good will" and disarmament, and Mooney Committee of Action can- the rest of the reformist hocuspecus with which Roosevelt is the Leninist united front tactic great appearance of activity while the economic cycle.

> The basic outlook from which these measures proceed is that capitalism is benevolent, since he mass movement in the defense of expects it to raise wages without Mooney to a successful culmination. a struggle; that capitalism is in-Closed ranks in a successful struggle telligent and foresighted, since he expects it to regulate itself on the basis of voluntary trade associations; and that capitalism is capand on the international scale.

> This is the basic approach of the most senile and discredited liberalism, that is, of the most primitive form of capitalist selfjustification as typified by Adam Smith, which may be summarized as, "Let every capitalist act for his own best interests with the minimum of state intervention, and the results will be the best for the formula of the big bourgeoisie in the early stages of capitalism. Even in the classic home of liberalism, in England, the party that formerly stood for this philosophy is re-Minneapolis, May 19, 1933-The duced to insignificance, nor has it local branch of the Communist any power in a single major League (Left Opposition) has ad- country today. It is a symptom of ca today that this political system is fished up out of the ashcan of

The distinctive feature of the Roosevelt program is the combinadressmakers forced the Interna- of their past misdeeds and warn back. Of the mayoralty candidates tion of this reactionary-utopian the workers to be on guard? That nominated, Bainbridge represents theory with a practice which conold line, boss controlled politics tradicts it absolutely—the increaswhile Anderson represents small ingly direct union of the State with monopolistic capitalism, which Anderson's break with the Farmer-characterizes the decaying phase of Labor party shows that he can af- world capitalism. Even in the ford to drop even the pretensions United States, the system of capiof being a 'Labor Party' man. His talism is being propped up by all administration would as it does kinds of governmental supportsnow, serve everybody, including subsidies, tariffs, loans from the trade union fakers. The struggle Big Capital, just as a small shop- Reconstruction Finance Corporakeeper serves "everybody" from tion, government loans to the behind a counter. Outside the beer larger farm operators, more intenissue, the Farmer-Labor party pro- sive government intervention, bankgram is so much like Anderson's ing, security issues, industry, and

Roosevelt is all for a free hand feat in the primaries. Thus the to the Mitchells, the Insulls, the small business leadership of Far- American Kreugers-but at the mer-Labor reformism leaves in the same time he keeps the interests the NTWIU, the demand to deal a time such as this? Their mouths lurch the masses of organized labor of the capitalists as a class, exwith the problem of the united front are to be shut by promises, "not that make up this party. This pressed through the apparatus of should show to the workers in the the bourgeois state, superior to the pressed hard upon the leadership. of the past—in time of the prepara- Farmer-Labor party that its leader- interests of the individual capita-

> But while there is apparent con-The Communist party, the only tradiction between words and acts, party of the working class, is re- the facts themselves speak an unsponsible for the development and mistakable language. While the source of all politics (political railroads are preparing to cut dle of June; the appeal for minimum wages is made by the same government which has established \$1 a day as a fair wage for exacting labor under military discipline; the Black Bill for the 30 hour week by making no mention of wages clearly implies that wages will be cut in proportion to hours The drive of the fur manufactu- the workers to break their ranks and that the "stagger system" and

> > The efforts of capitalism to find a way out of the crisis on the backs of the workers, by cutting wages and speeding up work, are reinforced by the Roosevelt program. The fight for higher wages to meet the threat of inflation is directly counterposed to the appeal to the benevolence of the capitalists to which Roosevelt appeals. The fight for better working conditions, for the right to organize, is counterposed to the appeal to the capitalists to provide uniform conditions and union rights to the workers in their industries by means of

> > The working class will only sink deeper into its misery unless it sees clearly the hypocritical nature of the Roosevelt program, the attempt

(Continued on Page 4)

lation. The organizational functions of the state, on the contrary, lation of the state, lation The present degraded standards tion in either union to assure a, or guarantee from Hochman and Party on Elections results will be the best for the nation as a whole." This is the of the Needle Trades workers are successful outcome of the two Dubinsky will mean anything. It leading them to revolt. The ranks strikes. The Right wing negotia- is not their good or bad intentions

Another revolt accompanied by a to the surface.

downs have completely vanished. The crisis has given the bosses the right of way to slash wages and increase hours without any resistance on the part of the workers. But the tide has been turned.

The intolerable conditions have pointed out to the worker the one way-the way of struggle. They saw one alternative: either to per-"Butcher" Machado is now sing- ish starving or wage a battle for traditional American method of ing his swan song and the vultures some improvement.

These moods of the needle workpreparation for the feast, A change ers have been expressed in two recen strikes of the dressmakers in Boston and Philadelphia. Both strikes had been called practically in spite of the "good judgment" of With the increasing intensifica- the Vice-Presidents of the ILGWU "completely and irrevocably"; more tion of the crisis in the sugar in in charge of those centers. The than that: that "we entered into dustry, due to high tariff walls in strikes have also been foisted upon socialism." From this, according the U.S. and Europe, the competition the leadership of the NTWIU, be-

> The deep roots of unity imbeded now in the ranks of the needle workers, makes it absolutely impath of wrong policy, without interruptions and breaks.

last however it appears, even these, good response of the dresmakers to the call of the strike both in Philadelphia and Boston, the right wing reformist press has hardly given Province report serious defections to the strike there was no prepara-

of the workers of various crafts ted with the bosses. The Left wing that dictate their action of class show very definitely that an under- will criticize itself, post factum, collaboration, it is their very polying current of militancy is coming for lack of preparation.

trade unions.

tional into a struggle. He said: "We're willing to meet the em- it left unanswered. ployers more than half way, but since even the arbitration, the

settling disputes was rejected, we to call a strike." In face of the impending strike of the New York cloakmakers, the international leaders could not but

concede to the militancy of the

Needle Workers are Asserting Themselves

should have followed that the dustry of the consumer countries, (correct policy toward a united workers towards action has also munists stand in their historic role and the building of one union is to criticize the harmful activities posisble for the Stalinist leadership The rank and file members are delicons and during the strike." in the NTWIU to pursue a straight manding a perspective. They want to know more about the future of nists become a rear-guard instead their union than the leadership is of the vanguard of the workers. In spite of the comparatively willing and capable of telling them. Worse than that, they become, in In the ILGWU the rank and file

portant locals—9, 1, 22—where they cognizance to the struggles. Prior elected either a complete or partial state of the Left wing administration. Both unions had been forced to an appreciable degree to deal with the question of unity. NTWIU Vacillating and Stalling

The leadership of the NTWIU is last plenum was held in New York on May 13th and 14th. The two main decisions which were given prominence in the Freiheit of May 16th, are worthy of consideration.

One: The NTWIU declares its turers with the A. F. of L.

the growing majority against the growing majority against the growing majority. The rise of Soviet democracy, while as yet not signifying the withering away of the state, is equivalent nevertheless to the preparation for such a process.

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The rise of the Stalinist leadersnip, the deading lights that the Conference and adelegation to the City Board adelegation to the City Board and interruption broke out. The process.

The A. F. of I. Which the disturbance stated adding. The process of the deadline. The wastern progressive unions, the defense action of the drive against all the formation which the ment, whether the Left wing paratic international to fight in the disturbance of five hundred followed attentively. But when, in conclusions that are resist.

May 25 as the deadline. The wastern progressive unions that are resist.

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May 25 as the deadline. The most of the stricipants will remain in the ranks res in most of the success in most of the International to fight in the disturbance started attentively. But when, in conclusions, the sequence of five hundred followed attentively. But when, in conclusions and delegation to the City Board of the capital in defense attentively went out on strike, militarity and interests by the government's invitation to the capital in the ranks resist in the first attentively. But when, in conclusions action of the browner for the deading. The resion of the deading lights that the Conference attentively. But when, in conclusions action of the capital in the first attentively. But when the capital in the capital in the capital interests of the cloakmakers. It demonstrating against the united striving to get out of the capital interests and living standards are threatened. Small the capital interests of the cloak their interests, as though a promise are distributing leaflets calling upon furriers union!

sition as reformists that brings The Left wing press has not even forth betrayals. Their historic poas much as mentioned it, because sition is that of collaboration with The gains that have been won by of the obviously favorable situation the ruling class-that is where once more that the Stalinists have good or bad wishes or promises to to the official Communist party: forgotten the role of Communists in carry out decisions. Does this Philadelphia, it is obvious that the or remind the International clique

> The very purpose of the Left wing in the reformist unions is annihilated by the above proposals were left with no alternative but Communist in a union to fight and of the NTWIU. It is the duty of the lead the workers in the struggle against the reformists, the socialist a head in the preparations for a strike. That is the time when the secret conferences and supplementary agreements between the officials and the bosses take the place The positive trend of the needle of a real fight. Where do the Comtaken shape within the unions. In of the vanguard of the workers in

> > With such promises the Commuof the reformists.

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O. Addresses in Minneapolis

the sacrifices of the needle workers of the International which indicated their betrayals flow from and not dressed the following Open Letter the political backwardness of Amer-Every election snould be a lesson acclaration also bind the official in politics for every honest wage history and served up in this From the statement made by organs of the C.P., the Freiheit and worker. In the free-for-all primary country as the "New Deal." Reisberg. 1LG representative in the Daily Worker not to criticize election the working class of Minneapolis suffered a political set-

and independent business interests. that they have virtually withdrawn railroading. from the field after Latiners' deship and program is not for their list.

the eyes of the workers, accomplices advancement of the workers' in- employers listen to his appeal to expressed its positive trend in the to all the betrayals and schemes terests in the class struggle, the raise wages, they know that the The second decision on the dress economy as Karl Marx called it.) wages 20 to 25 percent in the mid-(Continued on Page 4)

Attack on Furriers' Union The leadership of the NTWIU is vacillating more and more. Its Police, Bosses & A.F.L. in Onslaught on Left Wing

Fur Coat and Trimming Manufac- the workers.

rers against the workers has cul- and submit to the bosses. Ostensibly the lower standard of living for minated this week by an agreement this drive is directed "only against the American worker are to be stathe Communists," but this is only a screen to split and demoralize

The solid ranks of the bosses The spearhead of the attack has the police and the treacherous right furriers alone.

In the Wednesday and Thursday Murderous attacks upon the N. T. lutely in defense of their union. must be extended and all workers Wherein lies this "clarity?" Does | Early this week notices were called upon to support the furriers the decision tell the workers posted in the shops ordering against the attack. The defeat of whether the NTWIU give up the the workers to affiliate with the furrier's would mean the exan analysis by comrade Spector of building of a cloakmakers depart- the A. F. of L. union, setting tension of the drive against all

O. & Stalinists in Toronto The Two Faced Policy of the Centrist Bucreaucrats

the confusion into which they have meeting. been thrown by recent events when This cooperation is amazing in

ald off the executive of the con-

Toronto, Can .- Stalinist forces in ference, they were forced to endorse Toronto revealed in glaring fashion him as its speaker at another

The meeting itself opened with (Continued on Page 2)

evening came as a climax to a and "allies of Hitler." Why then, the ILG leadership will promise to workers out of their union and broken front of the workers. This period of successful anti-Fascist as comrade Spector pertinently enforce the provisions of th impendinto the discredited International struggle is not a struggle of the official Stalinist ideological bank- elect comrade MacDonald to speak bind itself against any criticism of weeks ago by the murder of Morris demonstrations, in the face of folly of the Stalinists was to sign tioanal leadership in the prepara- organizer of the Industrial Union. their determination to fight reso-The meeting was called by the the leaflet "Left Wing Organiza- tion of and during the strike. L. O. as an extension of the ac- tions" which has naturally called The Freiheit of the same date W. I. U. followed in the attempt Workers of other branches of the both Opposition and Stalinist rep- resent being dragooned into sup- towards the strike.