

**WORKERS  
OF THE  
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UNITE**

# THE MILITANT

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## LEON TROTSKY

### Problems of the Soviet Regime

(The Degeneration of Theory and the Theory of Degeneration)

Socialism developed to completion (wholeness) means a society without a state. But the transition period from capitalism to socialism demands an extreme strengthening of the functions of the state (dictatorship of the proletariat). This historic dialectic of the state has been sufficiently illuminated by the theory of Marxism.

The economic basis for the withering away of the workers' state is the high development of economic power, when productive labor no longer needs to be driven and the distribution of human goods no longer needs any juridical control.

The transition from revolutionary dictatorship to classless society cannot be accomplished by decree. A state cannot be dissolved by special order but gradually disappears from the scene, "withering away" to the extent to which the powerful and culturally higher socialist society conquers all the living functions with the aid of its manifold and flexible organs which no longer stand in need of coercion.

The process of the liquidation of the state takes place along two different roads. To the extent that the classes are being liquidated, that is, dissolved in a homogeneous society, coercion withers away in the direct sense of the word, dropping out forever from social circulation. The organizational functions of the state, on the contrary, become more complex, more detailed. They penetrate into ever new fields which until then remained as if beyond the threshold of society (the household, children's education, etc.) and for the first time subject them to the control of the collective mind.

The general manner of posing the question does not change whether it concerns a single country or the whole planet. If we should assume that a socialist society is realizable within national boundaries, then the withering away of the state could also occur within the framework of a single country. The necessity of defense against capitalist enemies threatening from without is in itself entirely compatible with the weakening of state coercion from within: the solidarity and conscious discipline of the socialist society should yield the greatest results on the field of battle as well as on the field of production.

The Stalinist faction declared as far back as two years ago that the classes in the U.S.S.R. are liquidated "in the main"; that the question who will prevail is decided "completely and irrevocably"; more than that: that "we entered into socialism." From this, according to the laws of Marxist logic, it should have followed that the necessity of class coercion is "in the main" liquidated and that the period of the withering away of the state had begun. But such a conclusion, insofar as it has been attempted by some indiscreet doctrinaires, was immediately declared as "counter-revolutionary."

However, let us leave aside the perspective of socialism in one country. Let us proceed not from bureaucratic absurdity, already brought to an absurdity by the march of development, but from the actual state of affairs: the USSR is of course not a socialist state, 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 state, which does not at all remain unchangeable throughout the whole transitional epoch. The more successful the economic construction, the healthier the relation between town and country, the broader therefore should be the development of Soviet democracy. This does not constitute as yet the withering away of the state since Soviet democracy is also a form of state coercion. The capacity and flexibility of this form, however, best reflects the relation of the masses to the Soviet regime. The more the proletariat is satisfied with the results of its labor and the more beneficial its influence on the village, the more the Soviet government attempts to be—not on paper, not in a program, but in reality, in everyday existence—the weapon of the growing majority against the diminishing minority. 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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## National Youth Day: Fight Against War!

YOUTH MUST BREAK THROUGH SABOTAGE OF SOCIALISTS AND SECTARIANISM OF STALINISTS—IN UNITED STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR. ALL OUT ON MAY 30th!

On May 30th, the jingoes, munition makers, war mongers and all the "patriots" will gather in the festive places of the nation to shed crocodile tears for the proletarian whose body rests beneath a little cross on the other side of the ocean.

They will talk of his bravery and his heroism in laying down his life to "make the world safe for democracy." But their eulogies are all lies and deceptions. The truth is now breaking through the fog of war propaganda. It was for Morgan's millions that the American workers had their bodies riddled with bullets. And it is for essentially the same purpose that a new war is being prepared.

The "war to end all wars" was but a gigantic rehearsal for a new imperialist conflict, more bloody, more wanton and more destructive than anything ever seen in the history of mankind. The jockeying for position, secret alliances, the race for armaments, brings Europe and the whole world closer to the brink of a world slaughter.

The fake pacifism of Roosevelt, the ill-concealed hypocrisy of butcher Hitler points ominously to a "holy" crusade against the first Workers Republic. Having destroyed the greatest bulwark of the October Revolution, the revolutionary German working class organizations, with the aid of the treachery and capitulation of the socialist

and Stalinist bureaucrats, Hitler groomed himself for the role of super-Wrangel of the world bourgeoisie. The hour draws close.

**Young Workers, to the Fore!** Most concerned and vitally affected by the danger of war are the young workers who will be used as cannon fodder to coin the blood money for the imperialist bandits. It is they who must raise the strongest and most determined protest against the coming slaughter.

It is they who must say to the war mongers that they are ready to put an end to the system that starves them in "peace" time and must have recourse to war to settle their conflict for profits and markets. The young workers must show the exploiters that the guns that are placed in their hands will never be used against their fellow workers of some other nationality or race. That they will direct their weapons instead against the self-same exploiters, their real enemies.

Down with imperialist war! Turn the imperialist war into a civil war! These slogans will ring out on the streets of New York and over the rest of the nation on National Youth Day, May 30th. On this day the young workers and students must gather their forces for mighty demonstrations in defense of the Soviet Union and against the war plans of the imperialists.

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## Revolt Gathers Against Machado Regime in Cuba

Another revolt accompanied by a wave of terrorism has broken loose in Cuba. The guerrilla outbreaks in the central and eastern provinces of the island are only one, and perhaps not the greatest, of the dangers threatening the dictatorship. In the cities and especially in Havana, a virtual civil war exists between the "A.B.C." student terrorist organization and the famous "porra" at the service of the murderous pseudo-bonapartist Machado regime.

"Butcher" Machado is now singing his swan song and the vultures are already darkening the sky in preparation for the feast. A change of government means new concessions, new contracts, new loans, and a shake-up in those quarters where political jobs are given out.

With the increasing intensification of the crisis in the sugar industry, due to high tariff walls in the U.S. and Europe, the competition with them forcing beet sugar industry of the consumer countries, and the ever-increasing warehouse surpluses, the Cuban government's financial income has been reduced to a minimum. For many months, school teachers and other government employees have been unpaid, but until very recently, enough funds have been available to keep the army and police "loyal." At last however it appears, even these, the almost sole remaining supporters of the regime, are wavering. Recent dispatches from Oriente Province report serious defections.

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## L. O. & Stalinists in Toronto

The Two Faced Policy of the Centrist Bureaucrats

Toronto, Can.—Stalinist forces in Toronto revealed in glaring fashion the confusion into which they have been thrown by recent events when on Friday, May 12th, at Spadina Hall, they attempted systematically to break up a mass meeting on the German situation called by the Toronto Branch of the Left Opposition. The happenings of the evening came as a climax to a period of successful anti-Fascist activity on the part of Opposition forces, and this demonstration of official Stalinist ideological bankruptcy has made a deep impression in Left wing circles.

The meeting was called by the L. O. as an extension of the activities of an united front conferences against Fascism, which included both Opposition and Stalinist representatives. Events had already given the former ample opportunity to expose the utter incompetence of the Stalinist leadership. A prime example was the serious suggestion of one of the Stalinist leading lights that the Conference send a delegation to the City Board of Control asking them to protest against Hitlerite atrocities. Again, after the Stalinists had succeeded in keeping comrade Jack MacDonald

in the conference, they were forced to endorse him as its speaker at another meeting.

This cooperation is amazing in view of the fact that the night of the meeting called by the L. O. the party issued a leaflet denouncing the "Trotskyites" in the usual terms of meaningless fury, as disrupters of the solidarity of labor and "allies of Hitler." Why then, as comrade Spector pertinently asked, did they tolerate them at the anti-Fascist conference and elect comrade MacDonald to speak in Queen's Park? The crowning folly of the Stalinists was to sign the leaflet "Left Wing Organizations" which has naturally called forth objections from those bodies not associated with the party which present being dragged into supporting such vile tactics.

The meeting itself opened with an analysis by comrade Spector of the German situation which the audience of five hundred followed attentively. But when, in conclusion, he introduced Jack MacDonald, an organized storm of booping and interruption broke out. The fact that the disturbance started suddenly and without warning, to

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## Protest Admission of Hitler Agent on American Soil

HUNDREDS OF WORKERS JEER NAZI GERMANY IN SOLIDARITY WITH GERMAN WORKERS

On Thursday morning a thousand workers demonstrated against the fascist envoy Hans Weidemann, at the foot of 58th Street, Brooklyn, the Army Base. A few minutes before 9 a. m., after the meeting had been going for some fifteen minutes, an attempt was made by the police to end the demonstration, but this failed.

When the representative of the Y.P.S.L. got through speaking and the Chairman was about to announce the next speaker, the police, this time reinforced by plenty of dicks, began to maul the workers. The workers put up a good fight, using stones and sticks against the clubs of the cops; many workers were caught by the horsecoops, dragged through the streets and beaten with blackjacks.

The Army Base, housing a regiment of the Reformation Army were the onlookers all through the welcome of American imperialism to this third assistant butcher, Hans Weidemann, who though without the Brownshirts to defend him, was ably defended by the Bluecoats.

Despite this, he managed to sneak off the boat in the harbor or to leave the pier by another exit. 10 workers were arrested, though militant was too small to have any real effect. The fight against Fascism must be broadened; as one of the speakers stated, "to include

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## Mooney Acquitted; Evidence Muzzled

CALIFORNIA BOSS CLASS EXPOSES ITS OWN FRAME-UP BY ACTION AT TRIAL. FINAL MASS EFFORT NEEDED TO FREE TOM MOONEY. NEW YORK CONFERENCE ON JUNE 18th

On Wednesday afternoon, May 24, Tom Mooney was acquitted by a jury called to hear an indictment against him which concerned the preparedness day parade bombings for which he was originally framed up. While the acquittal does not clear him legally of the original charge, it proves the entire unbelief makes him both guilty and not guilty of one and the same thing—fatalities all caused by the bombing in 1916. The case of the ruling class of California against the 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 even more for the bankruptcy of the capitalists' case against Mooney than the acquittal itself. The judge, in recommending a verdict of not guilty, barred all evidence and refused the class war prisoner's insistent plea that all the original evidence of the case be presented before a frame-up is arrived at.

The frame-up has, it appears, become so flimsy that the Coastal barons are in utter dread of complete exposure. The prosecution itself refused to present any arguments against the verdict and Mooney was ordered back to San Quentin prison.

The 17-year struggle to free Tom Mooney is bearing fruit. Only one last powerful push on the part of the laboring masses is needed to

tear its martyr from the blood-stained hands of the set-up movement of the bosses. The united effort set on foot at Chicago at the beginning of the month is a tremendous factor in achieving this end.

No worker in the United States, or in the world, can now doubt Mooney's innocence. No worker can fail to see the crass swindle of the boss class in this frame-up. The fake trial only serves to open up the eyes of still larger masses. The indignation of all strata of labor against California class justice is pitched to a high key. The work of the National Tom Mooney Committee of Action cannot fail to swing labor behind them in solid ranks, if they pursue the Leninist united front tactic outlined at Chicago, conscientiously; 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 mass movement in the defense of Mooney to a successful culmination. Closed ranks in a successful struggle to free Mooney will open up a new period of working class ascendance in the United States and serve as the starting point of a smashing resistance to the capitalist offensive on all fields of class struggle—the economic, on the political front—and in the defense of all the other victims of boss class oppression.

## L. O. Addresses Party on Elections in Minneapolis

Minneapolis, May 19, 1933—The local branch of the Communist League (Left Opposition) has addressed the following Open Letter to the official Communist Party:

Every election should be a lesson in politics for every honest wage worker. In the free-for-all primary election of the working class of Minneapolis offered a political setback. Of the majority candidates nominated, Bainbridge represents old line, boss controlled politics while Anderson represents small and independent business interests. Anderson's show that he can afford to drop even the pretensions of being a 'Labor Party' man. His administration would as it does now, serve everybody, including Big Capital, just as a small shopkeeper serves "everybody" from behind a counter. Outside the beer issue, the Farmer-Labor party program is so much like Anderson's that they have virtually withdrawn from the field after Latimer's defeat in the primaries. Thus the small business leadership of Farmer-Labor reformism leaves in the lurch the masses of organized labor that make up this party. This should show to the workers in the Farmer-Labor party that its leadership and program is not for their interests.

The Communist party, the only party of the working class, is responsible for the development and advancement of the workers' interests in the class struggle, the source of all politics (political economy as Karl Marx called it).

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## Attack on Furriers' Union

Police, Bosses & A.F.L. in Onslaught on Left Wing

The drive of the fur manufacturers against the workers has culminated this week by an agreement of some 50 bosses of the Associated Fur Coat and Trimming Manufacturers with the A. F. of L.

The spearhead of the attack has been directed against the Left wing in the attempt to force the workers out of their union and into the discredited International Fur Workers Union.

The drive was inaugurated a few weeks ago by the murder of Morris Langer, the militant worker and organizer of the Industrial Union. Murderous attacks upon the N. T. W. I. U. followed in the attempt to terrorize the furriers into submitting to the demands of the bosses.

Workers, unite! Your interests and living standards are threatened. Smash the terror of the boss class and their henchmen against the furriers union!

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## Workers Must Unite in Fight on Roosevelt Program

ADMINISTRATION MEASURES MEAN TO FORESTALL MILITANT LABOR STRUGGLE

Roosevelt has thrown two more liberalized into the mixture of ingedients from which he is brewing the cure for what ails business. He appeals to capitalists to raise wages voluntarily, and he proposes to them that they form trade associations for the regulation of the industry; for good measure, he throws in a bill for public works expenditure in the amount of over three billions. These medicines go to join the minimum wage bill, the shorter hours bill, reforestation, centralization of banking control, lowering of tariff walls, policies of international cooperation, "good will" and disarmament, and the rest of the reformist hocus-pocus with which Roosevelt is trying to stall for time, with a great appearance of activity while waiting for some improvement in the economic cycle.

The basic outlook from which these measures proceed is that capitalism is benevolent, since he expects it to raise wages without a struggle; that capitalism is intelligent and foresighted, since he expects it to regulate itself on the basis of voluntary trade associations; and that capitalism is capable of international cooperation on the national and on the international scale.

This is the basic approach of the most sullen and discredited liberalism, that is, of the most primitive form of capitalist self-justification 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 nation as a whole." This is 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 reduced to insignificance, nor has it any power in a single major country today. It is a symptom of the political backwardness of America today that this political system is fished up out of the ashcan of history and served up in this country as the "New Deal."

The distinctive feature of the Roosevelt program is the combination of this reactionary—utopian theory with a practice which contradicts it absolutely—the increasingly direct union of the State with monopolistic capitalism, which characterizes the decaying phase of world capitalism. Even in the United States, the system of capitalism is being propped up by all kinds of governmental supports—subsidies, tariffs, loans from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, government loans to the larger farm operators, more intensive government intervention, banking security issues, industry, and railroads.

Roosevelt is all for the Insulls, the Mitchells, the Insalls, the American Kreuzers—but at the same time he keeps the interests of the capitalists as a class, expressed through the apparatus of the bourgeois state, superior to the interests of the individual capitalist.

But while there is apparent contradiction between words and acts, the facts themselves speak an unmistakable language. While the employers listen to his appeal to raise wages, they know that the railroads are preparing to cut wages 20 to 25 percent in the middle 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 and that the "stagger system" and the lower standard of living for the American worker are to be stabilized.

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 by the workers in their industries by means of trade association laws.

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