

# Problems of the Soviet Regime

(Continued from page 1)  
The problem will become more concrete when we take into consideration the basic changes in the class structure for the period of the revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat as an organization for the suppression of exploiters was necessary against landlords, capitalists, generals and kulaks insofar as they gave support to the higher possessing strata. Exploiters cannot be drawn to the side of socialism. Their resistance had to be broken, no matter at what cost. The years of civil war marked the greatest exercise of the power of the dictatorship by the proletariat.

With regard to the peasantry as a whole the task was and is an entirely different one. The peasantry must be drawn to the side of the socialist regime. We must prove to the peasant in practice that the government industry is capable of supplying him with goods on much more advantageous conditions than under capitalism and that collective farming is more advantageous than individual farming. Until this economic and cultural task is solved and we are very far from it, especially as it is solvable only on an international scale—class frictions are inevitable and consequently—also state coercion. But if in the struggle against landlords and capitalists revolutionary violence served as the basic method, in relation to the kulaks the problem was a different one; while crushing unmercifully the outright counter-revolutionary resistance of the kulaks, the state was ready to compromise with them on the economic field. It did not "dekulakize" the kulak but merely limited his exploiting tendencies. With regard to the peasantry as a whole revolutionary violence should have played only an auxiliary and what is more an ever diminishing role. The practical success of industrialization and collectivization should have expressed themselves in the moderation of the forms and methods of state coercion, in the growing democratization of the Soviet regime.

**2. Political Regime of the Dictatorship and Its Social Foundations**  
On January 30, 1933, Pravda wrote: "the second five-year plan will liquidate the last remains of capitalist elements in our economic life." It is clearly evident that from the standpoint of this official perspective the state should have withered away completely during the second five-year plan, since where the "last remnants" (!) of class inequality are liquidated, there is no room for the state.

In reality however we witness processes of a diametrically opposite character. The Stalinists do not dare to assert that the dictatorship of the proletariat has assumed more democratic forms in recent years, but on the contrary, try tirelessly to prove the inevitability of a further sharpening of state coercion. Reality itself, however, is more important than all the perspectives and prognoses. If we should estimate Soviet reality through the lens of the political regime—such an estimate, although insufficient, is absolutely justifiable and extremely important—we should get not only a gloomy picture but an outright ominous one. The Soviets have lost the last remnants of independent significance and ceased being Soviets. The party does not exist. Under the cover of the struggle with the Right deviation, the trade-unions are completely crushed. The problem of the degeneration and stifling of the party and the Soviets has been discussed many times. Here we find it necessary to take up in a few lines the fate of the trade-union organizations during the period of the Soviet dictatorship.

The relative independence of the trade-unions is a necessary and important corrective in the system of the Soviet state which finds itself under the pressure of the peasantry and bureaucracy. Until the classes are liquidated, the workers must defend themselves, even in a workers' state, through their trade-union organizations. In other words: the trade unions remain trade unions while the state remains a state, that is, an instrument of coercion. The "stagnation" of the trade-unions can only go parallel with the "destatization" of the state itself. This means: to the extent that the liquidation of classes deprives the state of its functions of coercion, dissolving it in society, the trade-unions lose their special class tasks and dissolve themselves in the "withering away" state.

This dialectic of the dictatorship, imprinted in the program of the Bolshevik party, is recognized in words also by the Stalinists. But the actual relations between the trade-unions and the state develop in a diametrically opposite direction. The state not only does not wither away (despite the heralded liquidation of classes), not only does not moderate its methods (despite the economic successes), but on the contrary becomes ever more openly the instrument of bureaucratic coercion. At the same time, the trade-unions transformed into offices of functionaries, have completely lost the possibility of fulfilling the role of buffers between the state apparatus and the proletarian masses. Worse than that: the apparatus of the trade-unions themselves has become the weapon of an ever-growing pressure on the workers.

The preliminary conclusion from the above is that the evolution of the Soviets, the party and trade-unions does not follow an ascending

## (Degeneration of Theory; Theory of Degeneration)

but a descending curve. If we were to accept on faith the official estimate of industrialization and collectivization, we would have to admit that the political superstructure of the proletarian regime is developing in a diametrically opposite direction to the development of its economic basis. Does it mean that the laws of Marxism are false? No, but the official estimate of the social foundations of the dictatorship is false and false to the core.

The problem can be formulated more concretely in this fashion: why was it possible during the years of 1917-1921, when the old possessing classes still fought with weapons in hand, when they were actively supported by the interventionists of the whole world, when the armed kulaks sabotaged the army and the provisioning of the country—why was it possible then to discuss openly in the party the

sharp questions of the Brest-Litovsk peace, the methods of the organization of the Red Army, the composition of the Central Committee, the trade-unions, the transition to the NEP, national policy and the policy of the Comintern? Why is it impossible now, after the ceasing of intervention, after the rout of the exploiting classes, after the successes of industrialization, after the collectivization of the overwhelming majority of the peasantry—to allow discussion of the tempos of industrialization and collectivization, of the co-relation between heavy and light industry, or of the policy of a united front in Germany? Why would any member of the party who demanded the calling of the next congress of the party in accordance with its constitution, be immediately expelled and subjected to persecutions? Why would any Communist who openly expressed doubt as to the infallibility of Stalin be immediately arrested? Where does such a terrible, monstrous, unbearable exercise of the political regime come from?

## Statement of N.C. of National Federation of the Unemployed

(Continued from Page 2)

which went on record favoring this principle for the Federation. Three national organizations, two others in the process of forming national organizations, state organizations, sectional organizations and city organizations were present, representing 45 organizations, with 826 branches from 16 states and 28 cities from all parts of the United States.

After three long days of discussion on the problems of the unemployed, the conference adopted the following outstanding proposals:

1. The establishment of a National Federation of Unemployed Workers Leagues with city, county, sectional and state federations to coordinate them into one national organization. These organizations to retain their organizational independence, but to coordinate their organizations, through the Federation, in struggle against unemployment upon the basis of the immediate demands confronting our class.
2. The conference went on record favoring the establishment of the closest relationship with the EMPLOYED through their trade unions, industrial unions, and all other working class organizations.
3. The conference went on record favoring the perspective of the establishment of one national unemployed organization, in which there would be no discrimination against race, color, creed or political beliefs.
4. The conference adopted its position on united action of the unemployed workers and defined it as: the united action of organizations, around immediate demands, in struggle, where each organization retains its organizational independence, refrains from slander and personal attacks against each other, with the right of minority expression and political criticism; where no organization of the unemployed will be excluded and where continued effort will be made to draw in any organization that does not unite in action for our immediate demands.

The conference ended by electing a national committee of 15, with headquarters in Chicago, that is instructed to carry out the program, policy, resolutions and constitution adopted by an overwhelming ma-

majority of the delegates. After the amendments were adopted or defeated the reports of the different committees were adopted with the exception of the report of the constitution committee which was adopted by a vote of 75 to 15.

The following are the officers elected, with the vacancies for additional representatives from organizations:

- Chairman, Tom Dixon—Workers Leagues.
- Vice-Chairman, Guss—Unemployed Councils.
- Treasurer, Statman—Industrial Workers Unemployed Unions.
- Secretary, Leach—Workers Comm. D. Harrington—United Producers of Washington.
- V. Didwell—Peoples Council of Bellingham.
- Lamson—Unemployed Councils.
- Zimmerman—Workers Leagues.
- Hugo Oehler—Unemployed Union of Gillespie.
- Truax—East Ohio Unemployed Unions.
- Loire—S.E. Mo. Unemployed Leagues.
- Weish—Association of Unemployed, N. Y.
- Mattok—Workers Leagues.
- Comers—Allen County Indiana Unemployed Association.

The national committee is composed and is sending out the convention proceedings and decisions to all organizations that had delegates at the Chicago conference and to all other unemployed organizations in the United States. The return delegates will make their reports and will proceed to unite the unemployed organizations into city, county, sectional and state federations, especially endeavoring to bring into this united action those organizations that were not able to send delegates to the conference. The conference received letters of support from unemployed organizations from all parts of the United States that were unable to send delegates but gave the conference their full support and wished it success. We hope these organizations will be among the first to help in the formation, and support its program in action, which in no way infringes upon the identity or the autonomy of the subscribing organizations.

(Signed)  
Tom Dixon, Chairman  
Leach, Secretary

Reference to outside danger from capitalist governments does not in itself explain everything. We do not wish of course to underestimate the significance of capitalist encirclement for the inner regime of the Soviet Republic; the very necessity of keeping up a powerful army is a great source of bureaucratism. However, hostile encirclement is not a new factor, it accompanies the Soviet Republic from the first days of its existence. Under healthy conditions within the country, the pressure of imperialism would have only strengthened the solidarity of the masses, especially the welding together of the proletarian vanguard. The penetration of foreign agents, such as sabotaging engineers, etc., in no case justifies or explains the general intensification of the methods of coercion. A social committee of common interests should be able to eject the hostile elements with greater ease, as a healthy body ejects poisons.

An attempt might be made to show that the external pressure has grown and the co-relation of forces on the world scale has changed to the advantage of imperialism. Leaving aside the question of policy of the Comintern as one of the causes for the weakening of the world proletariat, the incontrovertible fact remains that the intensification of pressure from outside can lead to the bureaucratization of the Soviet system only to the extent that it is coupled with the growth of inner contradictions. Under conditions in which the workers must be squeezed between the vise of the passport system and the peasantry between the vise of political departments, the pressure from without must inevitably weaken the inner ties ever more. And vice-versa, the growth of contradictions between town and country must incontrovertibly sharpen the danger from the outside capitalist governments. The combination of these two factors pushes the bureaucracy along the road of ever greater concessions to the external pressure and ever greater repressions against the working masses of their own country.

— L. TROTSKY  
(To be continued)

## SUB DRIVE

Since our last report 41 more subs have come in. As we approach the decline of June 1 when the drive closes the volume of subs and the tempo are increasing. It is a hot race. Last week comrade Capelis was in a tie with comrade Caplan of Kansas City for the three volumes of "The History of the Russian Revolution," by Comrade Trotsky, which goes to the winner. This week comrade Caplan is so far ahead as to make it almost a sure thing for him. And comrade Dunne has shot up to second place. Not so far behind is comrade Kotz from our Newark branch.

This is how they did it. Comrade Caplan ran up a mere 16 to add to his former score; comrade Dunne rolled in 8 and comrade Kotz 5. It shows what can be done—this drive does. It's the best one we've ever had. And don't overlook the single subs. We don't list them here this week for lack of space, but there are no less than twenty of them.

- Here is the list:
- A. Caplan, Kansas City... 22
  - V. Dunne, Minneapolis... 12
  - G. Kotz, Newark... 7
  - H. Capelis, N. Y. C... 7
  - J. Ruby, Chicago... 5
  - H. Oehler, Chicago... 3
  - W. Konikow, Boston... 3
  - K. Czapsko, Bethlehem... 3
  - D. Marcus, N. Y. C... 2
  - A. Friend, Lynn, Mass... 2
  - M. Morris, N. Y. C... 2
  - G. Latinen, Chicago... 2
  - A. G., Chicago... 2

# Discussion on Tasks in Germany

A broad discussion is in process on the tasks posed by the seizure of power by Fascism in Germany and the new situation created thereby. The central point of the discussion revolves around the question: Are conditions ripe for the establishment of a new German Communist party? Comrade Trotsky posed this question forcefully in his article: "The Tragedy of the German Proletariat" and in his polemic "The Collapse of the Left Opposition" both of which have already appeared in the Militant. In the present issue we are publishing a draft resolution adopted by the Reichsleitung (National Committee) of the German section on this question. Other documents and discussion articles which have already appeared in *Unser Wort* and other organs of the International Left Opposition are soon to follow.

Resolution  
I.  
Our old perspective on the reform

## Resolution of the N. C. of the German Opposition

of the C.P.G. has lost its validity in view of the failure and the debacle of the C.P.G. Reform is rendered impossible politically due to the depth and consequences of the mistakes committed and due to the defeat—and organizationally, because of illegality. Those elements which will cut loose decisively from reformism (social democracy) at present will not go to the old C.P.G. The organizational passivity which permitted the C.P.G. to survive for years its organizational decline cannot have its repercussions in an illegal party. Only a new political content could have forestalled its disintegration.

Two circumstances are at present working against rapid disintegration of the C.P.G. First, the material and ideological support furnished by the existence of the U.S.S.R. Secondly, the fact that while the results of the policy of

the C.P., contrary to the social democracy of 1914, has gone into bankruptcy (objective treachery) but has not landed on the other side of the barricades; whereas the S.P.G. openly betrayed after 1914 and went over to the enemy. This is a fact which has its repercussions in the minds of the masses. In this sense, the designation of a new "August 4" is incorrect.

III.  
Although developments point to the line towards a new party, this slogan would be premature and false, as the National Conference has already affirmed. The principle obstacle today lies in the mentality of the masses which is as yet insufficiently awakened. Before the slogan of a new party is put forward it is necessary that the mentality of the masses must go through a longer process. Between the bankruptcy of the II. International and the proclamation of the III. International there was also an extended period, although in that case the question was not complicated by factors such as those enumerated in point II. When it is a matter of putting forward a slogan, we should take into consideration what we have often said to the ultra-left leadership of the party in the last few years. It is not a matter of putting forward slogans which are generally correct, for the history books so to speak. This is what the C.P.G. did with the general strike in a classic fashion during the last few years, depriving this slogan, which is correct in itself, of all effectiveness. This can be done only when the corresponding subjective and objective conditions are given and when, on the basis of these slogans, men can be rallied around our objectives.

The psychological and organizational provisions for a new party are so lacking in Germany today that the presentation of the slogan for a Second Party will not only accelerate the regrouping but rather impede it. The altogether un-concrete call to the vanguard to constitute a new party will fall on deaf ears entirely.

IV.  
The principal task of the Left Opposition consists today in pronouncing itself for the collection of material that will make possible the construction of a new party on the ruins of the two old parties; for the formation of cadres on the basis of a Marxist analysis of the past. The principal source for these cadres remains the C.P., as comrade Gourov' has himself affirmed. The second: the social democratic party.

To issue the slogan for a Second Party today, when these cadres have not as yet become crystallized, neither in the C.P.G. nor in the S.P.G. means (perhaps by some "new Zimmerwald") to serve not the essential elements, but all the obstacles to development (the Brandtites, the Leninbund, the leadership of the S.A.P. (Socialist Labor Party), and all those who have already demonstrated their inability to lead the German Proletariat). The criticism of the cadres will and should develop in the direction of our analysis. The cadres should, moreover, learn to link up the illegal work with the legal work from the beginning and work in the existing mass organizations which as yet remain outside of the Fascist party.

The slogan for a new party will mean that we will have to pose the demand for the destruction of the old party. This demand would be rejected with indignation even by the more critical elements. They must be convinced in the course of struggle with the bureaucracy and the clarification around the formation of cadres. They must see the necessity for this step. The question is posed in the same manner in the S.P. and the S.A.P., although for the former of the two the demand for destruction is already posed today. The struggle for cadres brings us closer to the critical elements within the party. The demand for a Second Party separates us from them.

V.  
Only among the old ultra-leftists and in the letters of Gourov' can we observe elements of indignation to the point of parting with us, if we do not issue the slogan for a new party.

VI.  
While the slogan for a Second Party does not advance our cause by an iota among the semi-critical elements in the party, it will not even embrace the completely critical and disillusioned elements. For them the idea of the party is so compromised that they think of nothing less than of a new party at present. Whereas the idea of forming cadres will appear self-evident to them. Only experience will again reconcile them with the idea of the party.

\* One of the editors of the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition. Ed.

## L. O. Addresses Official Party on Stand in Minn. Elections

(Continued from Page 1)

By correct action and leadership the Communist party gains the confidence of ever more workers, educates them in struggle against capitalism, unites their scattered forces and leads them in daily struggles, always keeping before the workers the perspectives of a social revolution. How did the Communist party fare in this election? While receiving more votes than in the last election (1931), the vote for Mayor was about 50 percent less than the vote in the city elections of 1929. The figures were all low. During the same period Farmer-Labor reformism was growing by leaps and bounds among the workers.

The Communist party is the only political party that is interested and that can clear up the prevailing confusion among the workers about politics. But instead of doing this it adds to the confusion by wrong tactics. When the Communist party entered the elections under the false name, **United Front Workers Ticket** it used the same cheap political practices as the corrupt bosses' parties. It prevented the C. P. from teaching the workers to identify candidates with a Party, a Program and Principles. True, this maneuver of a **United Front Workers Ticket** was to allow the well-known, politically unreliable Walter Frank to enter the elections on a common program with the Communist candidates. But this is rank opportunism. The party was forced to break with Frank or else be partners in a political crime against the working class along with Frank. Rather than call a spade a spade and openly admit the error, the Communist party leaders tried to cover up the traces. In doing so, they did untold damage to Communism. Aside from other things their actions pushed scores of the best workers coming toward the Party back into the political confusion that Frank represents.

Therefore the Communist League (Left Opposition), a faction of Communism, takes this form, an Open Letter, to address the Official Party upon certain vital questions of policy in the coming city elections, June 12.

1. The party must come out in this campaign under its own name, put up a **Sticker Candidate** for Mayor, print stickers and get into

the city-wide campaign in full force, advocating the need of a working class political party, the Communist party. Against the prevailing confusion about elections, point out to all the workers that not "big men" and "political bosses" are going to give them what they need, but only their own political organization that will build a controlled leadership and a Workers' Government.

2. There should be an open admission of the fallacy of the United Front Workers Ticket and the maneuver with W. Frank, and a stop put to all campaign speeches that give the immediate impression that immediate demands of the election platform can be won merely by voting for "Workers Candidates." They are good demands, but explain the fight correctly!

3. In the 6th Ward alderman contest, make a broad, intelligent, principle battle against Farmer-Labor reformism. Act like Communists in elections.

The undersigned pledges its full support to the party in this campaign. Yours for Communism.

Communist League of America  
(Left Opposition)

## IMPORTANT CORRECTION

In the last issue of the Militant, in the article "Hecker Explains the Debacle," a mistake was made in the text. In translating from comrade Trotsky's "Against National Communism" the text was made to read "—we, the Communists, consider the present government (Bruening) as an enemy of the proletariat, but this government supports itself upon your confidence and your votes; we want to fells this government in all alliance with the Fascists (Referendum) against you."

The text should have read: "We Communists consider the present government the enemy of the proletariat but this government supports itself on your confidence and your votes; we wish to overthrow this government by means of an alliance with you and not by means of an alliance with the Fascists against you."

## Fight Roosevelt Program

(Continued from Page 1)

Communists must expose these maneuvers, place in the foreground the independent demands of the working class, and build the organizational machinery for enforcing these demands which is possible only on the basis of the Leninist united front of all working-class organizations.

The demand for higher wages and higher unemployment relief to meet the rising prices and the threat of inflation must be backed up by concrete proposals for a national movement in which representatives of the workers will determine on the basis of national and local considerations the minimum wage and relief increases which are acceptable.

Even such slight signs of economic recovery as are now visible (steel production up to 38 percent of capacity, the highest in two years; employment in New York State in April up 1.0 percent in March, and payrolls because of longer hours, up 4.5 percent) amply warrant a nation-wide effort for genuine unemployment insurance to be administered by the workers, as an immediate demand. The increased profits which would follow any kind of improvement, even if limited and temporary, must be immediately claimed by the workers on whose backs the burdens of the crisis have been piled.

The recognition of the Soviet Union and long-term credits to the Soviet Union must not be left to be decided on the basis of their opportunity for profits but must be posed as an immediate working-class demand which ties up immediate interests of the American workers with economic collaboration in socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

— B. J. FIELD

**Leon Trotsky**  
**ON THE ROAD FOR GERMANY**

100 Pages Postage: Six Cents Extra Per Copy

Pioneer Publishers  
84 EAST 10th STREET NEW YORK, N. Y.

**WORKS by TROTSKY**

ON GERMANY	
<b>THE ONLY ROAD</b>	<b>WHAT NEXT?</b>
100 pages .25	192 pages paper cover .35
Postage—.06 extra per copy	cloth over .65
ON RUSSIA	
<b>PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF U.S.S.R.</b>	
Price .15	Postage—.01 extra per copy
ON SPAIN	
<b>THE SPANISH REVOLUTION IN DANGER</b>	
Price .15	Postage—.01 extra per copy
ON THE TRADE UNION QUESTION	
<b>COMMUNISM AND SYNDICALISM</b>	
Price .15	Postage—.01 extra per copy
ON THE THEORY OF SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY AND THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION	
<b>THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION</b>	<b>THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION</b>
.25	180 pages paper cover .50
Postage—.06 extra per copy	cloth cover 1.00
ON CHINA	
<b>PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION</b>	
450 pages paper cover 1.00	cloth cover 1.50
Postage—.06 extra per copy	
PIONEER PUBLISHERS	
84 EAST 10th STREET, N. Y. C.	