#### Problems of the Spanish Revolution

Mistakes of Comrade Maurin

## EDITORIAL NOTES

WAGE CUTS AND STRIKES

A speeding up of the wage cutting campaign on the one hand and the growth of the strike movement on the other are the two outstanding and related developments of the month in the doestic field. The letter of Secretary of Commerce Lamont to Representative Condon gave a powerful impetus to the drive against wage standards, and was no doubt so designed. The subsequent attempts of the White House to obscure the issue and "interpret" Lamont's blunt declaration in justification of reductions by firms "in extremely difficult positions" are not to be taken seriously. We do not believe that Lamont spoke for himself alone, and certainly not as an opponent of Hoover's attitude. It is more reasonable to conclude that his letter was put out as a "feeler" and a tip to the industrialists to go ahead everywhere, with full assurance of Governmental support.

They are doing so. And even more significant than the reductions already made are the wide-scale preparations for a bigger assault all along the line, and especially in the big industries. The steel workers will be one of the next points of attack, an attack which was already being prepared at the time of Farrell's hypocritical speech against it a few weeks ago. The railroads are getting ready now. Stuart Chase, in his latest work, predicts a sweeping wage cut in the railroad industry. The application for an increase in freight rates is primarily, if not exclusively a fillbuster to prepare the way for a drastic reduction of rail wages on the ground that the railroads are also in "extremely difficult positions" which, higher freight rates failing, can be relieved only by a cut in labor costs. The wage cuts so far recorded, heavy as they have been, are only the first experimental steps. The great offensive is yet to come, as all signs testify.

The defensive struggle of the workers is gaining momentum, although slowly and in a tentative fashion. There is nothing in the facts to sustain the blockheads who describe the situation as a "workers' offensive". The Department of Labor figures which, like the reports on unemployment are not to be taken at face value, give, nevertheless, an approximate picture for comparative purposes 447 strikes and lockouts in the first six months of the year show an increase of nearly fifty per cent over the same period in 1930. But if we compare this with the 2,385 strikes in 1921-also a crisis year-we can see that the labor movement is not yet standing on its feet. And the strike figures for 1919, when 3,630 wage conflicts were recorded, speak even more eloquently of the realities of the present situation.

Coal, steel and railroads were represented in the labor revolts of that year and constituted the heart of it. The present defensive movement of the workers is confined largely so far, to soft coal and textiles where the industry is the "sickest" and the pressure on the workers has been the heaviest. But the rate at which the struggles are developing in this sector and the militancy which characterizes them are promising signs of a genuine labor awakening.

The theory that the workers are not inclined to strike during periods of crisis and wide unemployment receives a certain confirmation from American labor and economic history, and is borne out within limits by the experience of the past two years. But the present situation is extraordinary in many respects, as has been pointed out before. It is quite false to construct a law to the effect that the workers will not strike during the crisis, as the Right wing has been inclined to do. The increase in

bounded possibilities for the awakening in accordance with the teachings of advance of Communism.



## THEY SAY IT WITH FLOWERS

The exponents of Bolshevik self-criticism are at it again and true stories stranger than fiction are unfolding themselves on the pages of the Daily Worke for anyone to read if he will and to understand if he can. Kuusinen precipitated the latest orgy with his recent article entitled, "Are the Decisions of the E. C. C. I. Plenum to Remain on Paper?" They should have, but they didn't. And now we are hearing a rollcall on the results. The head men of the C. E. C. have evidently called on all the District Committees to explain-at length, of course-which district applied the line of the XI Plenum most faithfully and which got the worst results. The Chicago D. E. C. bids for the prize in the latest Stalinist competition with a resolution in the Daily Worker of August 1, which covers almost a whole page of any other Marxian current-is to be of the paper. The report is long and, seen from the following quotation from

in its own way, good. The resolution of the district leaders bristles with accounts of "weaknesses". takes", "dissolution", "demoralization" try without the previous victory of socand "collapse" in every field, all related islism in other countries, without aid obscurity and made public again so that fundamental conflict of present-day pro- no more!

with the gusto and enthusiasm of hypochondriac boasting of his diseases The section devoted to the Southern III inois mining fields is a fair sample of the whole document. They were busy there and they have results to show for it. The achievements claimed in the resolution include the following: "(a) Failure to mobilize the Illinois miners to struggle and spread the Orfeut strike. (b) Decline of our influence in the Orient strike. (c) Dissolution of the four locals of the N. M. U. (d) Dissolution of five units of the party. (e) General weakening of our position in the Illinois

This, we contend, is pretty close to a hundred per cent efficiency in the work of clearing out the sprouts and shoots of Communist influence. The grasshoppers in a Dakota field could hardly make a cleaner sweep. And how do the Chicago Stalinists account for this result? Do they re-examine the policy that produces such a devastation? Not at all. "The District Bureau", they say, "has made generally correct decisions on work in the mining field." This they call "self-criticism" and on top of it they add: "Self-criticism is that particular method of work by which we improve of the bourgeoisie. all our methods of work." They say it with flowers.

In the political struggle we grow accustomed to much, and we are ready to believe that this incredible document was really adopted, that is not a forgery elaborated to make fun of the party. But when the Daily Worker introduces the resolution with the statement that it is "an example to other districts-not only to follow, but to excel". it goes too far. How can that record be excel--J. P. C.

## The Real Situation in Russia By LEON TROTSKY

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ment is terribly disoriented at a time when a clear and distinct orientation is now more necessary than ever before. The ideological chaos into which the National Confederation of Labor has sunk constitutes a mortal danger for the revolution. Anarcho-syndicalism can only lead the Spanish proletariat to defeat. The last congress of this central dispelled the slender hopes for correction that might have remained; the leaders

and they continue to debate in a frightful confusion. Theoretical poverty has always charac erized the Spanish Socialist Party. But if its leaders gave no revolutionary theory to the working class of our country, it was not only out of incompetence but with the aim of subjecting its hosts to the liberal bourgeois ideology. Today, socialism is no longer at the Right wing of the labor movement, but perhaps not even at the Left wing

of the N. C. of L. have learned nothing

from the rich experiences of recent years

In the Communist movement painful floating ideolgically in the air, maintain an indefinite policy full of vacillation and wavering.

Should the present ideological disorientation persist, the immense possibilities that the situation contains objectively for the proletariat, will be wasted. There is lacking in Spain a powerful icy of the International. Communist party capable of directing the spontaneous movement of the masses towards the conquest of power. But the indispensable premise for the formation of such a party and the guarantee of its effectiveness as an instrument of the liberation of the working class, is the elaboration of a revolutionary strategy and tactic. For this reason, the struggle on the theoretical front must by the sub-Stalinists of every country: occupy at present a prominent place, to assert that the Communist Left Opand the deviations and the mistakes position is an enemy of the Five Year must be combatted with the maximum Plan. Precisely in recent times, Reuter

Spanish revolution.

tionary theory there can be no revolu- this hall, combatted the errors of Maur- better informed on what is going on in the tactics of Marx and Lenin the contionary movement. In Spain, this truth in. But they are of such importance has never been so much in evidence as that we deem it indispensable to bring at the present moment. Our labor move- them forward once more before the Spanish Communists.

An . . . . Uncomfortable Position

Maurin began by declaring that the Communists of the Catalonian-Balearic Federation, in whose name he spoke were regarded as Stalinists by the "Trot skylsts" and as "Trotskyists" by the Stalinists. The thing is logical. The fate which is reserved for those who as in the case of Maurin and of the organization he represents, have no definite political position, is to receive the blows from both sides and to be compeled, in the final analysis, to pronounce themselves concretely, incorporating themselves into one of the tendencies or else to be eliminated conclusively from the political arena.

The tragic conflict that now divides the international Communist movement has its roots in profound differences on the fundamental problems of the revolution. These differences can and should be overcome by the sole effective manner known up to now: the application of democratic centralism, converted into a dead letter by bureaucratic centralism as it is to say so, the situation is not of the International. But the fact is much more alluring in this respect. In that the differences not only exist but the official Communist party, the system have become deeper, and to remain inof bureaucratic leadership chokes off in different or to maintain an attitude of its infancy all possibility of theoretical neutrality towards them, is impossible life. Nobody dares, out of fear of ex for any Communist. To persist in claimpulsion, to hazard the slightest idea or ing the contrary, leads to what Maurin his own initiative. On the other hand, has been led to, to adopt a political the autonomous organizations, such as orientation which has alienated from the Catalonian-Balearic Communist Fed- the Stalinists and from the Left Opposieration or the Agrupacion de Madrid, tion in exchange for an approach to the Left wing of the petty bourgeoisie.

#### Why Maurin Is Not with the "Trotskyists"

Since politics does not tolerate a vac uum, Maurin had to say why he was not with the Left Communist Opposition and why he dissented from the pol-

Against the political orientation of the Opposition, Maurin was unable to oppose his own, or else he had none, is primarily a difference of evaluation or still better because he did not prethe Spanish political situation and the tactics it recommends were correct. Therefore, he went off on a tangent, resorting to one of the arguments favored and other bourgeoisie press agencies, In this sense, the lecture given on singing in chorus with the Stalinists, June 8 at the Ateneo of Madrid by have attributed interviews and falsified comrade Joaquin Maurin caunot be al- articles to Trotsky, according to which lowed to pass in silence, inasmuch as our comrade called the Plan a "fraud" the spirit that animated it constituted and proclaimed its complete downfall. an attempt at revision of the basic prin- Maurin who, up to now, had maintained ciples of revolutionary Marxism, an at- a neutral attitude on the internal protempt which, should it succeed, would blems of the Russian revolution be represent an immense danger for the lieved it his duty to join his voice to home manufacture. The working class, The author of these lines, at the congratulate him on it. Because Maur- perience, will elaborate the methods of

Russia that many other militants, tribution of the experience of the great Maurin who cannot limit himself to the simple worship of a neophyte before the Russian revolution, but has the duty to study its problems and to know the genuine history and not that manufactured by the Stalinist bureaucraoy-knows perfectly well that the accusation he formulated does not correspond to the reality. Has the leader of the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc forgotten the history of these last years? Does he not know that it was precisely the Left Opposition that initiated the industrialization of the country, which conducted a furious struggle for it against the present leaders of the C. P. S. U. who accused us as super-industrialists, and utilized the collaboration of the Mensheviks in the economic organs of the state -the same ones whom Stalin recently had to try as sabotagers - for the elaboration of plans based upon the minimal development of industry and upon the protection of the Kulak? Does not Maurin know that it is precisely for having defended induatrialization against those who stigmatthe militants of the Communist Left Opposition were expelled from the party, imprisoned deported and shot? Maurin knows all this perfectly well and that is why his assertion can have only two meanings: to fall deliberately into er-

#### The "National" Character of the Spanish Revolution

against the "Trotskyists"

ror, or else to buy the good will of

the International, by throwing a stone

Having liquidated with such lightness the difference that separates him from the Communist Left Opposition, Maurin had to explain wherein lay his disagreements and those of the organization in whose name he spoke, with the Stalinist leadership of the Communist International. Here the mistake of comrade Maurin is even more serious.

Mauria asserted that what separates him from the Communist International of the present situation. The Internasume to declare that its evaluation of tional-according to him-wanted to impose the experiences of the Russian revolution upon other countries, and this led to the defeat of the Communists in Germany, in Bulgaria in Cihna and in Esthonia. Spain has to make its revolution a national, original revolution The conception of Maurin, in this rc spect, is a distorted transplantation of countries because it imposed the meththe anti-Marxist theory of Stalin of socfor the cause of the proletariat.

Nothing could be more disastrous to the Spanish proletariat than to separate itself from the international Communist movement and to claim to orient it in accordance with a domestic policy of the Stalino-bourgeois chorus. We do not precisely because of international ex-

It has been said that without revolu- meeting which followed the next day at | in who, for various reasons, is much | its emancipation. In the elaboration of revolutionary movements of the nineteenth century, and more specifically of the revolutions of 1848 and the Paris Commune, played a role of the first order. Without this experience, Lenin would have been unable to work out with such precision the tactics that led the Russian proletariat to victory in If the Communist International failed

in the countries mentioned by Maurin, it was not because it imposed the experiences of the Russian revolution, but precisely because it forgot them completely. In China, in place of assuring the hegemony of the proletariat and of guaranteeing its independence in face of the bourgeois parties, it proclaimed the "bloc of four classes" subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie, represented by the Kuo Min Tang, curbed the agrarian revolution, and as a consequence of all this, prepared the victory of the bourgeois counter-revolution of Chiang Kai-Shek. Then, as if the lesson had not been sufficiently heavy. it submitted the fate of the proletariat ized them as counter-revolutionists, that and of the revolution to the government of the petty bourgeoisie of Wuhan-the government which, according to Stalin in May 1927 was almost the dictatorship of the proletariat, which-naturally, also betrayed the interests of the working

> In Germany, the Communist International, thanks to its opportunist policy, did not know how to take advantage of the exceptional opportunity offered it by the exceptional situation in the country in the Autumn of 1923 for the seizure of power. This formidable collapse had enormous consequences for the whole development of the international Communist movement and paved the way for the beginning of the social reaction in Russia, which led to the enthronement of the bureaucratic Stalinist domination.

> In Bulgaria, the lack of revolutionary decision and the opportunism of the party leadership provoked the reactionary coup d'etat of Tsankov, for which the Bulgarian workers and peasants paid in torrents of blood. The insurrection that broke out afterwards in this country and later on in Esthonia were adventurist attempts to repair the consequences of the disastrous policy that had been practised. Did the International fail in these

ods of the Russian revolution? This is ialism in one country, a conception the true up to a certain point insofar as spirit of which contains grave dangers the policy of the Comintern in these ocuntries was inspired by the conceptions and the methods of the Mensheviks. We are of course in agreement with Maurin if this is the example which he urges us to follow. We are not, it is needless to say, if by his assertion he claims that we have to lay aside the Bolshevik experience. And in saying this, we have no desire at all to affirm that it will be necessary to copy literally that which the Bolsheviks did in Russia. Naturally, one must take into account the circumstances of time and place, the specific peculiarities of each coutry in the same way that the doctor takes into account the peculiarities of each patient in order to apply the general treatment. What is essential is the general political orientation. And in this sense it must be said that the general takes precedence over the particular. When we speak, for example, of the bourgeois revolutions of the past, we do not refer to the various forms in which they manifested themselves in each country but to their fundamental characteristic: the destruction of feudal relationships to be substituted for by bourgeois democracy. In our epoch, the struggle of the exploited against the exploiters unfolds itself on a world scale, the national manifestations of this struggle constitute only one aspect of this general struggle. In this huge battle, the proletariat can find its emancipation only in the establishment of its dictatorship, based upon mass organizations, such as the Soviets, the revolutionary Juntas and similar organizations, with a directing Communist party as guide. Outside of this general formula are admissable all the modifications and amendments imposed by national circumstances and peculiarities.

Let us record in this connection that in 1923, when the Political Bureau of the Russian Communist Party was discussing the problems of the German revolution it was precisely our comrade Trotsky who opposed Zinoviev's proposal to create Soviets, arguing correctly that at that moment the mass organizations around which the German proletariat had grouped itself were not the Soviets, as in 1918, but the factory councils. (To be concluded.)

-ANDRES NIN

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## Editorial Board

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# Stalim More About the Theory of in 1921

Socialism in One Country Before Lenin's Death

It is already fairly well known how in technique and equipment on the part in two editions of one of his pamphlets, "Lenin and Leninism", both issued in the same year, Stalin expressed himself in two mutually exclusive ways about the theory of "socialism in one country" In the first edition, published, strike struggles in recent weeks, and like the second, in 1924, Stalin wrote particularly the determined battles of that while the efforts of a national prothe miners and textile workers, refute letariat were sufficient to overthrow its bourgeoisie, "for the final victory of soc-They argue rather for the idea that lallsm for the organization of socialist the railrodas and steel mills, caught in particularly of such a peasant country as the furious wage-cutting drive, will not Russia, are insufficient". In the second in terms of struggle. Our perspective correction, according to which what had of the coming months runs this way. a few months before been insufficient, From such a development will flow un- now become quite adequate and entirely 1926.) of the labor movement and a sweeping Marx and Lenin. It will be remembered also that Stalin, to explain away this embarrassing dualism in his 1924 contributions to revolutionary science, de clared at the Seventh plenum of the C. I. "against" Zinoviev, that he had the "right to change and to express more sharply" his formulation of a brief few months before. In the intervening years, the theory of "socialism in one country", known to Marx and Lenin only as the subject of ridicule and attack, has self with the idea that, aside from his been rounded out, invested with the authority of the Communist International, Leninism", his feeble literary endeavors dressed up in distorted and falsified of the past will not rise to contradict laid down by Stalin and his apparatus appears that even this safeguard is not as the foundation stone in the struggle without its breach. against "counter-revolutionary Trotsky-

Stalin in 1925

How definitely Stalin took his place on the side of this theory-following 1924, of course; before then it was quite unknown in the ranks of Bolshevism or a speech he delivered at the Sverdlev

University on June 9, 1925: "Is it possible then, to construct a "failures", "opportunism" "Leftist mis- socialist economic system in our coun-

of the victorious proletariat of the West? "Yes, this is possible. It is not only possible, but is both necessary and in-

evitable. . . . "The great significance of Lenin, also, by the way, consists in the fact that he adopted no haphazard attitude towards construction, that he does not contemplate construction without perspectives, and that he gives a clear and definite answer to the question of the perspecthe workers in other industries, such as construction, the efforts of one country, tives of our work that we have all the pre-requisites for constructing a socialist economy in our country, and that we wait for a revival to give their answer edition, Stalin introduced his nationalist can and must construct a completely socialist society". (Stalin, "Bolshevism: Some Questions Answered", London,

Now, Stalin has one doubtful advantage over the other leading theoretical defenders of national socialism. With Bucharin, for instance, it is not difficult to rummage through his old writings and bring forth one passage after another in which he speaks decisively against the theory he and Stalin have advocated from 1924 onwards. But Stalin's literary contributions, especially prior to Lenin's death, are so meager, that he has thus far been able to console him-"slip" in the first edition of "Lenin and "quotations" from Marx and Lenin, and his present theoretical position. But it

Glancing through some old documents, the writer has come across an illuminating article in Russische Korrespondenz, No. 7-9, July-October 1921 a review published in German by the Communist International which, unless I am mistaken, Press Correspondence. The article is by tions. J. Stalin: "The Communist Party Before

we may have additional proof-if more ductive forces with the national-imperof the victorious proletariat of the West"

## And Stalin in 1921

in Russia proceeded under peculiar exstamped all the work after the seizure of power. First: Russia is a backward rehabilitate transportation, develop in dustry and electrify urban and rural in dustry with its own forces, without exchanging the raw materials at hand for machinery and implements from the Western countries. Second, Russia is for the present a socialist island, which is surrounded by capitalist states more developed in industrial respects and hostile to it. If Soviet Russia had but one large state or a few Soviet states developed in industrial respects, as neighbors, then it could easily collaborate with such states on the principles of the exchange of raw materials for machines and implements. But so long as this is not the case, Soviet Russia ment in its hands, are compelled to seek substantial results are yielded by the forms and methods of economic cooperation with the hostile capitalist groups of the West in order to acquire the country for the development, the support occurs of the victory of the proletarian revolution in one or a few industrial capitalist states. Relations in the form of concessions and of foreign tradethese are the means for attaining this goal. Otherwise, a serious economic construction, an electrification of the country, cannot even be thought of. This process will undoubtedly be a slow and painful one; but it is unavoidable trify urban and rural industry with its and inevitable, and this inevitability will remain even if some impatient comrades gesticulate nervously and demand was the forerunner of the International immediate results and effective opera-

"From the economic point of view, the and After the Conquest of Power," a present conflicts and military clashes of chapter, the editor informs us, taken the capitalist groups among themselves,

is needed-of how all the Bolshevik ialist boundaries to their development, leaders during Lenin's life time regarded and the capitalist forms of appropria the question of Russia's alleged self-suf- tion. The imperialist boundaries and ficiency in the building of a "completely the capitalist form strangle the prosocialist society", and that "without aid ductive forces and do not permit their in technique and equipment on the part development. The only way out is the organization of world economy accord-Let us quote the Stalin of 1921 at ing to the principles of fraternal economic collaboration of the advanced (industrial) states with the backward (fuel "But the October also has its dark and raw materials) states (but not acside. It is concerned with the fact that cording to the principles of the spoilation the seizure of power by the proletariat of the latter by the former). It is for this precisely that the international ternal and internal conditions which proletarian revolution is required. Otherwise, an organization and normal development of world economy cannot country in economic respects; it cannot even be thought of. But in orde to begin (at least to begin) with the organization of a correct world economy, the history of the proletariat at least in a few of the advanced states is required. So long as this is not the case, our party must seek roundabout ways for cooperation with the capitalist groups on the economic field. This is the reason why the party, after having shaken off its bourgeoisie and raised the banner of the proletarian world revolution, considers it expedient to liberate small production and small industry from their fetters, to permit a par tial revival of capitalism, putting it in dependence upon the state power to draw in tenant farmers and shareholdand our party, which has the govern- ers, etc., etc., up to the moment when policy of the party: 'to realize a maximum of what can be carried out in one necessary technique, until the moment and the arousing of the revolution in all countries'." (Page 808. Our em-

Thus spoke Stalin in 1921, before he had undertaken to "deepen" Marx and to "broaden" Lenin. At that time, far from believing that Russia had "all the pre-requisites" for a complete socialist economy, he even rejected the idea that Russia could "dvelop industry and elecown forces". In 1921 he had not the slightest idea that the "maximum of what can be carried out in one country'

was a "completely socialist society." How clearly does every new scrap of evidence dug out of the submerged past demonstrate to us that the theory of socialism in one country, entirely alien from some unknown book by Stalin. in the same way as the struggle of the to Marxism and reactionary to the core, What Stalin wrote in 1921 is so reveal- proletariat against the class of the capi- saw the light of day in the ranks of ing that it must be lifted out of its talists, have at their foundation the Bolshevism only after Lenin could see 't