A New Zig-zag and the New Dangers

FREE SPEECH AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT

1930 was a tough year for free speech under the stars and stripes, according to the eleventh annual report of the American Civil Liberties Union, published last week. The sharpening of the class struggle, with the state authorities everywhere on the offensive against the rights of the workers, is reflected in the total of 1,363 free speech prosecutions compiled by the Union in its report. Contrasted with 228 similar prosecutions in 1928 the showing for the past year is a revelation of the alarming encroachments which the "democracy" of capitalism has been making on the legal position of the workers' movement.

be expected since they stand everywhere us renegades. in the vanguard of the fight. But the labor movement, in all of its manifesta- by-jowl with the reformists and reactions suffered wherever it came into tionaries in Paterson, but they atatck conflict with the ruling class. Free their policy no less than we attack the speech is thus an issue of the movement policy of the National Textile Workers as a whole. From all indications, the and the Communist party. They roundcurrent year will show a still greater ly score the dilatory tactics of their increase of the prosecutions and attacks friends in the Revolutionary Age for and will magnify the importance of the July 25. "The delay", they say, "has issue to a corresponding degree. It de- been very costly." And why? Because serves more attention and a more clearly it "made it possible for the National defined attitude on the part of the pro- Textile Workers Union . . . to assume leturian vanguard than it has been show- leadership and to take the initiative in ing up to now.

In our opinion, it is a great mistake to take the abrogation of free speech their mistake, let the Communists break for granted as a proof that there is no through on another sector. "The hesi justice under capitalism. We know that tation and delay", says the statement, well enough, but the knowledge is small "have also made it possible for the consolation. The labor movement and National Textile Workers Union to enter its Communist nucleus needs the maxi- the Allentown strike situation and sents a "variegated picture". There are mum of free expression and should not surrender it lightly. It is one of the penalties the ruling class must pay for its parliamentary form of government imbues the masses with a belief in their it is pointed out in the Revolutionary Age branches which have yielded only six to that it promises democratic rights and existence and their right to them. The extent to which they are really granted is another question. It depends among other things, upon the strength and the militancy of the resistance to their curtailment. And for this resistance, the Communists alone-an insignificant minority-are not sufficient. The issue hangs upon the volume of support from the masses of the workers, and it also draws strength within limits from the democratic sentiments of sections of the petty bourgeoisie.

Viewed in this light, the Communists ought to make a real effort to put the issue of free speech on the agenda of the labor movement as a whole, not merely of its Communist wing. To do this effectively, they will have to put aside the infantile shricks about "Fascism" and put the question as it really stands. The rulers of America say this is a free and democratic country with a constitution which guarantees freedom of speech. The Communists should answer: Very well, let us have a little of this freedom for legal activity. They should go to the labor organizations everywhere with this appeal and organize them to fight for it. They should demand these legal rights not only for Communists, but for all labor organizations and parties, as Lenin demanded of the provisional government in Russia.

The Communists in America, as the Bolsheviks in Russia under Kerensky, should insist upon free and open discussion of all questions and point of view in order that the workers may judge fairly for themselves. They should stop their hooligan tactics of breaking up meetings and become the champions of free discussion.

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WHAT IS A RENEGADE?

Denunciation is an indispensable weaexplained that unless reformists and hetrayers were exposed and denounced by their proper name the workers would not know whom to trust in the movement of crisis. In recent years, we have seen this principle, like all of Lenin's teachings, perverted and distorted and turned acter. If they did not have, there would into its opposite. Denunciation and epithet have ben employed so widely-and acterized precisely by the fact that they so falsely-that they lost, for a time, much of their meaning and power. Nevertheless, Lenin's idea retains all its validity and is beginning to show itself itical would have no meaning, inasmuch clearly again through the fog of slander and fakery. Events have helped this again, is nothing but "concentrated as they help every revolutionary principle.

Let us take the word "renegade". This epithet for turncoats and traitors is a sword of razor-edge in the hands of the proletariat to be used sparinglyand always surely. If it is disloyally employed to hack indiscriminately in every dispute within the camp of the revolution, it loses its sharpness to cut is the way it has been used, as we have seen in America for the past three

years. Who will forget the cry of "renegade" which Lovestone, seconded by Foster, hurled at the American section of the Left Opposition. It did not destroy us it is true, for genuine internationalists wear an armor against it. Misused in this shameful way, the word lost its power and significance for a time. It became a jest, as useless as a blunted sword. And yet the word means something, it remains a weapon in the hands of those who use it honestly. The incidents in Paterson have done much to olution that is posed, but rather of a partisan of independence? In no way, the prolétariat. The Communists must gress of the Soviets or of the revolu-

sharpen the sword for the Communist workers.

Workers Union in Paterson deserves know we have not spared it. We have criticized the official party in that situa tion from the standpoint-as is the case with everything the Opposition on an international scale has criticized in the official line-that it weakens the position of Communism before the reformserve. But the Paterson affair has brought forth another kind of criticism

Lovestone and Gitlow are sitting cheek calling a general strike in Paterson." And that is not all. The reformists, by spread dissention and disruption there." branches which have, for five months Serious errors indeed.

"mistakes" which Lovestone and Gitlow are branches which have grown twenty noticed? Yes, they made one more and to thirty percent, and finally, there are for August 1. The amalgamated unions ten percent of growth, and even less than stayed at work after the N. T. W. called that. As if in passing, Stalin remarks its strike. But that was wrong only be- that to the last category belong the cause it is poor strategy. "Nor is it in coal industry and heavy metallurgy, that tige. Where is there place here for cal-"and the workers that follow them that parts of economy among themselves? On a large number of workers should be this score, there is no reply. Yet, upon N. T. W. U. that the August 3 strike fate of the Five Year Plan. With a duction, under the adjacent branches of proposal was issued for the express pur- wrong computation of the parts, a house economy On the contrary, the econom-T. W. U., in other words, that it is a third or the fourth storey. With incor- the elements of produdction and did not the conditions of life of over one hun- not be confronted by political dangers. strike-breaking proposal."

United Textile Workers Unions were in end of the Five Year Plan and create interrupted working week on paper". position of the city workers did not rise material wretchedness of our workers. the shops---the expellers of the Left Opthe shops—the expellers of the Left Opposition from the Communist party comtion and development of its indubitable a false, accounting. Did not the Opposistationary or even lowered. Stalin brings
int against the Soviet state, to induce plain of the delay which, they say, successes. Nevertheless, the fact that tion warn in every number of its Bulus right up to this harsh conclusion, our workers to accept the bourgeoistile Workers Union which has no base in the industry and lacks the confidence growth of six percent, "and even less counting under orders, but not industry

Yes, the word Renegade has a meaning in spite of all the disloyal use that has been made of it. Its meaning is written clear for all to see in the statements quoted above.

change its name. It is high time. -J. P. C.

The course of the National Textile ceptional interest. Not because it con- ever more precise manuer? We learn chief mechanic keep silent so long? We it not come from Stalin, will appear parcriticism, and readers of the Militant perspectives, precise summaries, clear rationalization of industry have long ago two years ago. The question arises: can sideration the administrative struggle the other, the casting of the blame upon indictment of the highest command? "It the most light-minded adventurism? tween conclusions and premises-all the costs of production in a whole series ists and the bourgeoisie whom they these qualities and features of bureau- of enterprises started to rise." We know form of the International Opposition, Year Plan, the working masses feel cratic inconsistency penetrate Stalin's what such words as "here and there", speech through and through. But out "in a whole series of enterprises" mean -a criticism of the reformists for "er- of the confused web of the speech, facts with Stalin. This means that the speakrors" which helped the development of break through which can no longer be er is afraid of the facts, smears them the Communist union there. The au- passed over in silence. These facts give up, and minimizes them. Under the Communists have borne the "brunt of thors of this brand of criticism are the the speech its genuinely political signi- words "in a whole series of enterthe attack", says the report, as was to Lovestoneites, the people who first called ficance. If it should be liberated from prises" is concealed heavy industry: sult: "The Left Opposition, this time forty percent, it at the same time drives too, proved to be right. All its warn- upward the costs of production, underings have been justified. But we, the mining in this maner the possibility of bureaucrats, with our rude slander and its further growth. In addition to this with our oppressions of the Opposition, it turns out that calculation is thrown proved to be the fools." Stalin, it is overboard, and rationalization is out of understood, expressed these thoughts in style. Does not the alarming conclusion different words. He continued, of course, come to the fore that the actual situato thunder at "Trotskyism" with cast iron banalities. But it is not the bureaucratic logic of Stalin which interests

THE FIVE YEAR PLAN IN FOUR YEARS

ness of thought.

us, but rather the dialectics of the econ-

omic process which is mightier than

the mightiest bureaucratic incomplete-

We learn from the speech that the execution of the industrial plan pre-Did the Musteites make any more the corresponding period last year, there

omic organizations, they long ago [!] of course, proclaimed a counter-revolu- in industry and partly away from indus-It is reported that the "Communist up actual balances of incomes and exthe rogues, yelled about the "defeatism" Stalin informs us that in the majority become the pre-condition for political Party (Majority Group)" is going to penditures". When one reads these lines, of the Left Opposition. But what does of enterprises the composition of the migrations. he does not believe his eyes: How is this the phrase: "have long ago ceased to workers changes "during half a year or

Stalin's speech at the conference of industry consist of if its effectiveness is the apparatus men have extinguished the, from thirty to forty percent". This figthe executors complete disharmony be- is a fact," Stalin continues, "that lately by the speaker?

How could this happen? Why and how have accounting and calculation been thrown overboard? Stalin keeps silent the economic plant built, not according to plumb line but according to the eye? With his characteristic precision, Stalin replies: "Long ago". How is it that the leaders did not notice it? Stalin is silent. We will reply in his stead. Calculation, which was not ideal even be fore, because the Soviet state has only vielded an excess of forty percent over begun to learn to keep an accounting on a state scale, was thrown completely overboard from the time that the bureaucratic leadership substituted for Marxian analysis of economy and flexible regulation, the naked administrative spur. The co-efficients of growth have become questions of bureaucratic pres the interests of the amalgamated un- is, the real base of industrialization. clation? That director or chairman of a ions," says the Lovestone statement, What is the relation of the different trust proved to be the hero who "completed and exceeded" the plan, having robbed the budget and having laid firmly convinced of the charges of the the reply to this question depends the mine, in the form of bad quality of propose of breaking the strike of the N. in construction may collapse at the ists who tried to calculate correctly all rect planning, and what is still more im- drive out the sacred bureaucratic re- dred million peasants improved so ra- The Platform of the Russian Opposi-And in the same statement—while the portant, with the incorrect regulation of cords, constantly fell into the category dically that the cities have lost the power ago: "The Men-And in the same statement—while the a plan in the process of its execution, of the penalized. Now we hear from er of attraction for them? This might sheviks, agents of the bourgeoisie among ket line and the Associated and the the crisis may unfold towards the very Stalin that in industry there is an "uninsurmountable difficulties for the utiliza- "successes on paper" "a paper", that is, simultaneously during this time but was They are trying to rouse the proletarplain of the delay which, they say, heavy industry has shown, instead of a letin that naked administrative pressure without, however, calling it by its name. Menshevik slogan, 'Back to capitalism.' thirty to forty percent growth, only a is much more capable of accelerating acof the workers, to inject itself into the than that", is covered up by Stalin with itself: state figures are far more flexible mined by the turnover of the working upon improving the material condition the meaningless, trival phrase: "The than steel and coal? Didn't we write force by the "general" movement from of the workers, is performing the best From the same speech, we learn that leads the Five Year Plan, the more ex- the flow from the village to the city pushing the workers under its yellow "in a number of enterprises and econ- tinguished are the lanterns? This was, stopped completely, the turnover with- banner." (Page 42.) ceased to count, to calculate, to make tionary slander. All the blockheads, all try altogether has grown immensely, physical migrations of the workers may so? What then does the leadership of count, to calculate" mean if not that even a quarter of a year by at least

quite precisely in the draft of the platday for display purposes, but the con- turn to this later-it does not in itself the shell, the following will be the re- Yielding six percent increase instead of of the dynamic equilibrium, with a cor- any extent. If, during half a year or a broad, planned utilization of the world terprise are renewed "at least thirty to market". (page 43.)

THE PROBLEM OF THE WORKING FORCE

Stalin informs us, for the first time forces in general. This fact may apcity and the village have disappeared? said honestly, clearly, openly-extraor-After all, in the third year of the Five dinarily worsened in the last period. Year Plan, we "entered into socialism" But no, in Stalin's last speech, we do not see anything about the realization of living of the workers and their role socialism. The speaker became much in the state-is the highest criteron of more modest and confined himself to a socialist successes." If the Stalinist simple reference to the improvement of bureaucray would approach the tasks of the position of the peasant poor. We planning and of a living regulation of have no intention to contest the fact it- economy from this standpoint, it would self. However, as an explanation of the not miss fire so wildly, every time, it stopping of the flow of people from the would not be compelled to conduct a village, it is completely insufficient. Have policy of extravagant zig-zags, and would

voted to the fact that industry is under-shevism' in the Opposition's insistence dozens of tmes that the further Stalin enterprise to enterprise. At a time when possible service to Menshevism. He is

the economists on June 23, is of ex- not measured and not checked up in an lanterns? If long ago, then why did the ure, which would appear improbable had tains any deep gengralizations, broad further that "the regime of economy . .. wrote about the extinguished lanterns ticularly threatening if we take into conpractical indications. There is nothing [!] gone out of style". Does the speak- anyone more clearly, more categorically, which the trade union bureaucracy, toof this sort. Clipped thoughts, as aller weigh his own words? Don't they attest to his inconsistency? Isn't it clear gether with that of the party and the ways, deliberately ambiguous formula- sound like a monstrous slander of Sov- that the transformation of the Five Year Soviets, led against the turnover for the tions which may be twisted one way or let economy, and primarily a merciless Plan into a four plan was an act of past years. The proverb says, "Let well enough alone". The growth of a turn-The basic conclusion is pointed out over signifies that under the conditions existing in the third year of the Five "The administrative chase after "maxi-| restless. The chief reason for the turnmum' tempos must give way to the ela- over is seen by the bureaucracy in the boration of optimum (the most advan- incorrect system of wages, in its too tageous) tempos which do not guarantee great equalization. No matter how this the fulfillment of the command of the question should be solved-we shall restant growth of economy on the basis exhaust the problem of the turnover to rect distribution of domestic means and even a quarter, the workers of an enforty percent", this means that not only the skilled upper strata but the working mass as a whole are in a position of perpetual migration. According to the words of Stalin, the worker makes with such clarity, that the execution of it his aim to "work a little and tion is even darker than it is presented the plan is hindered by the lack, not only then to go elsewhere, to a different place, of skilled workers but of live working to seek fortune". In this benign, but in essence tragic phrase, Stalin, without pear improbable at first sight. The noticing it, approaches the basic defect Russian village has included within it- of the Five Year Plan: the rude disself, from time immemorial, obvious and turbing of the economic balance to the about it. Since when are the walls of hidden reserves of surplus population detriment of the workers. Gigantic elecwhich, moreover, increased annually by tric stations, factories, are being conhundreds of thousands. The growth of structed, great quantities of machinery, the Soviet farms, the collectivization and tractors, are turned out, the village is the mechaniztion of agriculture should being collectivized but the proletarians, naturally have increased the number of who should be the basic core of this those migrating from the village. The whole gigantic process, migrate at the danger, it would appear, proceeded from same time from place to place in search the formation of gigantic reserves of the of "fortune". No, the flow of working army of labor. But no, it appears that forces from the village to the city ceased the attraction of the peasants to the not because the peasantry achieved some city has ceased completely. Is it not sort of an ideal well-being, but because because the contradictions between the the position of the workers-this must be

> The draft platform of the International Left Opposition says: "The standard

The chief place in his speech is de- The complacent official who sees 'Mea-

(To Be Concluded) -LEON TROTSKY.

Problems of the Spanish Revolution

Mistakes of Comrade Maurin

(Continued from Last Issue) The Theory of the Four Revolutions

According to comrade Maurin, there are four revolutions to be realized in pon in the arsenal of the proletarian rev- Spain: the economic revolution, the pololutionists. Lenin insisted on it and itical revolution, the religious revolution, and the national revolution.

> This way of putting the question is wrong from every angle and has absolutely nothing in common with Marxism. All revolutions have an economic charbe no such revolutions, for they are charradically transform economic relations. On the other hand an economic revolution which is not at the same time poias politics, as has been said time and economics". In this way, one cannot speak of an economic revolution and & political revolution as two distinct and separate ideas.

The religious revolution that upset Europe in the nineteenth century was precisely an economic and political revolution, characterized by the struggle of the bourgeoisie against feudalism, which had found its principal defender down traitors on their way to the camp in the papacy. In Spain, in reality, it of the enemy. But this, unfortunately, is not the problem of the religious revolution that is posed but rather the problem of the relations between the church and state, which is only one aspect of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. That is why in this sense it can be said that in reality none of the religious revolutions of the sixteenth century can be considered as such. Religion is only the formality which covers up the struggle of capitalist society against feudalism.

cidents in Paterson have done much to restore the meaning of the word, to re- movement of emancipation of the na- least of all insofar as the Communists not lose sight of this strategic line of tionary Juntas, instruments of the dic-

tionalities, which is simply nothing but of the oppressed nations are concerned, their position and they have to suborone aspect of the bourgeois-democratic The duty of the Communist will con- dinate their tactics to it. This does not

the juridical-political superstructure peoples. And this revolution can have at its head only the working class, establishing its dictatorship.

The Question of Nationalities

In dealing with the socalled "national revolution", Maurin made a declaration which produced great astonishment, not among the intellectuals of the Atenco, as he claims, but among the Communists. "I am going to make an assertion" he said, approximately, "which may cause amazement: The Catalonian-Balearic Communist Federation is sep-

The astonishent of the Communists

could not be more justified. pressed nationalities constitutes a rev- one point upon which all the tendencies to adopt a definite position, he chooses Barcelona olutionary factor of the first order and of Communism concur; the Spanish rev- the road of the radical petty bourgeoisie, plays a role of extraordinary importance olution finds itself today in the bourin the bourgeois-democratic revolution. geois-democratic stage. The Communist could by no means adopt an attitude of prohibition towards this it is a matter of settling the strategic directed by the advanced elements of movement, disdainfully considering that and tactical line. The Stalinists, copy- the Ateneo of Madrid.". The author it "is an affair of the bourgeoisie" of ing slavishly Lenin's formula of 1905combatting it in the name of an abstract 1907, finally abandoned by Lenin himself combat vigorously this false point of internationalism which only serves in in 1917-and not its spirit-put forward reality as a cover for imperialism, as a the slogan of the "democratic dictatordefense of despotic centralism. The ship of the workers and the peasants" Communist, who is the vigorous enemy as if between the bourgeois republic democratic type-we contend-can realof all oppression, will pronounce him- and the dictatorship of the proletariat self determinedly for the recognition of there could exist an intermediate regime. the right of the peoples to dispose freely This conception led the Chinese revoluof their destinies, including their right tion to an enormous disaster. The Comto separation from the state of which munist Left Opposition, drawing its in- cal representatives of the radical petty they form a part if that is their wish, spiration not from dead formulae but bourgeoisie condemned to impotence. The same can be said about the pro- On this point, there cannot be the slight- from living experience, declares that The sole organism equivalent today to blem of nationalities. In our country, est ambiguity. But, does this mean that the bourgeois-democratic revolution can the French convention of the eighteenth it is not the problem of a national rev- the Communist should declare himself only be realized by the dictatorship of century cannot be other than the con-

sist of fighting against all chauvinism In Spain, therefore, there is only one which seeks to liquidate the class strugrevolution to be carried cut, as a con- gle into a national unity, and of placsequence of the contradiction existing ing above the national differences the between the productive relations and solidarity of the proletariat of all the

> Maurin would not have adopted a fundamentally erroneous orientation in this highly important question if, instead of turning his back contemptuously to the Russian revolution, he had drunk directly at the fountain of the theory and the practise of the Bolshevik party. Lenin left us a perfectly constructed doctrine on the national question. Maurin ought to have drawn his inspiration from it, giving up his sterile attempt to create an absurd theory about "national revolution".

National Convention or Dictatorship of the Proletariat?

Insofar as the appreciation of the The emancipation movement of the op- events in Spain is concerned, there is

The differences come forward when

exclude, but on the contrary, it presupposes democratic slogans in the present period towards the end that the worker and peasant masses shall convince themselves, upon the basis of their own experience, that the only road leading to their emancipation is the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

Maurin who according to his declara-

tions, is not an "orthodox" Communist (what does he mean by this? for up to now the orthodox Communist has everywhere been the one who remained able basis for effective action, can avert true to the doctrine of revolutionary disaster for the Spanish revolution. We Marxism) but who, in reality, endeavors would like to believe, notwithstanding, to adopt an intermediate line between that Maurin-although since his lecture Stalinism and the Communist Left Op- in Madrid he has had disturbing relapses position, does not pronounce himself either for the position of the former or to rectify his equivocal position. It is for that of the latter; but, as we have ardently desired by all those who resaid, politics does not tolerate a vacuum; and that is why, seeing himself obliged in the Spanish Communist movement, "The Constituent," he says, "cannot realize the democratic revolution. This must be the work of a national convention of these lines finds himself obliged to view which, should it triumph, would bring incalculable evil to the Spanish revolution. No assembly of the bourgeois ize the democratic revolution under the present circumstances. The Jacobins of today are the Communists and not the advanced elements of the Ateneo, typi- Martin Abern

tatorship of the proletariat and the supreme expression of proletarian democracy as against bourgeois democracy. The point of view of Maurin can only lead to diverting the masses from their true objectives and to strengthening their illusions in the possibility of a deepgoing democratic revolution realized by the petty bourgeoisie.

. . . .

The author of these lines has been bound to Maurin by an old and sincere friendship and it is not without sorrow that he has decided to combat his erroneous points of view. But, amieus Plato, sed magis amica veritas (Plato is my friend, but truth I hold more dear-

Only ideological clarity, the indispens--will correct his mistakes and decide gard him as a force of the first order -ANDRES 'NIN.

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