

Leon Trotsky Writes on Stalin's Latest Speech

EDITORIAL NOTES

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.

Communists have borne the "brunt of the attack," says the report, as was to be expected since they stand everywhere in the vanguard of the fight.

In our opinion, it is a great mistake to take the abrogation of free speech for granted as a proof that there is no justice under capitalism.

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.

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.

WHAT IS A RENEGADE?

Denunciation is an indispensable weapon in the arsenal of the proletarian revolutionists. Lenin insisted on it and explained that unless reformists and betrayers were exposed and denounced by their proper name the workers would not know whom to trust in the movement of crisis.

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 sparingly—and always surely.

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.

sharpen the sword for the Communist workers.

The course of the National Textile Workers Union in Paterson deserves criticism, and readers of the Militant know we have not spared it.

Lovestone and Gitlow are sitting cheek-by-jowl with the reformists and reactionaries in Paterson, but they attack their policy no less than we attack the policy of the National Textile Workers and the Communist party.

Did the Mustelites make any more "mistakes" which Lovestone and Gitlow noticed? Yes, they made one more and it is pointed out in the Revolutionary Age for August 1.

Yes, the word Renegade has a meaning in spite of all the disloyal use that has been made of it.

It is reported that the "Communist Party (Majority Group)" is going to change its name. It is high time.

-J. P. C.

Stalin's speech at the conference of the economists on June 23, is of exceptional interest. Not because it contains any deep generalizations, broad perspectives, precise summaries, clear practical indications.

THE FIVE YEAR PLAN IN FOUR YEARS

We learn from the speech that the execution of the industrial plan presents a "variegated picture". There are branches which have, for five months yielded an excess of forty percent over the corresponding period last year.

From the same speech, we learn that "in a number of enterprises and economic organizations, they long ago [!] ceased to count, to calculate, to make up actual balances of incomes and expenditures".

industry consist of if its effectiveness is not measured and not checked up in an ever more precise manner? We learn further that "the regime of economy... rationalization of industry have long ago [!] gone out of style".

How could this happen? Why and how have accounting and calculation been thrown overboard? Stalin keeps silent about it. Since when are the walls of the economic plant built, not according to plumb line but according to the eye?

the apparatus-men have extinguished the lanterns? If long ago, then why did the chief mechanic keep silent so long? We wrote about the extinguished lanterns two years ago.

THE PROBLEM OF THE WORKING FORCE

Stalin informs us, for the first time with such clarity, that the execution of the plan is hindered by the lack, not only of skilled workers but of live working forces in general.

The chief place in his speech is devoted to the fact that industry is undermined by the turnover of the working force by the "general" movement from enterprise to enterprise.

from thirty to forty percent". This figure, which would appear improbable had it not come from Stalin, will appear particularly threatening if we take into consideration the administrative struggle which the trade union bureaucracy, together with that of the party and the Soviets, led against the turnover for the past years.

The draft platform of the International Left Opposition says: "The standard of living of the workers and their role in the state—is the highest criterion of socialist success."

One must not deceive himself. The physical migrations of the workers may become the pre-condition for political migrations.

(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 Spain: the economic revolution, the political 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 character.

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 in the papacy.

The same can be said about the problem of nationalities. In our country, it is not the problem of a national revolution that is posed, but rather of a movement of emancipation of the na-

tionalities, which is simply nothing but one aspect of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

In Spain, therefore, there is only one revolution to be carried out, as a consequence of the contradiction existing between the productive relations and the juridical-political superstructure.

The Question of Nationalities

In dealing with the so-called "national revolution", Maurin made a declaration which produced great astonishment, not among the intellectuals of the Ateneo, as he claims, but among the Communists.

The astonishment of the Communists could not be more justified.

The emancipation movement of the oppressed nationalities constitutes a revolutionary factor of the first order and plays a role of extraordinary importance in the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

of the oppressed nations are concerned. The duty of the Communist will consist of fighting against all chauvinism which seeks to liquidate the class struggle into a national unity, and of placing above the national differences the solidarity of the proletariat of all the peoples.

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 practice of the Bolshevik party.

National Convention or Dictatorship of the Proletariat?

Insofar as the appreciation of the events in Spain is concerned, there is one point upon which all the tendencies of Communism concur: the Spanish revolution finds itself today in the bourgeois-democratic stage.

The differences come forward when it is a matter of settling the strategic and tactical line. The Stalinists, copying slavishly Lenin's formula of 1905-1907, finally abandoned by Lenin himself in 1917—and not its spirit—put forward the slogan of the "democratic dictatorship of the workers and the peasants" as if between the bourgeois republic and the dictatorship of the proletariat there could exist an intermediate regime.

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 deep-going 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, amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas (Plato is my friend, but truth I hold more dearly).

Only ideological clarity, the indispensable basis for effective action, can avert disaster for the Spanish revolution. We would like to believe, notwithstanding, that Maurin—although since his lecture in Madrid he has had disturbing relapses—will correct his mistakes and decide to rectify his equivocal position. It is ardently desired by all those who regard him as a force of the first order in the Spanish Communist movement, Barcelona.

-ANDRÉS NIN.

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