LEON TROTSKY

SovietEconomyinDanger

The Situation on the Eve of the Second Five Year Plan

accusations against the workers, the of the dictatorship of the proletariat is directors, the technicians, managers, co-, more important than blown-up prestige. operative purconnel, and the trade unionists: all guilty of not fulfilling the plans, the instructions and "the six conditions". But where are the causes for struction. Under capitalism the broken this? Objective causes do not obtain. To blame for it all is the ill will of those entrusted with the fulfilling. And that is just what Pravda writes, "Do there obtain any objective causes whatever for this deterioration in the work? None whatever!" (October 2, 1932). People simply do not want to work as they should—and that's all there is to it. The October plenum of the CEC has ascertained that "there is unsatisfactory management in every link down the line." Except, of course, that link which is called the Central Executive Committee.

But are there really no objective causes for the poor quality of the workmanship? A specified amount of time is required not only for the ripening of wheat but also for the familiarization with the complex technological processes. Psychological processes, it is true, are more pliable than those of vegetation, but this pliability has its limits. One cannot skip over them. And in addition-and this is no less importantone cannot demand the maximum of intensity under minimum of nourishment.

of the CEC accuses the workers and the Return to the laboratories whatever has administrators of their inability "to been taken too soon from out of the clinch" their highest achievements, and taboratories. Finish building whatever of their continual falling below the marks still remains unfinished. Put in order they had set. In reality, the breakdowns the interrelations between the departwere ingrained in the character of the ments in factories. Straighten out what- the textile workers will produce calico, achievements themselves. By virtue of ever has been bent. Repair that which the blast furnaces will smelt metal, and and demands, its tactics, or its name, "practical ideal" which was reconciled rigid. an exceptional effort a man can lift a has been damaged. Prepare the factory the railroads will transport people and that is, to become a democratic-socialist without great difficulty with the frightweight that is far above his "average" for a transition to the highest stage. strength. But he cannot long sustain Quality quotas must be given a charac- criterion of this year will lie not in such a load over his head. It is absurd ter both supple and conditional in or- producing as much as one possibly can to accuse him of his inability "to clinch" der that they may not interfere with and as fast as possible but in putting his effort.

Rakovsky warned us as early as 1930, matter what the price! "We are entering an entire epoch, which will pass under the heading of payment cadres of factories should be freed of in full for the entire past."

The Second Five-Year Plan impossible to judge "by sight" the ex- ary tasks. tent to which the final indices of the but its points of departure, the line of the heavy industry. its jointure with the first Five Year The process of inflation must be stop-Year Plan has received an onerous in- monetary unit must be restored. This heritance from the last year of the first difficult and painful operation cannot be Five Year Plan.

sign, is the spiral continuation of the many hundred millions that have been first plan. But the first plan has not inexpediently or inopportunely sunk in been brought to completion. The second new constructions, in order that thus plan from the very beginning is left losses into billions may be forstalled in suspended in mid-air. If one leaves the future. things to go on as they have been, then the second Five Year Plan will be- industry and in rural economy. The gin by patching up the holes of the first hithermost line of the retreat cannot Prinkipo, October 22, 1932. under the administrative whip. This be determined beforehand. It will be means that the crisis will be aggravated. revealed only in the experience of capital In this manner one can bring matters reconstruction.

to a catastrophe. the one hand, to verify the inheritance violence and adventurism. it as to make its points of departure pose themselves to danger. about flush to the actual and not imag- As touches the rail transport, Econ-

period for the completion of the first of a full and final liquidation of each plan will be prolonged another year? No, and every imperfection, non-completion, unfortunately that is not the case. The poor tie-up and disproportion in the funcmaterial consequences of the four years' tioning of the different integral parts of gime of the dictatorship, but also for the "The ideas of the Left Opposition are of hue and cry cannot be stricken out the transport mechanism." Well spoken! Soviet republic as it is today, with its gradually penetrating into the ranks of from reality by one stroke of a pen. This formula should be accepted in full, government which exiled me to a for the party members. The more honest A careful checking over is necessary, a and be expanded to apply to the entire regulation, and a determination of the economy, as a whole. coefficients of growth actually achieved. The present condition of economy ex- ingrad, Pravda writes, "We must deci- der to master capitalism. You are de- pretation of the burning problems of the cludes in general any possibility of plan- sively dispense with defective methods fending capitalism allegedly in the name Chinese, German, Russian situations, the ned work. 1933 cannot be a supplement. of workmanship, we must put an end of democracy. But where is it hidden, world economic crisis, unemployment and ary year of the first Five Year Plan, nor to fever along the conveyor in order this democracy? the first year of the second. It must to guarantee a regulated output of prooccupy an independent position between duction.". That is absolutely correct! There were dicks, cops, gendarmes equip- intern and the American party have done the two, in order to assure the mitiga- Planned economy, taken as a whole, retion of the consequences of adventurism presents, in its type, a conveyor on a shadow of the democratic right of vanguard. The Left Opposition is the and the preparation of the material and moral prerequisites for planned expan-

The Left Opposition in its own time was the first to demand the inauguration of the Five Year Plan. Now it is duty bound to say: It is necessary to nounced by proclamation a "turn" from put off the second Five Year Plan. Away quantity to quality in the sphere of with shricking enthusiasm! Away with rural economy. That is correct, but the stock jobbing! There is no reconciling question must be approached on a much them with planned activity. Then, you wider scale. The matter touches not are for retreat? Yes, for a temporary

 The hostility, an outright hatred, toward "gigantism" is rapidly growing inevitable reaction against the adven- itself. need, however, to explain to what extent the sphere of collectivization. this reaction, from which the petty bourgeois skinflint spirit derives satisfaction, may in the future become dangerous to the socialist construction.

The official press now prints from is- retreat. And what about the prestige sue to issue an uninterrupted list of of the infallible leadership? The fate

The Year of Capital Reconstruction Having been knocked off balance, Soviet economy is in need of serious reconequilibrium is restored by the blind forces of the crisis. The Socialist republic allows of applying conscious and rational cures.

It is impossible, of course, to halt proan enterprise. But there is also no need the soap suds. whatever for it. It is enough to lower the tempos. The current productive la- rural economy into alignment with the did not diminish the effectiveness of the bor for 1933 cannot be carried on with- technical, economic and cultural re- blows she continued to strike for the for a single year, worked out on the the most viable collectives, their reorbasis of moderate quality quotas.

Attainments in quality must be given first place. Inopportune constructions should be liquidated; all forces and resources must be concentrated upon constructions of the first rank; the inter- the kolkhozes as would reduce to a minrelations between the various branches imum the disruption of rural economy, Old Guard!-and the father of Russian of industry must be balanced on the to say nothing of the direct dangers of Marxism Plechanov. basis of experience; factories must be civil war. put in order; equipment must be restored.

Let there be an end to driving, and let the productivity of each enterprise The resolution of the October plenum be subjected to its technological rythm. achievements in quantity.

Soviet economy is in danger! It is 1933 must gain complete mastery over not difficult to determine its ailment. It the labor turn-over, by bettering the springs from the nature of the successes conditions of the workers; that's where themselves. From an excessive and poor- the beginning must be made, for herein and mud, in building the lacking houses ly calculated strain the economy has is to be found the key to everything else. suffered a rupture. One must proceed Workers and their families must be asto cure, painstakingly and perseveringly. sured of food, shelter and clothing. No

The managemnt and the proletarian supplementary burdens, such as the planting of potatoes, breeding rabbits, The second Five Year Plan was fash- etc. All questions relating to supplying ioned in the scales of "gigantism".* It factories with necessities must be regudifficult, to be more correct, it is lated as independent and not supplement

Order must be brought into the prosecond Five Year Plan are exaggerated. duction of objects for mass consumption. But the question now touches not the Commodities must be adapted to human balance of the Second Five Year Plan, needs and not to the raw by-products of

Plan. The first year of the second Five ped with an iron hand and the stable undertaken without boldly curtailing The second plan, according to the de- capital investments, without sacrificing

A temporary retreat is exigent both in

The managing organs must control There is only one way out: the in- assist, and pick out everything that is auguration of the Second Five Year capable of living and functioning but Plan must be put off for one year. 1933 they should desist from driving entermust be made a buffer between the first prises to their doom, as is the case now. Five Year Plan and the second. In the The economy and the human beings need course of this period it is necessary on a breathing spell from administrative

left by the first Five Year Plan, to fill Many managers, as is shown by the in the most yawning gaps, to mitigate papers, have independently arrived at the unbearable disproportions and to the conclusion that 1933 must differ in straighten out the economic front; and some essential manner from the clapsing the dictatorship. Yes, in the developon the other hand, to reconstruct the year. But they do not draw their ideas ment of an isolated workers' state, be-Second Five Year Plan, so calculating to their conclusion, in order not to ex- trayed by the international social dem-

inary results of the first Five Year Plan. omic Life writes, "One of the most im- for the socialist revolution. I have no and sympathizers who has himself raised

As touches the tractor plant in Stalstate scale. The method of stuffing up asylum was to be found there. holes is incompatible with planned production. 1933 must "put an end to fever along the conveyor", or at least we must

considerably lower the temperature. The Soviet government itself has anonly the quality of the cultivation of the

FOR THE MINERS.

more than anywhere else the administration is the captive of its own mistakes. While superficially continuing to autocratically command, and to specify under the signature of Molotov and Stalin the precise number of acres for grain tillage, the bureaucracy, in reality, is now floating with the current.

Concurrently, in the villages there has appeared a new stratum of the socalled "retired" i. e., former kolkhoz members. Their number is growing. It is out and out insanity to keep by force within the collectives peasants who pilfer the crops, who sell the seed in bazaars and subsequently demand it from the government for sowing. However, it is no less criminal to leave the process of distintegration to its own course. The tendency to place a cross, just now, over the collectivization movement is now evidently raising its head even within party duction in the whole country as it is ranks. To allow this would be to throw Marxist who was then active in the Gerhalted during repairs in a factory or in out the child from the tub along with man movement. He was promptly fol-

1933 must serve to bring the collective

The policy of mechanically "liquidating the kulak" is now factually discarded. A cross should be placed over it officialspurring, and establishing records, but ly. And simultaneously it is necessary to establish the policy of severely restricting the exploiting tendencies of the kulak. With this goal in mind the Hanover party congress, the party ad- most merged with the lower middle class a jingo. Bernstein on the other hand, lowest strata of the villages must be welded together into a union of the peasant poor.

In 1933 the moujiks will till the land, the products of labor. But the highest economy in order; in checking over the inventories, separating the healthful from the diseased, and the good from the bad; in clearing away the rubbish in installing sanitary ventilation. For, in order that they may work well, people must first of all live like human beings, and consequently satisfy their human needs.

To set aside a special year of capital itself solves nothing whatever of course. direction. So prominent a party father correspondingly), the criticism of the It can attain its major significance only as Auer, who carefully refrained from Left wing lost much of its vigor and efunder a change in the very approach to voting for Bernstein at the party confectiveness and the standpoint of Bernthe domain of politics. The weapon of the sort of thing you do, but you don't politics is the party.

ate the healthy from the ailing, the the old watchwords and banners. good from the bad, we must clear away the rubbish and the mud, we must air and disinfect all the offices of the bureaucracy. After the party there follow the Soviets and the trade unions. The capital reconstruction of all Soviet organizations is the most important and the most urgent task of 1933.

—L. TROTSKY. THE END.

The Death of the Father of Revisionism

outset, the party fathers and the official; theorists-Liebknecht the elder, Kautsky, Schoenlank and others included-attached no fundamental significance to Bernstein's views. The party press even thing healthy in the idea to submit the party program to periodic revision on midst, did not occur to most of the leaders at the beginning.

The credit for the first shot in the counter-offensive, seems to go to Parvus (Dr. Helphand), the brilliant Russian lowed by Rosa Luxemburg, whose comparative youth in the German movement end, as Rosa put it, like the Napoleonic ternational socialist movement.

Defeats on Paper

ocratic party...."

radical wing gained another paper Bernsteinian scheme, and for good cause, that the workers have no fatherland, triumph when the revisionist attempts to change the class struggle tactic of the swelled by an influx of the petty bourparty were condemned. Only 11 delegates voted against this resolution; some by a powerful trade union and party ed absolutism reigned throughout Eurwith it, the rest were at the extreme lished institutions and interests, recoil-Right. As for most of the revisionists, ed from the prospect of social revoluthey mockingly voted for the resolution tion. With the gradual improvement of amidst considerable merriment. They their own conditions, and with every apknew better than most of the radicals parent prospect of steadily "growing that the resolution would remain on into" socialism by the parliamentary paper, whereas the practise of the party process (the German socialist vote in reconstruction is a measure which by was swinging more definitely in their 1912 reached 4,250,000; elsewhere it rose protagonists, the workers and peasants. "Lieber Ede, so was tut man, aber man facts of social evolution. The approach to economy pertains to sagt es nicht"-"My dear Eddie, that's talk about it"! This classic formula

Over Militant Marxism

Rosa Luxemberg also presented a prowrote at the outset that there is some- posal for his expulsion, but the very idea of such a ruthless measure horrified the party leaders and, for that matter the basis of new developments. That the most of the Left wingers. It was never socialist movement would split on this even taken up by the party congress. rock which Bernstein threw into its Kautsky, at that time still engaged in polemizing against Bernstein in that dry, pedantic, lifeless manner which proved to be no obstacle to their eventual reconciliation, opposed his expulsion. He stood for preserving that peculiar sort of "freedom of opinion in the party" which has always served to shield the Right wing from the attacks of the

The discussion around Bernstein's out a plan, but this plan must be one sources. This means—the selection of Left wing throughout her life, down to German movement. His writings not peasant mass, first of all the peasant Klara Zetkin, Franz Mehring, Karl geois economists and sociologists, but

> With such an array of intellectual as was shown most strikingly and fatal- supported the imperialist fatherland. giants massed against him, it is no won- ly at the crucial moment when the der that Bernstein suffered defeat after world war broke out. The rise of im- Plechanov turned patriot; Lensch, who defeat. But these defeats were of a perialism in the most important coun- had played the radical before the war, formal nature and left him and his tries of the two continents had reared volunteered for the front; Hyndman, movement unimpeded. In 1899, at the a labor aristocracy that merged or all with his arid pre-war orthodoxy, became opted Bebel's resolution against the re- which was being attracted everywhere turned Centrist and pacifist for the movisionists: "The party stands as before to the socialist movement. Their inter- ment, and effected a touching reconcilion the foundation of the class struggle ests became bound up with the destines ation with his old friendly-enemy, Kaut-....there is no reason for the party to of their respective imperialist father- sky. But as a rule, the old pre-war change either its fundamental principles lands. Allegiance to socialism became a divisious remained and became more reform party in place of a social dem- ful exploitation of those tens of millions of black, brown and yellow colo-In Dresden, four years later, the nial peoples who never figured in the been directed against the Marxian idea

> The upper strata of the working class, geoisie from town and country, fortified the workers had no rights and unlimitwere Left wingers, not wholly satisfied bureaucracy, bolstered up by well-estab- ope. Now that the workers had won

The Kautskyans and Bernstein

The genuine Marxist wing of the a left peg-leg assists a still vigorous

(Continued from last issue)
It is interesting to note that at the Eduard Bernstein's Triumph' Kautskyan formulation was open to interesting to note that at the

Plechanov, however, when the program of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party was being elaborated, did not fail to denounce the omission of a clear reference to the dictatorship of the pro-, letariat in the Erfurt program as theoretically incorrect and, in practise, & cowardly concession to the opportunists. Cowardly concessions of this sort, screened by formal adherence to the terminology of the class struggle, proved to be the essence of Kautsky's fight against Bernstein. Plechanov's aphorism in his "Open Letter to Karl Kautsky" that "Either the social democracy will be buried by Bernstein or Bernstein by the social democracy", was verified with cruel exactitude at the decisive hour.

The world war was the catalytic agent which precipitated the "theoretical dispute" into two clearly defined sides of views was not, of course, confined to the the class struggle. What started out as an "abstract discussion" ended by splitting the very day when she was assassinated only gave a decisive impetus to a whole the socialist movement wide open, with ganization in correspondence with ex- in Berlin by Bernstein's comrades-in- series of revisionist attacks upon the the representatives of the proletarian perience and the wishes of the basic arms. Fighting on their side were also body of Marxian doctrine by petty bour- revolution on one side of the barricades and the social-patriots, agents of impoor. And, at the same time-the for- Kautsky always a little belatedly, ap- formed the line of demarcation between perialism, on the other. By and large, mulation of such conditions for leaving pearing on the battleground at the very the two principal tendencies in the in- these two class camps were made up of the same elements who divided on the In practise, and not infrequently in questions raised by Bernstein. The antitheory, the whole Second International Bernsteinlans took their stand against was dominated by the revisionist school, the imperialist war; the revisionists

There were exceptions, it is true.

Bernstein had sowed the seed which yielded the fruits of social patriotism. One of his most insistent arguments had This may have been justified in an agitational sense, he argued, in 1847 when universal suffrage, had partaken of the cultural achievements of society, had invaded the legislative bodies - the workers did have a fatherland. This idea became the theoretical basis for all the outspoken social-chauvinists from whom Bernstein separated himself for a short time during the war.

A Short-Lived Centrist It goes without saying that he found

economy, and, first of all, to its living gress, is said to have written him: stein appeared to be justified by the Bolsheviks during the war, any more than they were at his side in the two decades before the war. He did not stand with Liebknecht and his revolu-Added to this was the fact that the tionary opposition; nor did he ever re-Our task of tasks is to ressurect the contains more than cynicism; it sums up official Marxist school, represented by concile himself with the other Spartacparty. Here as well we must take the ideas of the party leaders, on the Kautsky with whom Luxemburg broke ists-Luxemburg, Mehring, Zetkin- who an inventory of the onerous inheritance road to their August 4, 1914 but prulong before the war, did not exclude the continued their struggle against him with of the post-Lenin period, we must separ- dent enough to conceal the fact under Bernsteinian conception; it rather sup- even greater vigor during the war. His plemented it much in the manner that anti-war position had almost everything in common with pacifism and, as in the movement was even then in favor of ex- right foot. While the official program past, nothing in common with socialism. pelling Bernstein from the party. In of the German social democracy, adopt- He belonged to that group of 29 Reich-1901. Plechanov wrote: "In Bernstein's ed in Erfurt towards the end of the stag deputies, led by Haase and Ledeviews there are now left only feeble last century, was formally Marxian, it bour, who finally summoned up enough traces of socialism. In reality he stands had wide gaps in it through which oppor- small courage to break the decision of much closer to the petty bourgeois ad- tunist practise could enter with ease. the social democratic fraction and, on herents of 'social reform' than to the The central criticism by Marx of the August 20, 1915, to leave the session durrevolutionary social democracy. Yet he Gotha program—the omission of the ing the vote on war credits. Seven is still called 'party comrade' and he dictatorship of the proletariat—was months later, 18 of the deputies formed is not requested to leave the party", ignored at Erfurt too. At all events, the a fraction of their own which later became the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany. In the Centrist their caps in sign of greetings. There the port from unknown but faithful USPD, he shared leadership jointly with Kautsky, as a symbol of their essential reconciliability.

He did not wait for the split at the Halle Congress of the party where the majority of the membership joined the ranks of the Communist International. Just as he had pioneered the revisionist movement, he pioneered the most bitter anti-Bolshevik current in the social demceracy. As early as 1918, re returned to the bosom of Scheidemann, Noske and Ebert, who were realizing in sanguinary practise the class collaboration theories of Bernstein. Here too he had not long to wait for Kautsky: both of them were active agents in re-cementing the ranks of the Majority socialists with the pro-Heilmann.

Last Triumph

At the Heidelberg party congress in 1925, his signal services to reformism were generously acknowledged by the whole party in the formal programmatic repudiation of the class struggle. His coronation was also his vindication; but even more was it a vindication of Plechanov's prediction. Bernstein had buried the social democracy. But by that time it could no longer be reincarnated into the democratic socialist reform party of his early dreams. It already functioned not only as a bulwark against revolution, but also as an obstacle to social

the movement as well as its future. Bernstein triumphed not only over the Left wing in the social democracy (and policy and praxis. The turn from quan- with their eyes. There is a solid docker 'As announced in the last issue of Marcus is not as absolutely necessary that only formally, because the Left tity to quality must be carried over into winking his eye in the direction of the the Militant the League has on hand a as he puts it. It is. There are many wing is today restored on a grander in Soviet circles, as a natural and an the functioning of the administration flatfeet. Our deck replies with smiles; few timely pamphlets by comrade Trot- obstacles to overcome before we can scale in the revolutionary Communist a movement surges through the workers. sky and other comrades dealing with the finally say that this pamphlet, not to movement), but over the Centrist morass, His life's work is a lesson and a warn-Here not say that the Anvers dockers are in Germany, unemployment in this coun- And those are the magic words we ing which the Communist movement.

-MAX SHACHTMAN.

Open Letter to V andervelde

(Continued from page 1) of this logic often enough fall upon proletarian revolutionists who took part in the establishment of the regime of ober revolution which produced the re- his example. cizenship rights.

Not in the port of Anvers, in any case. "The Stalinist leadership of the Com-

pessimism. During the midday pause, pounded in its press. But this is not pamphlets out. Let us try and success soil, but the entire kolkhoz and soykhos ing the measure of everyone present solutions are needed. turism of the last period. There is no First of all, a retreat is inevitable in They have recognized their own. I do crisis in Soviet economy, the situation speak of the others, is off the press.

When the boat descended the Scheldt, in the misty fog, all along the quais, vers and Vlissingen, I send the workers with their cranes paralyzed by the of Belgium a fraternal greeting. crisis, cries of farewell resounded from December 5, 1932.

friends. In finishing these lines between Au-

The following letter is a response to cause of lack of funds. Such a situaocracy, the bureaucratic apparatus has last week's announcement of our plans tion cannot be tolerated. These pamacquired a potency which is dangerous and difficulties by one of our friends phlets should come out immediately.

eign land and deprived me of my Soviet party members and sympathizers are We have destroyed democracy in or- information on and a Marxian interthe trade union movement.

ped with rifles. But not even the everything to confuse the proletarian only Communist current that has a Marx-And in spite of everything, I quit the ist position on revolutionary problems. waters of Anvers without the slightest The ideas of the Left Opposition are exdockers gathered on the deck, emerging sufficient. Pamphlets and books have to from the hold or coming from port. be published too. During the year 1932 There were two or three dozens of them, books of extraordinary importance on of these strong and serene Flemish pro- the Chinese and German questions were Work is already under way on Unem-

"How can it be done? Very easily. Doesn't this simply mean that the portant tasks of 1933 must be the task need of this being called to my mind. twenty-five dollars for the publication of Through the establishment of a Publish-But before the class enemy, I assume our pamphlets. We hope that it will ing Loan Fund. Comrades and symdigal sons who had left it for a while full responsibility not only for the Oct- be the signal for our friends to follow pathizers who are anxious to see the under the pressure of discontented workideas of the Left Opposition propagated ers. Except for the very last years of without undue delay should lend the his life, when old age would no longer League as much as they can afford for a permit it, he was drawn into all the spedefinite period of time. This money will cial conferences of that particular facbe used for the publication of books and tion which rules the party and regulates turning to the Left Opposition for true pamphlets. The 'debt' will be paid back the antagonisms and ambitions of all as rapidly as the pamphlets sell. There, the other factions: the group of Welsis no risk in making these loans and Severing - Breitschied Stampfer- Loebethey don't require great sacrifices (and no sacrifices are too great for revolu-

> "Comrades and sympathizers! Help realize this plan! Take out a few dollars from the bank and 'invest' them in the ideas of revolutionary internationalism! If you have no savings of your own persuade your friends to make a loan to the League. We must get these will be on our side.

"Comradely,

letarians, blackened for the most part published by the League. Events, how-ployment and the American Working by coal dust. A cordon of detectives ever, move with great rapidity in Ger- Class by Arne Swabeck. We will keep reform. It had betrayed the present of separated them from us. The dockers many, the Soviet Union and i., other our movement informed of the progress contemplated the tableau in silence, tak- countries. New questions arise and new we are making. But this does not mean that the idea put forth by comrade

Bolsheviks. But by a sound instinct they try, the role of the Left Opposition, etc. are anxiously awaiting the opportunity took their place. In resuming their work, these pamphlets, a great need of the to announce. So let us have action on democracy a generation ago, will profit they smiled amicably at us and many hour are, unfortunately, still in manuof them brought their gnarled fingers to script. Their publication is delayed be match his loan of 25 dollars?