

Trotsky Replies to S.W.P. Editors On Opposition's View of Soviet Economy

(Continued from Page 1) year plan. But not a single word did he mention of the tempos approved the year before as the minimum...

4. Elsewhere your article calls to mind that the Left Opposition, especially and primarily Rakovsky, warned against the over-stretched tempos of construction in good time...

Since 1922, the Left Opposition, more correctly its future staff, conducted a campaign for the working out of a five year plan, the axis of which was to be the industrialization of the country...

Bucharin's Stand In the course of a series of years Bucharin was, to employ his own expression, the preacher of "tor-toise-pace" industrialization...

5. How unfortunately your article mixes up Bucharin's criticism with the criticism of Rakovsky, is perceptible from the following circumstance: In the same days that your paper called attention to the apparent perspicacity of Bucharin...

6. Right after the appearance of my brochure "Soviet Economy in Danger", a turn-about-face took place in Soviet economic policy which throws a bright light upon the problem engaging us and makes possible an infallible check upon all the prognoses of the various factions...

The XVII Conference of the C. P. S. U. approved in January 1932 the principles of the second five year plan. The tempo of growth of industry was established at approximately 25 percent, with Stalin declaring at the conference that this is only the minimum limit...

The Second Plan The Left Opposition characterized this whole perspective as a fruit of bureaucratic adventurism. It was as if to be understood, accused of striving for the counter-revolution, for the intervention of Japan and for the capitalist if not the feudal restoration.

of Marxian foresight but behind-handedly, after its head had collided against the disastrous consequences of its own economic adventurism. That's just what we accuse it of. And that's just why we think that its new emergency zigzag contains no guarantees at all for the future.

Even more glaring do the distinctions in the three conceptions (the Right, the Centrist and the Marxian) appear on the field of agriculture. But this problem is too complex to be touched upon even fleetingly within the limits of a letter to the editorial board.

What is Demanded? The only means of making the supreme effort to exclude this catastrophe, to deal with this crisis which is striking at the heart of world Communism—is a decisive turn on the part of the Communist International, with the recall, at this moment so heavy with responsibility and danger, to the posts of struggle and of leadership which rightfully belong to them...

For the German Opposition The international pre-conference of the Left Opposition which recently concluded its sessions in Paris, adopted a decision to raise an international fund for the work of our German brother-section.

Our German section is laboring at the present time under the greatest of difficulties and the fund collected will not only be of the greatest aid financially, but it will also serve as a magnificent display of the international solidarity of the Left Opposition and all its friends and sympathizers with the Marxian wing of the German revolution.

Not a doubt, therefore, that we are at the present moment before a decisive turn in the revolutionary period opened up by the victory of the Bolsheviks in October 1917. Not a doubt that Hitler seeks to gain for German imperialism the favors and the concessions of the Versailles powers by making himself the butcher of the proletariat of the Russian Commune.

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Another «Friend» of the Soviet Union

Cleveland—On Saturday, February 11, another «Friend of the Soviet Union»—a lawyer by the name of Maurice Sugar, from Detroit—spoke before the Cleveland workers under the auspices of the FSU, at Engineers Auditorium.

After the customary, uncritical and rosy-pink picture of the state of affairs in the Soviet Union under the Stalinist regime, a question period followed. From all over the hall came questions regarding the burning problem of how the new Hitler government in Germany will affect Soviet Russia.

There were also some questions about Trotsky, as usual. What Mr. Sugar failed to do in the German situation, he made up for—in his own inimitable way—with the usual slanders and brazen lies about our comrade, Comrade Kessler, of the local group of the Left Opposition, to reply to a question concerning the need for his criminal cynicism with regard to the Hitler danger and pointing to Trotsky's warning of an attack by a victorious Hitlerism in Germany against the Russian workers' state.

At the Socialist Party Forum—At the S. P. forum, that same evening, comrade Gordon took the floor to bring the attention of the workers to the critical situation in Germany and to call for solidarity of all American workers with the hard-pressed German proletarians.

As it was, the official Left wing decided on a policy which could not but yield the outcome that it did. It decided to go to the socialist conference with the ultimatum demand that the delegates denounce the organizers of the conference and follow the lead of the Communists, that is, of the Left wing unemployment conference.

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Roosevelt Regime Reopens Question of Soviet Recognition and Credits

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"Socialism in one country" have parties outside of Russia to that of a watchman, whose purpose is to help ward off foreign intervention and particularly war.

The Stalinists have assumed that capitalist economy would be both willing and able to absorb the exportable surpluses of the Soviet Union without such declines in prices as would upset the import program which is an essential part of the Five-Year Plan.

This assumption has been knocked to pieces by living experience. England after the Conservative victory renounced the trade treaty with Soviet Russia some months ago; Germany has imposed a quota on its imports from the Soviet Union; political as well as "strictly business" factors entered into these steps.

Trading with Soviets and Workers' Control The question of a more systematic influence of the masses on the external commerce of a capitalist state is intimately bound up with the question of workers' control of production.

Workers' control of production would compel capitalism to collaborate in the work of economic construction in the Soviet Union beyond the limits which are set by the possibilities of profit, particularly under the present conditions.

Japan and U.S.S.R.

"In general" and "in principle" with the League's position, he will not permit America to be pushed into war at this time. London will not reap the harvest if Washington can help it.

The attitude of Soviet Russia on the present situation is still being awaited, not only by the bourgeoisie but by the Communists of the world. Russian diplomacy under the blind, opportunist "guidance" of Litvinov, has tasted all the fruits of that shrivelled tree, socialism in one country.

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The C. I. At a Turning Point

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proletariat. "For," as Lenin said, "internationalism does not consist in phrases, declarations of solidarity or resolutions, but in action."

The whole future of the Russian revolution is at stake. The whole future of the international workers' revolution is at stake. These words of Lenin in 1917 are terribly timely. The same historical problem is posed today as in 1917. In 1917, in Russia, it was a question of preventing the repression of the peasant insurrection, which would have sounded the "knell of the revolution" and have signified "the final triumph of the Kornilov regime"; in saving the Russian revolution, the first fortress of the "world-wide proletarian revolution" was being saved.

Now it is clear to every Communist worker what was meant and what is meant by the policy of "socialism in a single country". The Communist International itself, with all the conquests of the October revolution, is in danger. And it is in Germany that the most important section is deciding today: the Hitlerist counter-revolution is taking the lead of the international counter-revolution; the German proletariat is representing in this moment the most vital interests of the world revolution.

Germany, by itself exhausts the problem of the "permanent revolution". The truth of Marx that no trace, no respite is possible for the forces of the revolution (for the working class), "before it has destroyed, annihilated the power by which the old society asserts itself", is fully confirmed. "After the revolution, the permanent counter-revolution becomes (for the forces of the old society) a question of daily existence." The German bourgeoisie, after having utilized the social democracy to strangle the revolution of 1918, is today driven to risk the Fascist counter-revolution, by arming the discontented petty bourgeois masses in order to pit them against the working class with the aim of extorting from it the last concessions, in order to preserve its profits at the price of the most ferocious repression and the starvation of the toiling people.

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OFF THE PRESS! Two New Pamphlets By LEON TROTSKY Soviet Economy In Danger 72 Pages 10 cents 48 Pages 5 cents 3 for twenty-five cents Minimum number per order 5 Postage 1c extra per copy PIONEER PUBLISHERS 84 East 10th Street, New York

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Credits for the Soviet Union as a Political Question The energy of the international Communist party, the sympathies of the masses, even the direct interest of the petty bourgeoisie, must be mobilized in a political manner in the various capitalist countries for the benefit of the broad masses and of the Soviet Union. This involves a break with the theory and practice of "socialism in one country"—but it has the little advantage that it directly ties up the immediate needs of the broad masses in capitalist countries with the problem of economic construction in the Soviet Union, in spite of the capitulationist denial by Stalinism that the building-up of Socialism in Russia has any connection with the workers' movement elsewhere. In America, where the whole question of recognition is to be raised shortly, the working class and particularly the Communist party as its spearhead must put forth its demands for the extension of adequate credits to the Soviet Union. The demand of credits for the Soviet Union can, no doubt, be considered as an isolated practical slogan. Such a way of posing the question would have a reformist character, and as such would not give serious practical results; for the international economic operations of capitalism are determined by considerations of profit, and the political interests of the capitalist class, not by the "pressure" of the working class. The slogan of economic collaboration with the Soviet Union, credits, recognition, etc., must be introduced into a system of transitional slogans of the struggling proletariat. The immediately practical results in favor of the Soviet Union could be obtained, while so doing, as by-products, insofar as reforms generally are the by-products of a revolutionary struggle. But the main achievement would be the fact that the workers would be concretely and practically confronted with the problems of planned economy—that is, the problems of socialism. —JACK WEBBER