

LEON TROTSKY, 1933-1940 period.

I. Move from L.O. to 4th;  
1933: "if they will learn"

THE MILITANT, 4/8/33: "The most powerful proletariat of Europe  
...has manifested no resistance since  
the arrival of Hitler to power.... This  
is the fact on which we must base all  
future calculations.  
The German proletariat will rise again,  
Stalinism never."  
(Tragedy of German Prolet., 3/14/33-Prinkipo)

5/6/33: "Nearly all those opposing (to call for  
new party in Germany, ff) object to the  
comparison of August 4, 1914 with Mar.  
6, 1933: the social democrats, you see  
betrayed the proletariat & by that  
came nearer to the seats of power, the  
Stalinists, however, did not know how  
to defend the proletariat, landed in jails.  
This difference is of course very essen-  
tial & not accidental. But we don't have  
to exaggerate its political significance

"The liquidation of the Ger. CP is only  
a stage. It will not stop there. If  
other sections of the Comintern  
will not learn the German lesson, they may rightfully deserve  
leniency of his. Otherwise they are doomed." (Collapse of CPG  
and Our Tasks, Frinkipo, 4/9/33)

THE MILITANT of Sep. 2, 1933 carries a front page "Demand the  
7th Congress!... Demand the Comintern leaders  
give an account of their stewardship."

THE MILITANT of Sep. 16, 1933 announces "New Forces for L.O. ....  
"From the pernicious Nat. Soc. of Stalin  
new forces learn the lessons of inesti-  
mable value which help them find  
their way to the int'l'ism of L & T."

" Sept. 23, 1933: JOINT DECLARATION FOR NEW INT'L.

"The Third Int. ... fell victim of a chain  
of his contradictions.... The isolated  
position of the proletariat in a backward  
country gave an extraordinary power to the  
ever more conservative and nationally-  
limited Soviet bureaucracy... Comintern  
proved not only incapable of fulfilling  
its historic role but became more & more  
of an obstacle in the way of rev. movements

"Despite its 14 yr. experience, despite the experience gained in  
gigantic battles, despite the moral support of the Soviet state  
and the plentiful means of propaganda, the C.P. of Germany  
revealed.... an absolute revl incapacity & had thereby shown  
conclusively that despite the heroism of many of its members it  
became totally incapable of fulfilling its historic role....

"The new Int. will inscribe on its banner as one of its most important task the defense of the Soviet state from imperialism and internal counter-revolution."

THE MILITANT, same issue, carries Declaration of ILO to Left Socialist Conference:

"It fell victim to bur. centrism which is based on the theory & practice of socialism in one country; in a word it was wrecked by a system of errors which entered into history under the name of Stalinism.....

"If the lesson of the German catastrophe did not help the Stalinist bureaucracy, nothing will help it. New national parties and a new int'l. is necessary.....

"The Comintern is capable only of decomposing and destroying prol. organizations, but not of strengthening and educating them. The cooperation which we have in mind presupposes an honest attitude to facts, ideas, mutual comradely criticism and respect for each other.....

"To identify the social order of the USSR with 'state capitalism' of the type of the Am., Ital., or Ger. type is to ignore the main ques. of the social order, namely the property character and to open the doors wide to false and dangerous conclusions.".....

long! K  
"On the other hand, the most irreconcilable criticism of Stalinism does not exclude but on the contrary prescribes a united front with the Sov. bureaucracy against the common enemies."

The following issue, Sept. 30, 1933, carries DECLARATION of NC of CLA (O) FOR A NEW PARTY AND A NEW INTERNATIONAL! (likewise based on the fact that the CI failed "to draw any lessons from this historical catastrophe."

FOURTH INT'L. July 1943 reprints July 15, 1933 Declaration of LT, in a new translation by John G. (It was also pub'd. in Militant Oct. 1933) but the quotes here are from FI): IS IT NECESSARY TO BUILD THE CPB and the INT'L. ANEW:

"The Moscow leadership not only has proclaimed as infallible the policy which guaranteed the victory to Hitler, but has prohibited all discussion of what had occurred. And this shameful interdiction was not violated, not overthrown. No national congresses; no internat. congress; no discussions at party meetings; no discussion in the press! An organization which was not roused by the thunder of fascism and which submits docilely to such outrageous acts of the bur. demonstrates thereby that it is dead and that nothing can ever revive it....

"The fact that 2 parties, the SP & the Communist, which arose half-a-century apart and both of which proceeded from the theory of Marxism and the class interests of the prol.

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could have come to such a sad end: the one through base treachery, the other through bankruptcy, can engender pessimistic moods even among the advanced workers. "Where is the guarantee that a new revolutionary selection will not suffer the same fate?"....

"The victory of fascism seizes tens of millions. Political programs are accessible only to thousands or tens of thousands; who, moreover, feel the pressure of millions....

"To demand of these workers (those who are leaving Pnd/ff) a section of whom left the Comintern with indignation, while the maj. did not belong to the Comintern even in its best years, that they formally accept the leadership of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which is incapable of forgetting or learning anything is to occupy oneself with Quixotism and only to hinder the formation of the prol. vanguard.

"If without the prol. rev. in the West, the USSR cannot come to socialism, then without the regeneration of a genuine prol. Int'l will not be able, with their own forces alone to regenerate the Bol. Party & to save the dic. of the prol....

"The Stalinism, insofar as they remain in power, will have all the less opportunity to evade the united front as the dangers, both domestic & foreign, become more acute, & as the ind. org. of the world prol. vanguard becomes a greater force....

"In particular & especially it applies the policy of the united front in order to defend the USSR against external intervention & internal counter-rev."

THE SU & THE FI, Oct. 1, 1933 (Glasgow pamphlet, 1934) "On that day when the new Int. will demonstrate to the Rus. wkrs. not in words but in action that it & it alone, stands for the defense of the wkrs. state, the position of the B-Lists inside the SU will change within 24 hrs. The new Int. will offer the Stal. bur. a united front against the common foe. And if our Int'l. represents a force, the bur. will be unable to evade the united front in the moment of danger. What then will remain of the many yrs. encrustation of lies & slander?"

WHITHER FRANCE? (3/25/35) p.108: "But we say to those socialists who sincerely hope to find a rev. force in the CI: you are cruelly deceived. You do not understand the his. of the CI, which for the past 10 yrs. has been a his. of errors, catastrophes, capitulations & bur. degeneration"

FI, Oct. 1938 A GREAT ACHIEVEMENT: "It is of course no accident that after 15 yrs. of progressive demoralization, the Comintern revealed its complete internal rottenness at the moment of the approaching world war, i.e. precisely at a time when the prol. is most urgently in need of its int'l. rev. unification.

THE CASE OF LEON TROTSKY, Summation by LT, p.476: "It was only the victory of Hitler, prepared by the fatal policy of the Kremlin, & the complete inability of the Comintern to draw any lessons from the tragic experience of Ger.,

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II-Capitalist accumulation and "decline" of proletariat

J, this is much, much more difficult to trade. As in case of underconsumptionism, he espoused here something of which he never made into a theory, although it was implicit in all he did; moreover the writing was during depression or at the very tail end; still for what it is worth here are a few quotes and counterpositions:

1938, DEATH AGONY OF CAPITALISM ' TASKS OF THE FOURTH  
p.5: "Mankind's productive forces stagnate. Already new inventions & improvements fail to raise the level of material wealth... Growing unemployment in its turn, deepens the financial crisis of the state & undermines the unstable monetary systems..."

"In the historically privileged countries, i.e., in those where the bourgeoisie can still for a certain period permit itself the luxury of democracy at the expense of national accumulations (Great Britain, France, U.S., etc.)..."

p.8: "The crisis of the prol. leadership, having become the crisis in mankind's culture..."

The introduction "The General Causes of the Present War" of MANIFESTO OF THE FI ON THE IMPERIALIST WAR is wholly underconsumptionist but since there he does not link the stagnation to actual stagnation of "material wealth", but only to standard of living, there is no point to quote.

The most telling of his statements is of course from IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM: "Under conditions of decaying capitalism the proletariat grows neither numerically nor culturally. There are no grounds, therefore, for expecting that it will sometimes rise to the level of the rev. tasks." But there too this is hedged with "If we grant as true that the cause of the defeats is rooted in the social qualities of the prol. itself, then the position of modern society will have to be acknowledged as hopeless." Then follows the previous quotation, which is in turn followed by "Altogether differently does the case present itself to him who has clarified in his mind the profound antagonism between the organic, deep-going insurmountable urge of the toiling masses to tear themselves free from the bloody capitalist chaos & the conservative, patriotic utterly bourgeois character of the outlived labor leadership/ We must choose one of these two irreconcilable conceptions." (pp.12-13) The irreconcilability however is a purely subjective estimation of the proletariat since "Under conditions of decaying capitalism grows neither numerically nor culturally."

And, of course, there is the background of Russia whose "unprecedented" should prove it workers state & here he uses Stalinist statistics & Stalinist method, p. 6-7 THE REV. BETRAYED:

"The vast scope of industrialization in the SU, as against the background of stagnation and decline in almost the whole capitalist world, appears unanswerable in the following gross indices. Industrial production in Ger., thanks solely to feverish war preparations, is now returning to the level of 1929. Production in GN, holding to the apron strings of protectionism, has raised itself 3 or 4 % during these 6 yrs. Ind. prod. has declined in the US approximately 25%; First place among capitalist countries is occupied by Japan, who is furiously arming herself & robbing her neighbors. Her prod. has risen almost 40%; But even this exceptional index fades before the dynamic dev. in the S. Her ind. prod. has incr. during the same per. approximately 3 1/2 times, or 250%."

1936

I'll begin with Russia first since that can be easiest dismissed & the work has already been done. If we take the per. of dev. that is comparable, because both countries then had plans, 1932-37, we find that even in value figures, which amount to very little, the claimed rise of Stalinism is 238%; that of the more reliable Japanese value statistics, 176%, while at the high point of Japanese industrialization, 1940, the achievement was 253% as compared to index of 1931-33. All in all, despite the richness of Russia's natural resources, and the poorness of Japan's, Japan is conceded to have made the greatest economic progress. Sources: Conditions of Economic Progress, Colin Clark

Industrialization of Japan & Manchukuo, 1930-

Economic Strength of Japan, Isoshi Asahi  
Industrialization of Western Pacific, Kate Mitchell.

In any case, in per capita production, which LT saw did not measure up to the advanced countries & around which the whole 3rd year plan was built, Russia in 1937, the year of publication of Rev. Betrayed, stood lower not only than Germany & USA, but also Japan. The easiest thing for physical growth of Russia is to use Statistical Abstract, 1913-1940 I published in NI, 12/42

Now the lowest point of depression on a world scale and in USA (and not excluding Russia which has not to this day recovered the slaughter of stock in 1932, the fall of wheat price, etc. etc.) was 1933. From that year until the outbreak of war, although it had never regained full production relative to capacity or relative to 1929, there was not, at the time of the outbreak of WWII & production in full swing, a full stagnation; there was for example a new industry, airplane; there was an upswing in 1937 and then another slump, etc., but none of it was even, not even the stagnation, and there was growth of capital accumulation. First high point since the war (then we'll go back) In 1944-45, there were 65 mln. in civilian & mil. occupations (12 mln. army) as compared to 47 mln. empl. in 1940; gross national product was twice as large as in fairly prosperous 1940; \$200 bln. as compared with less than \$100 bln. Mfg. capacity was up 56% over '39.

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1909-1944, mfg., minerals & agric for this 35 yr. per. incr.  
496%      254%      167%

1939-41 vast increases of course in "war mfg. industries; employment in iron & steel rose 500,000; in nonferrous metals 200,000; ordnance non-existent in 1939 employs 700,000 in '44. Transportation equipment ind. had most dramatic expansion, a jump from 725,000 to 3,200,000.

Nation's mfg. facilities in existence in 1939 had cost about \$40 bln. to build. To this was added by June '45 \$28 bln. of new plant and equipment. Shipbldg. facilities before war \$162 mln. of productive facilities; at the end of this war it had \$742 mln. dollars of usable facilities or 4 & 1/2 times that of 1939. Atomic power entirely new bomb project \$2 bln. cost.

Expenditure for Capital Gds., 1920-39 (in Mln.s), annual av. for each per. of 5 yrs:

	1920-4	1925-9	1930-34	1935-39
Total cap. good.	\$12,428	\$17,286	\$8,216	\$20,446
Prod. facilities				
Mfg.	7,456	10,112	5,272	6,889

~~Butterfield~~ Better take it as 20 yr. interwar per (1920-39) gross expenditures for capital goods averaged a little more than \$12 bln. annually, or 1.5% of national gross production;

Outstanding wartime developments which will affect expansion of productive capital facilities are:

- 1) New communication devices, industrial electronics, televis
- 2) Improved internal-combustion engines & fuels.
- 3) Advance in air transport; jet propulsion, etc.
- 4) Chemical processes, such as hydrogenation and controlled oxidation of coal & petroleum, biochemical process; plastics, synthetic rubber & fibers.
- 5) New food products results from biochemical studies, dehydration, quick freezing.
- 6) New applications of atomic energy & fissionable products in medicine & power prod.

AND YET LABOR PRODUCTIVITY IS WHAT IS THE PROBLEM: (America's Needs & Resources, Dewhurst & Associates, 1947, p. 652:

"On the contrary, the doubling of our dollar volume of output during the defense & war per. can be accounted for almost entirely by higher prices, more workers, and longer working hours. Of the total incr. of almost \$102 bln. in gross nat. product bet. 1940 & 1944, at least \$31 bln. reflected higher prices, while nearly \$45 bln. came from the expansion of our working force by more than a third and \$18 bln. from longer wkg. hours. The remaining \$11 bln. could be acc't. for by an average increase of less than 1.5% a year in output per man-hour for the eco. as a whole during the 4-yr. per.--MUCH LESS than the annual incr. in productivity during the 2 immediate pre-war decades. However, if, as seems possible, the assumed av. price incr. of 32% bet. 1940-1944 understates the actual rise in prices & costs, there may have been no increase--OR AN ACTUAL DECREASE--in over-all productivity in the war yrs." (my emphasis, ff)