

LT
PER.REV. Preface to Am. Ed. 3/29/39
p. vii

"And here (collectivizing peasant holdings) on an even higher plane, we are again convinced that everything in the field of Marxian theory is bound up with PRACTICAL activity."

xi: In reality, the national peculiarities are a unique combination of the basic features of the world process.

(all is directed against "bourgeois theory")

INTROD. 11/30/30 claims to have applied not only to Russ. & Int. but to China
Ques. per rev. raised in 1924 after long interval. No pol. reason; just psychological (xxv) In way of those who raised it was 1917, during which none of the epigones had raised ques. of struggle for wcrs. power.

Explains theory since Mar 1850. In 20th c. it has these basic points: (1) transition of dem. rev. into socialist; (2) theory of dem. rev. into socialist; (3) theory of dem. rev. into socialist; (4) theory of dem. rev. into socialist

- (2) characterizes the socialist rev. as such.
- (3) int. character. a) character of world eco.
- b) world dev. of prod. forces
- c) world scale of class struggle

nat. rev. only link in int. chain.

p. 20 "Finally, I never endeavored to create a grouping on the basis of the theory of per. rev. My innerparty stand was a conciliatory one & when at certain moments I strived for grouping, then it was precise on this basis—derived from a certain Soc. Rev. fatalism. I believed that the LOGIC OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE would compel both factions to pursue the same rev. line." Q VII. Conciliationism represented most consistently by T. who almost alone endeavored to lay a theoretical foundation for this current. (Vol. XI, part 2, p. 113)

II. The Per. Rev. Is Not a 'Leap' of the Proletariat, but the Transformation of the Nation under the Leadership of Proletariat.

III. 3 Elements of the 'Dem. Dic': Classes, Tasks & Pol. Mechanics
p. 50 dispute on per. rev. "was not over whether dem. tasks stands before Russ. which require a rev. solution; NOT over whether an alliance of the peasantry is required for the solution of these tasks, BUT over what party-pol. could take form the rev. coop. of the prol. & the peasantry could assume...."

IV. What Did the Theory of the Per. Rev. Look Like in Practice?

V. Was the Dem. Dic. Realized by Us? And When?
Speaks of (1) 1909 polemic which stated 'anti-rev. features of Bol. threaten to be a great danger only in the event of rev. victory.'
(2) 1922 Intro. to 1905 in which also this article was included thereupon commented (As is known this did not take place, for Bol. under the leadership of Lenin (who not without internal struggle) accomplished its ideol. re-arming in this most imp. ques. in the spring 1917, that is, before the seizure of power.)

VI. ON the skipping of His Stages
VII. What Does the Slogan of the Dem. Dic. Mean Today for the Party?

VIII. From Marxism to Pacifism
IX. Epilogue

X. What Is the Per. Rev? Fundamental Theses
(1) ques. of character, the inner coherence, & the methods of int. rev. in general
(2) for underdeveloped countries the theory of the per. rev. signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks

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(I should have also q.p. 126: "Under the conditions of the
age, the nat. dem. rev. can be carried through to a victorious end
only when the social & pol. relationship of the country are mature for
putting prol. in power as the leader of the masses of the people." !!!

dem. & nat. emancipation is conceivable only through the MIC. OF PROL. as the
leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses." p. 154

3/16
repeats only thru prol. against nat. liberal
bourgeoisie.

4) only under the pol. dir. of the prol. vanguard, org'd in CP
5) His experience has shown that no matter how the rev.
of the peasantry may be, it can never,theless not be an ind. role &
even less a leading one.
6) no... of peasantry is possible, hence no dem. dic.
of prol. & peasantry.
7) attempt of CI to foist old outlived slogan of prol. &
peasantry

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is all on
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W.B. M.K.E.

8) dic. of prol. becomes permanent from dem. to soc.
9) Conquest of power doesn't close but open prev. "Soc.
construction is conceivable only on the foundation of the class struggle
on a nat. & int. scale." (p. 154)
10) Completion of socialist rev. within national limits is
unthinkable. // Thus the socialist rev. becomes a per. rev. in a newer & broader
sense of the word; it attains completion only in the final victory of the
new society on our ENTIRE PLANET." (p. 155)
11) Elimination of question of maturity or immaturity.
since cap. created WORLD MKT.
12) Soc. in one country "only one that consisted to the very end
opposes the theory of the per. rev."
13) Theory of St-UB tears also the nat. rev. from int. path. "The present
policy of the CI, its regime, & the SELECTION OF ITS LEADING PERSONNEL correspond
entirely to the debasement of the CI to an auxiliary corps which is not destined
to solve ind. tasks." (p. 157)

14) "The problem of the per. rev. has long ago outgrown the EPISODIC
DIFFERENCES of opinion bet. L&T, WHICH WERE COMPLETELY EXHAUSTED BY HIS.
The struggle is bet. the basic ideas of Mx & L on the one side & the eclectics
of the Centrists on the other.

Constantinople, 11/30/29.

Collection
References

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Per. Rev. references cont'd -3-

LIFE by LT, 1931 NY (Scribner's Sons) (Foreword is signed 1929, Prinkipo) (7)

p.180: "The partial victory of the Oct. strike had for me a tremendous THEORETICAL as well as pol. importance. It was NOT the opp. of the liberal bourgeoisie, NOT THE ELEMENTAL RISING OF THE PEASANTRY or the terrorist acts of the intelligentsia, but the strike of the workers that for the 1st time brought Uzarism to its knees. The rev. leadership of the prol. revealed itself as an incontrovertible fact. I felt that the theory of the PER.REV. had withstood its 1st test successfully."

p.184: "No great work is possible without intuition—that is, without that SUBconscious sense which, altho it may be developed & enriched by theoretical & practical work, must be INGRAINED in the very nature of the individual. NEITHER (T)he education NOR practical ROUTINE can replace the pol. insight situation, weigh it as a whole, & foresee the future. The gift takes on decisive imp. at a time of abrupt changes & breaks—the conditions of rev. The events of 1905 revealed in me, I believe, this rev. intuition & enabled me to rely on its assured support in my later life. I must add here that the errors which I have committed, however imp. they may have been.....always referred to questions that were not fundamental or strategic, but dealt rather with such derivative matters as *def. organs*"

p.186 Just as 1905 was dress rehearsal for 1917 his-illy, so they were in his personal life & he was so at home in 1917 because "they were merely a continuation & dev. of the rev. activity which had been interrupted by the arrest of the St. Petersburg Sov. on 12/3/1905."

p.222: Q himself in 1909 in RL's Pol. magazine: "Local cretinism is the his. *1909* course of the peasant movements. It was on the CIRCUMSCRIBED POL. INTELLIGENCE OF THE PEASANT who while in his village plundered his landlord in order to seize his land, but then, decked out in a soldier's coat, shot down the wkrs, that the 1st wave of the RR (1905) broke. The events of that rev. may be regarded as a series of ruthless obj.-lessons by means of which HIS. IS HAMMERING INTO THE HEAD OF THE PEASANT THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE REV. which connect his local demand for land with the central problem of the state power."

p.224: "I was still hoping that the new rev. would force the Men. — as had that of 1905 — to follow a rev. path. But I underestimated the imp. of preparatory ideological selection & pol. case-hardening. In questions of the inner dev. of the party I was guilty of a sort of social-rev. fatalism. This was a mistaken stand, but it was vastly superior that of, but, fatalism, devoid of ideas, which distinguishes the maj. of my present-day critics in the camp of the CI." *RES*

p.227 LT speaks of "A sense of the tragedy of history... I know that the war has been declared & it has already begun, but I have not yet learned to believe in it."

Q Joffe on p.537

TROTSKY'S DIARY IN EXILE! 1935 (1958 Harvard U Press)

pp.46-47 why work in exile now is more imp. even than 1917

"There is now no one except me to carry out the mission of arming a new generation with the rev. method OVER the heads of the leaders of the 2nd & 3rd In.... I need at least about 5 more yrs. of uninterrupted work TO ENSURE THE SUCCESSION."

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THEORY OF PER. REV. FROM 1904 on

OUR REV.

Prolet. & Rev. 1904

Events in St. Petersburg, Jan. 1905 p. 58 "freedom from routine in matters of org."
p. 61. "Let us close our ranks, comrades!"
Let us unite, & unite the masses. Let

us prepare & prepare the masses for the day of decisive actions.!"
Prospects of a Labor Dic. 1906 (actually it is the article Sum Total & Perspectives)
Ch. 3-1789-1849-1905

p. 80 "The Rus. wkg. class of 1906 differs entirely
from the Vienna wkg. class of 1848. The best proof of it is the all-Russian practice
of the Council of Wkrs. Deputies... democratic institutions."
Ch. 4- The Rev. & The Prolet.

p. 84 "It is therefore not excluded that in a backward
country with a lesser degree of cap. dev., the prol. should sooner reach pol.
supremacy than in a highly dev. cap. state. Thus, in middleclass Paris, the prol.
consciously took into hands THE ADM. OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS IN 1871."
The Prolet. In Power & The Peasantry

VI. Prolet. Rule, 105/82 features of prol. politics are bound particularly to
meet with the opp. of labor's allies: Collectivism
Internationalism. "

Ch. 7, Prerequisites to Socialism

to soc. shes dic. of the prol. " (3) Here we approach the 3rd prerequisite

Ch. 8 A Labor Govt. in Rus. & Socialism

A yr. ago he wrote this way &
was attacked by "both our factions. p/132: Pol. supremacy of the prol. is incompatible
with its eco. slavery"

p. 136: Without dir. pol. aid from Europe, the wkg. class of Russia
will not be able to retain its power."

Ch. 9 Europe & the Rev.

Conservatism within SP, esp. Ger, ?SP" have developed a conservatism of
Q from his article June 1905
their own which grown IN PROPORTION AS SOC. EMBRACES EVER LARGER MASSES
& ORG. & DISCIPLINE increase." (p. 143) The colossal influence of the Rus Rev manifests
itself in (killing Party ROUTINES)..."

bk of 1908: THE HIS. OF THE COUNCIL OF WKG. MEN'S DEPUTIES (by LT & 1st chmn
of Soviet Chrustalyov Nosar)

The Sov. & the Rev. (50 Days)

"THE 1st NEW WAVE OF REV. WILL LEAD TO THE CREATION OF SOVIETS ALL OVER
THE COUNTRY."

1917 THE LESSONS OF THE GREAT YR. (1/9/1905-1/9, 1917)

3/13/1917--at 1st news of unrest in Petrogras

ON THE EVE OF A REV.

p. 181 "The streets of Petrograd again speak the language of 1905."