

USSR and World Revolution

by Jay Lovestone

The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the land of the proletarian dictatorship, is the base, the center of inspiration of international social revolution. The gigantic successes in Socialist construction in the Soviet Union are tremendous help to the world revolution. This help is not at the expense of some "friendly" bourgeois critics would have it, of the world proletarian revolution. Were it not for the great victories scored by the Soviet proletariat in Socialist construction, the false, sectarian and adventurous policies of the Comintern in the capitalist and colonial countries would, by this time, have reduced the Communist International to a mere memory. Again the Soviet Union has been a lifesaver for the international proletariat.

Special Historical Role of the Russian Revolution

When the Russian proletariat snapped the chains of Czarism and broke the shackles of capitalism it was not merely a victory for the Russian workers. The Russian "October" was and is the mightiest world-shaking victory won by the entire international working class and all the world's colonial masses. That a proletarian revolution in Russia would play a special, distinct role for the whole world proletariat and would usher in a new epoch in world history was long ago evident to Marx and Engels. Lenin always understood and emphasized this special role of a working class victory in Russia. Thus Engels, in the 1890 preface to the German edition of the Communist Manifesto and Marx and Engels in their preface to the Russian Edition of 1882, wrote of the "Russian revolution sounding the signal for a workers revolution in the west, so that each becomes the complement of the other."

And before Kautsky breathed his last in Marxism, he wrote, in February, 1904:

"There is no doubt that the economic development of Russia is far behind that of Germany or England and that its proletariat is much weaker and less mature than the German or the English. But all things are relative, including the revolutionary power of a class." (Our emphasis)

Then Kautsky used all the abilities at his command to emphasize the special "reasons that made the Russian proletariat such an extraordinary revolutionary force" and to point out why it is that "the Russian laborers (are) a much more vital political factor than the English." Even after the defeat of the Russian revolution in 1905 Kautsky could still write (January, 1906):

"The Czar has the power to lay his country waste but he never more can govern it."

"In any case the Russian revolution is far from being at an end. It cannot end so long as the Russian peasants are not satisfied. The longer it continues the greater will be the unrest of the masses of the workers of Western Europe, the nearer the danger of financial catastrophes, and the more probable that an era of acute class struggles will begin in Western Europe."

It was for this reason that Kautsky in **The Road to Power** waxed eloquent:

"It is certain that we are entering upon a period of universal unrest, or shifting of power, and that whatever form this may take, or how long it may continue, a condition of permanent instability will not be reached until the proletariat shall have gained the power to expropriate politically and economically the capitalist class and thereby to inaugurate a new era in the world's history."

"Happy he who is called to share in this sublime battle and in this glorious victory."

Of course, today, Kautsky speaks an entirely different language. He has forgotten and betrayed the tongue of the proletariat and has adopted the ideas and the language of the bourgeoisie. But how prophetic and accurate were Kautsky's remarks uttered a quarter of a century ago!

It was left to Lenin to give us a complete analysis of the international character and significance of a revolutionary victory in Russia. Thus in **What's To Be Done**, Lenin wrote in 1902:

"History imposes upon the Russian Marxists an immediate task, the most revolutionary of those which devolve upon the proletariat of the various countries. The accomplishment of this task, that is to say, the destruction of the most powerful bulwark of European and Asiatic reaction, would make the Russian proletariat the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat."

In 1915, Lenin developed these ideas still further:

"And if we succeed, the revolutionary emigration will encompass Europe; the European worker, unable to tolerate the bourgeois reaction any longer, will rise in his turn and show us how things should be done; and then the revolutionary impulse in Europe, will react upon Russia and will reduce the duration of our revolution to few years."

But Duranty and many bourgeois theoreticians all of a sudden find the Russian revolution assumes a purely national turn and discover, under the cover of their invention of "Stalinism", an abandonment of the world revolution. Says Duranty:

"It does follow, however, that the theory of 'Soviet Socialist sufficiency', as it may be called, involves a certain decrease of interest in world revolution—not deliberately, perhaps, but by force of circumstances. The Stalinist socialization of Russia demands three things, imperatively—every ounce of effort, every cent of money, and peace. It does not leave the Krenhin time, cash or energy for 'Red propaganda' abroad, which, incidentally, is a likely cause of war, and, being a force of social destruction, must fatally conflict with the five-year plan, which is a force of social construction." (New York Times, June 18, 1931—Our emphasis).

Inseparability of Russian and International Revolutions

Duranty operates on two premises, one as false as the other. These are: First, "Red propaganda", agitation and activities for the overthrow of capitalism, are in conflict with the Five-Year Plan which consists of agitation and activities for the construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. Second, "Red propaganda" is destructive because it aims to destroy capitalism; the Five Year Plan is constructive because, Duranty believes, it is a sort of a "no-

ble experiment" that is bound to lead back to some form of capitalism or other.

This line of argument is utterly worthless. There can be nothing more constructive today than the destruction of capitalism, which is already in its most destructive and decadent period—the period of imperialist war, joblessness, starvation. Then, if it were not for the years of "Red propaganda" in Russia, the Soviet Union would not be in existence today. If it were not for "Red propaganda", the Soviet Union would never have gotten to the stage of the Five-Year Plan, for the imperialists would then have had a free hand to wage war unitedly against the U.S.S.R. Besides, one of the greatest stimuli and sources of inspiration for "Red propaganda" in the capitalist countries is the success of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

Furthermore, Duranty certainly cannot forget the fact that the Five-Year Plan itself is a systematic, energetic, ruthless uprooting of remaining capitalist elements in the Soviet Union.

Obviously, it is folly to separate the interests of the Soviet Union, the interests of the Five-Year Plan, from the interests of the world revolution. These interests are inseparable. They supplement and complete each other. There is no such thing as "Soviet nationalism". This is a pure fabrication of the worst enemies of the international Communist movement, the Soviet Union, the entire world proletariat. Lenin placed this question very well when he underlined that:

"Ten to twenty years of proper relations with the peasantry and victory is guaranteed on a world scale (even if proletarian revolutions which are growing are delayed); otherwise, we shall have twenty to forty years of the torture of White Guard terror."

A Paterson Picket Writes:

WE GO TO PRISON FOR STRIKING

by Edward Wright

A street. Nothing unusual about it. An average street in an industrial town in New Jersey. But one thing is significant about it—it lies between Paterson and Clifton.

On the Paterson side masses of strikers stand, in high spirits and determined. On the Clifton side, scores of vicious looking brutes, dressed in blue, with drawn clubs and bats are ready for a murderous attack on the strikers.

In Clifton there is a silk mill, Henry Doherty by name. The whole town of Clifton is owned and ruled by H. Doherty. The courts and the police take their orders from His Holiness, Doherty, himself. Doherty once said: "There shall not be any picketing in front of my mill", therefore, the police chief of Clifton yells out: "Any striker who will walk across to Clifton will have his head split!"

In complete defiance of the threat, the strikers led by Louis Budenz and Ch. S. Zimmerman, approach the Clifton side. No one pays any attention to what the police say. Slowly the strikers push on forward. And suddenly the battle breaks out. Like hungry wolves the clubs of the beasts in blue find a temporary resting place on strikers heads, backs, noses, ankles—anything that is in the way. A woman tries to save her child. She is thrown bodily across the street by a fast sock across her back. A striker has his ribs broken and is taken to a hospital. Shouts! Yells! More and more swinging clubs coming down in a loud sickening thud. The class war is on. The bosses against the workers, the police against the strikers.

Unarmed, the strikers gloriously withstand the bloody police attack. Fearlessly they resist. Fearlessly they march on, on, on to Clifton.

The strikers have won. The defeated police retreats. In a second the strikers line is formed again, two by two.

Forward to Clifton!

Forward to the Doherty mill!

A patrol wagon follows the line! Having picketed the Doherty mill from one end to the other, fifteen strikers leading the picket line are arrested.

It is about 12:30 when we arrive from the police station. Our ties and belts are taken away. Those of us who wear suspenders feel much more comfortable. Outside it is pouring. What a relief to be in jail.

The singing begins. Typical working class songs: "Solidarity," "Hold the Fort." And we sing again and again. We give a yell, and what a substantial yell we give. The walls shake. What a powerful voice we have! For we do not sing for ourselves, we sing that the scabs may hear us; we sing that other strikers may hear us; we sing that the workers of the world may hear us. One young striker is somewhat dispirited. He is worried about his wife. He asks if he can call up, which is, of course refused. He feels bad that he is in jail. He can't understand why he was arrested. After all, what did he do? Why should he have been arrested just because he was picketing? We talk to him. He understands. And it is he now who sings and shouts louder than any one of us.

As time rolls on, insatiable hunger makes itself felt. We elect the chairman of the strike committee, Freedman, whom we have given the name "Why" to take our orders. Roast chicken, nice thick steaks, kosher ham, beer and ice cream. While talking about the food we would like to eat, our lawyer pays us a visit. Thru the bars he tells us that we are charged with disorderly conduct and that our bail is set at \$200 each, while Budenz is charged with atrocious assault and battery and that his bail is set

for \$500. Our answer to this frame-up is a powerful yell and "Solidarity Forever".

Lenin was right. A victory in the U. S. S. R. is necessarily and automatically a victory for the working class on a world scale. The success of Socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. is of unlimited international import and is bound to serve as the mightiest stimulus for the development of a victorious proletarian movement thruout the capitalist countries. Of course, the more the proletarian mass movement is developed in a particular capitalist country, the more powerful a role do the Soviet Union's existence and achievements play in the speeding up of the process of Communist victory in that country.

The basic interests of the Soviet proletariat and of the working class in the capitalist countries are fused and indivisible. If the proletariat in the capitalist countries did not support the Soviet Union, intervention would come rapidly enough and the Soviet Republic would be overthrown. If failure or disaster were to befall the Soviet Union, it would spell the blackest defeat and darkest reaction for the workers and oppressed colonial masses thruout the world for very many years. Should the international proletarian sympathy and support for the U. S. S. R. grow, then the growth of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union, the Socialist victory, would be speeded up tremendously. If the Soviet Union moves forward with seven-league boots in its drive for Socialist construction, the Socialist victories achieved go a long way towards strengthening the proletarian positions of battle against international capitalism.

(Concluded in the next issue)

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We are at last given the food supplied by the union which the police had purposely held back from us. We eat, and eat, and eat. The period of telling "stories", and what stories begin. There is no need of being serious and talking politics all the time, especially when in jail. Later on we take up the question of sleeping. We are fourteen and there are only five cots. It is decided to take shifts, a couple of hours each. But our discussion on this important matter is interrupted. Our bail having been furnished, we are released until the following morning to stand trial.

The arguments during the trial center upon the extent of the powers of jurisdiction of the Clifton courts. Our lawyer moves that our case be referred to the county court. The prosecuting attorney, pale, thin-lipped, wearing glasses and with a low metallic voice, fights the motion. Who is the prosecuting attorney? Who is this man fighting so viciously against us? Who is this defender of law and order? None other than the personal attorney of Henry Doherty!

Much to our surprise we win our point. Our case is referred to the county court. But . . . our bail that had been reduced from \$200 to \$25, is now increased to \$100 each.

So back to the police station. Back to the singing of songs. Back to satisfy Henry Doherty. Back to satisfy the whole boss class.

At one o'clock, after having had a very good meal sent in by the union, we are taken for a "ride" to the county jail situated in Paterson.

The county jail! What a dungeon! The walls are covered with a thick coat of dust. Only a few closed, barred windows high up, almost touching the ceiling. To look at the cells, dark, dingy stinking holes, with a very low ceiling, is enough to make us vomit. What is worse, when we first came in we had to take a bath. Not a shower but a bath, in a filthy lousy tub, the water being supplied with buckets. No sterilization, no cleaning. One after the other. But one really doesn't mind it. It is all a part of the class struggle. It is all to be expected. We don our prison uniform: khaki trousers and a blue working shirt. Learning who we are, the other prisoners, most of them youngsters, kids, typical victims of the system, have the highest respect for us. We become pals.

Sometime later "supper" is served: A slice of half-baked bread and synthetic dish water, tea, and the shadow of coffee. Its greasy and it stinks. Then our names are called. We get ready. Evidently the necessary bail has been fur-

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EVEN so feverish a prosperity-drumming organization as the National Industrial Conference Board has been compelled to admit that recent weeks have seen a marked change for the worse. The Board declared that "activity during the month declined more than seasonally" and that "the few favorable signs are confined to manufacturing industries closest to consumer demand." The electric po-