Twelve Years of the Soviet Union

By Jay Lovestone

THRUOUT the world the working masses are greeting with joy and pride the thirteenth year of the great victory of the international proletariat—the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Twelve years have passed since the death blow was dealt to Czarism and capitalism in Russia. Twelve of the most eventful and significant years in world history, years that saw the collapse of the Romanoffs, the overthrow of the capitalists, and the annihilation of the Kerenskys, Korniloffs, Kolchaks, Denikins and Wrangels; the stinging defeats inflicted upon world imperialism and its agents in intervention and encirclement; the victory over the famine; the birth of the Communist International; and the giant strides forward in building Socialism! These are victories inscribed upon the crimson banner of the international working class unfurled by the first Soviet Republic.

The Meaning of October

The October Revolution was the first victorious proletarian revolution. True, it was not yet the world revolution—but it was much more than merely a prelude to the world revolution. The October Revolution has always been and in the future will continue to be the very base and center of the international struggle for the emancipation of labor. The struggle of our victorious Russian brothers is inseparable from—is bound up by the closest historical ties with the struggles of the working masses all over the world. The strengthening and consolidation of the Soviet Union constitutes a most powerful force in the development of a victorious proletarian revolution in all countries. Likewise, the destruction of capitalism in a number of the more highly developed bourgeois countries will have a profound effect upon the course of the Russian Revolution, will insure the final victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union.

The historical period of imperialism in which we are living is characterized by extreme uneveness of development; it is full of violent changes and class conflicts, of ever-sharpening antagonisms among the imperialist powers leading to cataclysmic clashes and world wars. It was precisely in such a period that the Russian Revolution was born. The October Revolution was the breaking of the "weakest link" in the imperialist chain under the terrific strain of the deep crisis of the war and post-war period. The U.S.S.R. is the living proof that we are today in the period of decaying, moribund capitalism.

The U.S.S.R. exists as a socialist island in the midst of world capitalism. The basic contradictions between the two cannot be solved, nor can the opposing systems exist side by side peacefully for any length of time. Only the sharp clash of interests among the imperialist powers themselves and the fear of the rising revolutionary movement at home have hitherto postponed an open outbreak of the gathering imperialist offensive against the U.S.S.R. But the fundamental contradiction between Socialism and capitalism is there and can only find its final solution in a great sweep of the victorious proletarian revolution over the face of the globe.

The Main Lessons of October

The driving force, the inspiring genius of October was the great teacher and leader of the toiling masses—Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin. The greatest gift of October is—Leninism! The lessons of October are the lessons of Leninism!

1. October gave us the highest type of democracy—proletarian democracy: the proletarian dictatorship based upon the Soviet Power.

- 2. October dramatized on a world historical scale the union of the workers and the exploited farmers, under the leadership of the proletariat, as the basis for the proletarian revolution and the Soviet Power.
- 3. October gave to the oppressed national minorities and colonial peoples a mighty ally, a leader in the struggle for freedom. It showed the indissoluble bonds uniting the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the struggles for liberation of the oppressed colonial slaves.
- 4. October showed—what in these days of fraudulent "peace conferences" and "disarmament" swindles it is especially necessary to remember—that the only road to the abolition of war, to universal peace, is the overthrow of capitalism, that war is to be fought with the class struggle, by turning imperialist war into civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.
- 5. October has taught the advanced workers all over the world the significance of the revolutionary political Party of the proletariat. It has shown the necessity for "the highest form of working class organization," guiding and unifying all struggles, forming "the organized political lever by means of which the more advanced part of the working class leads all the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses"—the Communist Party. Without the revolutionary political Party of their own (the Bolshevik Party) the Russian workers could never have achieved their victory. Only under the leadership of revolutionary proletarian parties—Communist Parties—united together into a world Party—the Communist International—will the workers of the world achieve their October!

Building Socialism in the Soviet Union

Today Socialism is being steadily built in the Soviet Union. Already many great Socialist achievements have been secured. The Russian proletariat has decisively defeated capitalism on the economic front. Capitalist elements still remain but the rapidity of the construction of Socialism guarantees the definite victory of the Socialist over the capitalist elements in economic life.

The foundation of Socialist construction is rapid industrialization, especially the planned intensified development of heavy industry. It is on the basis of a steadily socialized urban industry that Socialism in both town and country proceeds. And for the successful organization of the new economic order they must both proceed together, side by side.

The absolute prerequisite not only for the maintenance of power in the hands of the proletariat but also for the construction of the new economic system is the firm alliance of the proletariat with the masses of the poor and middle peasantry. Socialism proposes the organization of industrial and agricultural production into one organic economic whole. In achieving this end agriculture comes under the leadership of socialized urban industry. Without the development of agriculture in the direction of collectivization and socialization the construction of Socialism cannot proceed. Agriculture provides the necessities of life and raw materials for production as well as a market for industry. The proletariat in building its new economic system does not treat the masses of the peasantry "as a colony of industry"—as do the capitalists—but rather as an ally and co-worker in laying the foundations of the future.

The participation of the U.S.S.R. in world trade has been growing rapidly. Far from constituting proof, as the Trotskyites have erroneously declared, of the growing dependence of the Soviet economy upon international capitalism, this development

is to be greatly welcomed. Relatively speaking those countries participating most in world trade are the most independent. This is all the more true for the U.S.S.R. for one cannot exaggerate the inestimable importance of the foreign trade monopoly as the regulator of the relations of the Soviet Union with the capitalist world.

The Five Year Plan

Planned economy is an essential feature of Socialism which is free from the anarchy characteristic of the highest and strongest capitalist system as well of the weakest and lowest. The Five Year Plan is the embodiment of the beginnings of this planned economy. The development of industrial production, the socialization of agriculture, the relations of exchange and foreign trade are all included in its wide sweep—and calculated to the decimal point as a guide for action. The Five Year Plan shows the way to Socialism!

The Five Year Plan was first put forward by Comrade Rykoff at the XV Congress of the C.P.S.U. towards the close of 1927. Since then every Plenum and every Conference of the C.P.S.U. has endorsed it unanimously. Whatever differences there may have occurred were only over the methods of the application of the industrialization program and not over the Five Year Plan as such.

From the first, the aim of the Five Year Plan was declared to be the attainment and the surpassing of "the economic level of the advanced capitalist countries in the approaching historical period, thus assuring the triumph of the Socialist economic system." This aim has been attacked in earnest and the economic progress of the U.S.S.R. in the last two years under the Five Year Plan has amazed the bourgeois world and has inspired the proletarian masses. Last year industrial production increased by 24%; this year the rate of increase promises to be 31%. By 1933 83.9% of all production will be socialized; in industrial production the level of socialization will reach 92.4%.

Already in his report to the XV Congress Comrade Rykoff pointed out that "the realization of the Five Year Plan is connected with the overcoming of numerous obstacles and difficulties." In this he was merely repeating the profound thought of Comrade Lenin:

"I must repeat here what I have said many times: it was easier for the Russians than for any of the advanced nations to begin the great proletarian revolution, but they will experience greater difficulties in continuing it, in bringing it to a complete victory, i.e., in organizing Socialistic society."

But these difficulties of the Soviet Union are only the pains of growth, the difficulties of the construction of the highest social order the world has ever seen, in a country that still bears the marks of Czarism, capitalism, war, civil war and intervention. These difficulties will be overcome thru the united efforts and resources of the Russian proletariat and peasant masses, supported by the toilers of the whole world!

Our Duty to the Soviet Union

The very growth of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. arouses world capitalism to ever more bitter opposition and hostility. That is why the danger of imperialist war against the Soviet Union is so acute. We, American Communists, fighting in the land of the most powerful imperialism, face this danger in an especially grave form, for in such a war the U.S.A. would play the most aggressive and decisive role. An especially responsible duty rests upon us, which grows heavier as the danger of war grows nearer.

The Soviet Union is the only fatherland the workers of the world have. It is the bulwark, the fortress of the hopes and achievements of the international proletariat. The workers of the whole world must unite in a solid international front to fight against the imperialist war plans, to protect the peaceful Socialist growth of the U.S.S.R., to defend the Workers Republic. With the coming of war it becomes our international duty to strive with all our might for the defeat of American imperialism and for the victory of the Russian workers and peasants and for the final destruction of American and world capitalism!

The United States remains the one big capitalist power that has not yet entered into diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union; yet, at the same time, the sentiment in favor of the First Workers Republic has been continually growing among the proletarian and farmer masses and even among large sections of the petty bourgeoisie. This makes it a matter of the very first importance for the Communists of this country to crystalize the sentiment for the recognition of the Soviet Union, to mobilize the masses for it and to link it up politically with the struggle for the defense of the U.S.S.R. in the face of the growing war danger. In the present period the importance of this task is greater than it ever was before.

A Mass Leninist Party—Our Greatest Need!

The best that the American workers can do for the Soviet Union today is to hasten the building of the Communist Party into a mass party with a Leninist line, with correct Communist policies. A powerful Communist Party with roots and influence among the masses is the best defense of the Soviet Union!

We must clearly emphasize that whatever is today constructive in the American labor movement owes its inspiration to the great October Revolution. The relative lack of revolutionary Socialist traditions in America makes this truer for this country than for most others. Our movement lacks revolutionary effectiveness precisely to the degree that it disregards or rejects—as is unfortunately and temporarily happening today—the great lessons of the Russian Revolution, the foundation principles of Leninism.

The Task For Us

We in the United States have an especially difficult task ahead of us. We are fighting for Communism in the most powerful imperialist country, the very pole of the capitalist world. We too take our inspiration from the great traditions and achievements of the Russian Bolsheviks, from the great labors of the Soviet working masses. We recognize that in our struggle for Communism in America we are marching along the same road, shoulder to shoulder with our Russian comrades building up a free Socialist society.

On the twelfth anniversary of the October Revolution we declare in the eloquent, inspiring words of Gorki:

"Comrades! The toilers of the entire earth look to you with ardent hope: they expect to see new, honorable, unselfish men, indefatigable at the work of building up a new world!"

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