

USSR and World Revolution

by Jay Lovestone

(Continued from last issue)
Duranty Slanders Stalin

No matter how severely critical we may be and will continue to be of Stalin's ultra-left sectarian policies in the Communist International, still we cannot agree with Duranty when he says:

"But facts are facts, whether one admits them or not, and it is quite on the cards that the real source of the quarrel of Trotsky and foreign Marxist theoreticians with Stalinism is their realization that Stalinism, while retaining world revolution as an ultimate goal, has abandoned it as an immediate practical issue little less completely than the early Christian Church abandoned the millennium or second advent when Constantine made it the official faith of the Roman Empire." (New York Times, June 18, 1931).

Somehow or other, no bourgeois thinker can rise above the lowest levels of thinking—faith and mysticism, which are the very antithesis of thinking. What Bolshevism—based on the stern realities of the class war—has to do with the fantastic concepts of any species of supernaturalism, it is impossible for anyone to fathom. Still, Duranty tries to be "dialectical." And here we see what happens to dialectics in the hands of non-Marxists—a mere shuffling of the cards. Says Duranty:

"The evolution of Stalinism toward 'Soviet Socialist sufficiency' at first made it important to retain such sources of support abroad as the foreign Communist parties offered, and there was a period when the foreign Communist parties were severely disciplined by Moscow to tune them exactly to the Kremlin's note. America is a case, in point, as Messrs. Lovestone and Pepper will bear witness." (New York Times, June 19, 1931).

Mr. Duranty is all wrong. No one will deny that Stalin's factional methods, both in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the Communist International, that the factional regime, its clique boasting and bureaucratic perversion of correct tactical policies with the consequent weakening of the Communist International, have given to bourgeois critics and experts, basing themselves on "temporary and superficial phenomena" plenty of talking points for such inventions and crudities as the idea that the Soviet Union is no longer interested in the world revolution and is concerned only with the problems of Soviet economic construction. Whatever be the criticism we may level against Stalin, yet we never stoop to deny that it was none other than Stalin himself, who clearly said, in reply to Trotsky, at the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in December 1926, that:

"... the interests and tasks of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. are interwoven and inseparably connected with the interests and the tasks of the revolutionary movement in all countries, and vice versa, the tasks of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries are inseparably connected with the tasks and achievements of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. on the front of Socialist construction."

Regardless of how much the capitalists may wish, the fact remains that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, whether its outstanding leader be Bukharin, Stalin, or who not, fully recognizes the truth of Lenin's remarks at the XIII Party Congress:

"We live not only in a state, but in a system of states, and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for any length of time is inconceivable. Finally one or the other must conquer."

But Duranty would have us believe that:

"As Soviet Russia has grown stronger and the need for such allies (the Third International) has decreased, there has been a progressive concentration of Russian interest upon internal affairs and—whether Communist zealots like it or not—a progressive dilution of the importance of the Third International." (New York Times, July 25, 1931).

At the very moment that the Communist International was organized Lenin, who was its founder, said that the Third International was set up

"to carry out, to put into practice the behests of Marxism and to make the old ideals of Socialism and of the labor movement a reality; this most characteristic feature of the Third International immediately asserted itself by the fact that the new, third 'International Workingmen's Association' began to coincide to a certain extent with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics."

Stalinites In a Bourgeois Pitfall

In the present situation the role of the Communist International is decisive. Stalin knows this. The fact that Stalin's ultra-left sectarian tactics in the Communist International have brought paralysis to the Comintern, particularly in the present moment of splendid opportunities for revolutionary struggle against capitalism, does not mean that his intentions are bad or that his plans are to sacrifice the world revolution. It does mean that his present policies in the Communist International are wrong, are bad.

Apparently, the bourgeois critics of the Soviet Union, like some of the leaderships imposed on the various sections of the Communist International, (for example, in the United States), think that the international revolution is a single act. For opposite reasons, of course, the wish is father to the thought with both of these types. With one the process of failure; with the other, the process of success. That is why those who mechanically transplant policies from the Soviet Union, as well as those "friendly" bourgeois critics who are always sure that in the end the U. S. S. R. will get to capitalism, both fail to understand the recent speech of Stalin about new tactics and plans in the improvement of the Soviet labor supply. Thus, the *Daily Worker* has actually kept silent until very recently, about this very important speech while the general bourgeois press stupidly hailed it as "a retreat from Communism and a return to capitalism". The trouble is that both view the international revolution as a single act and that neither type understands what Lenin meant when he said in 1917:

"The first phase of Communism still

cannot produce justice and equality; differences, and unjust differences in wealth, will still exist.

"But the exploitation of one man by many will have become impossible, to seize as private property the means of production, the factories, machines, land, etc." (State and Revolution).

An Old Menshevik Fairy Tale

The theory of Duranty that the heroic efforts and success of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in its progress in Socialist construction mean giving up the international social revolution, the discarding of the Communist International, or that the tasks of the Soviet proletariat in building Socialism are in conflict with the tasks of the international proletariat in destroying capitalism, is really not a new theory. It is merely the other side of the medal, another phase, or the corollary, of that theory of Kautsky, Bauer, Parvus and Hillquit to the effect that "the realization of the Socialist revolution and Socialist construction are impossible" except on an international scale in general, and in the U.S.S.R. in particular. According to these bourgeois writers "the historical mission of the Bolsheviks is to serve as a bridge by which a Caesar or a Bonaparte or someone similar will come to power." And Trotsky spoke of Thermidor. Duranty concludes that this is already what has happened, that "Stalinism is an iron scepter", that Stalin is a sort of a Tamerlane ruling the U. S. S. R. with an iron, Czarist hand.

It is not an accident that this most dangerous propaganda against the Soviet Union appears, in a new garb it is true, just at a moment when the bourgeoisie of even the strongest imperialist powers are weak in the knees and sick in the head. For the American bourgeoisie, Duranty's propaganda—regardless of his intentions or plans—tends to serve as a tonic, giving hope and the illusion that the Soviet system may work in the U. S. S. R. all right but not in the United States, that the very progress of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union tends to liquidate the revolutionary role of the U. S. S. R. on an international scale. Obviously, these are real quick-remedies, plain patent-medicines for the doomed bourgeois order now in one of the most decisive and significant crises in its whole history.

Basic Dangers Before Us

What the Communists of all countries must guard against with special vigilance, in these dying days of capitalism as a world system, is ultra-left sectarianism—adventurism. This is the most deadly enemy of the international Communist movement in its present decisive combat with social reformism and Fascism—the two guardians at the death-bed of the decaying, but still far from dead, order of capitalist exploitation. Keeping this task in mind we recall (and return particularly to Stalin himself) the following excellent advice given by Stalin at the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, in reply to the Trotskyists:

"... And that, therefore, it is possible to leap over these facts and by clamorous slogans demonstrate the revision of the tactics of the united front, the dissolution of the trade union movement in the West, etc. But what does it mean to ignore facts, to ignore the objective progress of affairs? It means to abandon science and resort to witchcraft."

Political Crisis In Latin America

WHAT'S BEHIND EVENTS IN CHILE?

by Ibericus

The tremendous events in Europe have somewhat overshadowed the revolution that took place during the latter part of June in the South American republic of Chile, the course of which is certain to have considerable effect upon the entire labor movement of the continent. Chile occupies the position of third rank, considered from an economic and political viewpoint, among Latin American countries. Chile is a country of coasts and hills; agriculture therefore does not play anywhere the same role in this country as it does in Argentina, for example. The chief forms of wealth are the nitrates and mineral deposits in the North and the highly developed industry built upon them. In the central regions, big land-ownership is dominant; in the South, the remnants of the Indian aborigines, the Araukans, vegetate as small peasants.

Class Alignments and Class Antagonisms

Chile is today no longer a country of immigration, as is Argentina. Its population is primarily a mixture of Spaniards and Indians. A certain role is also played by the Germans, who make up the rich colonists and merchants. Class antagonisms are very sharply developed. At the top is a thin stratum of almost pure-blooded Spanish lords of huge estates, closely connected with the commercial and financial aristocracy of German origin. Then follows a rather extensive layer of *mediopelo* (mixed blood), represented in the middle class strata, the intellectuals and the officialdom. Rotten and spiritually decadent as the Chilean aristocracy is, it allows its rule to be exercised thru upstarts from these classes. The bottom of the pyramid is formed here, as everywhere, by the toiling masses. But in Chile the working masses assume a quite peculiar stamp, corresponding to the special conditions of the country. The lowest rung in the ladder is occupied by the *inquilinos*, the descendants of the Indian slaves on the great estates. The *mayorismo*, the land in-

"This gives rise to adventurism in the policy of the Opposition Bloc." Emphasizing the same point we might also affirm with Bukharin:

"When Vladimir Ilyitch worked in the Communist International, one of his warnings to those of us who were working there, was that we should on no account lose sight of originality in development, that we should not look at things in a stereotyped manner, that we should be able to distinguish and to perceive simultaneously both what is most general and also the minor peculiarities which sometimes play a decisive role in the subsequent transition on the road to Communism." ("Lenin As A Marxist").

For us—especially in the United States—and for all Communists (whether momentarily expelled or not) thruout the world, in the midst of the great economic crisis, in the midst of these decisive hours of our international struggle against capitalism it is of the greatest import to heed closely the advice of Lenin at the Third World Congress of the Comintern:

"... The Communist International is basing its policy on the proletarian revolution, but this by no means implies either dogmatically fixing any definite date for the revolution, or any pledge to bring it about mechanically at a set time: Revolution has always been, and is today, nothing else but a struggle of living forces carried on within given historic conditions. The war has destroyed capitalist equilibrium all over the world. It has thus created conditions favoring the proletariat, which is the fundamental force of the revolution. The Communist International has been exerting all its efforts to take full advantage of these conditions."

"The distinction between the Communist International and the Social-democrats of all colors does not consist in the fact that we are trying to force the revolution and set a definite date for it while they are opposed to any utopian and immature uprisings. No, the distinction lies in the fact that Social-democrats hinder the actual development of the revolution by rendering all possible assistance in the way of restoring the equilibrium of the bourgeois state while the Communists, on the other hand, are trying to take advantage of all means and methods for the purpose of overthrowing and destroying the capitalist government and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat."

"The fundamental tasks of the Communist Party in the current crisis is to conduct, extend, widen and unite the present defensive fight of the proletariat and sharpen it towards the final political struggle in accordance with the course of evolution. Should, however, the pace of development slacken and the present economic crisis be followed by a period of prosperity in a greater or less number of countries, this would by no means be an indication of the beginning of the organic epoch. So long as capitalism exists, periodic vacillations are inevitable. These vacillations are going to accompany capitalism in its death agony as was the case during its youth and maturity." (Our emphasis).

It would be foolish to be discouraged by the slow progress of the proletarian revolution in the West in comparison with the rapid progress of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union. Let no one be dismayed even for a second by the difficulties and crisis in the Communist International, which take root primarily in this gap between the two armies marching toward Socialist victory. Were it not for the great Soviet successes in Socialist construction, the international proletarian revolutionary front would today be infinitely weaker, would not be even anywhere near as strong as it is now. In the light of the present international situation and the outlook for world capitalism it is well to keep in mind with Marx that:

"In great historical processes, twenty years are but as one day—and then may come days which are the concentrated essence of twenty years."

spector, still exercises patriarchal powers over them. Then come the proletarian inhabitants of the *conventillos* of Santiago and of other cities. (*Conventillos* are barrack-like structures, built like monasteries, with open ditches in the courtyards). The mine and nitrate workers of the North from the backbone of the class conscious labor movement. The same applies to the harbor workers and seamen, who approach most closely to the type of the modern proletariat.

Conditions of the Masses

The cultural and living conditions of the Chilean workers are best indicated thru the designation that they give themselves as a class. They call themselves "los Rotos", the "ragged ones." Alcohol is a bitter enemy of theirs. Criminality is shockingly high.

The Labor Movement

Chile's wealth is nitrates. During the World War, the industries built on nitrates rose to the highest importance and indeed all branches of industry were remarkably stimulated. Almost overnight a modern labor movement arose, based primarily upon the mine workers. In 1920 this movement reached its highest

THE end of August has seen by far the lowest general level yet attained in the crisis. But the basic indices point to even worse weeks ahead. The usual autumn improvement, signs of which normally appear in August, is conspicuous for its absence. Competent observers are thus already writing off autumn seasonal prospects. The National Association of Purchasing Agents survey sees no improvement in sight. Uncertainties of crop size and consumption de-