

The Communist Party and the Social Revolution.

This is the third anniversary of the Russian Soviet Republic—the first proletarian state that has successfully repulsed all the attacks of international imperialism and laid the foundation for a Communist Commonwealth in Russia.

If we inquire into the secret of the success and durability of the Russian Soviets we come upon one and only explanation—the Communist Party of Russia. This party was not only the initiator of the November Revolution that brought the Russian proletariat into power, but also its leader and defender through the entire period of the existence of the Russian Soviet Republic. It is only stating an historical fact to say, that were it not for the Communist Party of Russia, neither the November Revolution nor its successful course inside and outside of Russia since then, would have been possible.

The Seizure of Power.

It is a well-known fact that the party that seized the power of state, November 7th, 1917 was the Communist Party. But it is not as well-known that this same party has been for years educating and preparing its own ranks and the broad working masses of Russia just for this supreme and decisive act. Ever since the first abortive revolution of 1905 when it became clear that the only social forces capable of overthrowing the rule of the Czar and nobility, were the workers and poorer peasants, the Bolshevik faction of the former Social-Democratic Labor Party of Russia has been working on the theory that a successful political revolution in Russia must necessarily open the way for the ripening social revolution in Europe, and that in this final struggle of the oppressed against the capitalist oppressors the working masses of Russia will take the leading part. That a successful political revolution in Russia may, under certain international conditions, assume the character of a social revolution, was clearly foreseen by the Bolsheviks as early as 1906-1907 and because of this, they were the first to perceive the immense possibilities contained in the Workers' Soviets that first sprung up in 1905 as organs of future revolutionary struggles and also proletarian domination.

While the Mensheviks were shedding tears of despair over the failure of the revolution of 1905, burying together with their forlorn hopes even the memory of the first Workers' Soviets, the Bolsheviks were reaching out after new political orientations in which the social revolution and Workers' Soviets were occupying a central and dominating position.

In looking over the Bolshevik literature since 1906 we are struck by the fact that not for one moment did they lose sight of the international character of the proletarian struggle. They always thought and spoke in terms of world revolution and when in August 1914, the war broke out, they were the only solidly-organized working class party that had a clear vision of its revolutionary duty to make that war the last capitalist war by transforming it into the first international civil war of Communism against Capitalism. They, the Bolsheviks, not only had the vision but also the will and the daring and the courage to challenge the further misrule of imperialist banditry and planted with both their feet upon the solid foundation of Marxian economics, trained in years for open struggle against the most unscrupulous tyrannies the world has ever known and determined upon doing their duty towards the oppressed and suffering masses of the world, the Bolsheviks, who are now known as the Communist Party of Russia, were bending their whole line of conduct towards the liberation of the working class from the horrors of capitalism. Hence their glorious act of November 7th, 1917.

Defending the Power of the Workers.

The state power of Russia seized on November 1917 was successfully held and defended against the aggressions of world imperialism for three long years. By whom? By the working masses of course, the Red Army on the field of battle and their comrades at home in the shops and factories, have been bending their backs, straining their nerves, and sacrificing their lives to sustain the existence of

the proletarian state. But who supplied the leadership, the organizing abilities, the dynamic energy for this superhuman task? The answer is,—the Communist Party of Russia. It was this party and this party alone that first realized the supreme necessity for the building up of the Workers' and Peasants' Army for the defense of the revolution. Now this was not to be an easy task under any circumstances, particularly so in the midst of civil war and under the terrific pressure of external aggression. But the Army has been created and has on many difficult and trying occasions given an excellent account of itself.

What made this miracle possible? At the recruiting stage of the process we find the local organizations and groups of the Communist Party of Russia carrying an intensive and extensive campaign among the workers and poorer peasants for enlistment into the Red Army. It was a campaign of revolutionary and Communist education the likes of which the world has never seen before. Every particle of energy and ability was put to work and the result was, a constant stream of thousands upon thousands into the ranks of the new Workers' Army.

But there was another problem which I consider the most difficult of all, this was the getting of military leadership. In the old army the responsible positions of field generalship and military staff work were held by reactionary noblemen and favorites of the Czar. Even the lower positions of the army command with very few exceptions were in the hands of corrupt servants of the ruling class. Consequently, an entirely new staff of military leaders and commanders had to be created. And all this—almost at a moment's notice. But this problem was solved and as we now know, treated successfully. Now where did this new staff come from? It came from the ranks of the Communist Party of Russia. It was the membership of this party that supplied the material for the front ranks of the battling battalions of the revolutionary army. Hundreds upon hundreds of active and trusted Communists were, after a short and intensive training in the military art, sent to the most dangerous and responsible positions at the front.

Nor is this all that the Communist Party of Russia did for the creation and successful functioning of the most potent instrument of the proletarian dictatorship—the Red Army. We have heard a great deal about the political commissars—the eyes and ears of the revolution as they are called,—that are attached to the military command of the army. These commissars are charged primarily with the duty of looking after the morale and physical well-being of the Red soldiers. But they also keep an eye upon the doings of the military command. And who are these commissars? They are active, trusted, and devoted members of the Communist Party of Russia. It is they who educate and encourage and enthuse the battling forces of the revolution. It is they who guard the proletarian dictatorship against possible treachery. Thus has many and many a Communist laid down his life on the field of battle for the liberation of the workers of Russia as well as the oppressed and down-trodden world over.

Economic Reconstruction.

As to the reconstruction and rehabilitation of economic life of Russia the Communist Party of that country is clearly the only practically organized group that had, even previous to the November Revolution, a definite conception of what is to be done to repair the damage wrought upon Russia's economic life by the strangulating rule of Czarism and the effects of the Imperialist war. None of the opponents of the Communist Party of Russia have as yet produced any plan of economic reconstruction that would on the face of it, even promise—let alone secure—a bearable existence for the tens of millions of Russia's toilers. We hear of course a great deal of criticism directed against the economic plans and activities of the Russian Communists. They tell us, these smart critics, that the economic policies lead to inefficiency, wastefulness, too much centralization, etc. etc. But we only smile. For we know full well that none of them have anything better to produce unless it be "efficiency"

and "personal freedom" of Wrangel, Morgan, Gary and the whole damnable industrial captainship of modern finance-imperialism.

Coming back again to the actual facts of Russia's economic life for the last three years, what do we find? A land problem—agrarian problem successfully solved up to the point of introducing the Socialist mode of production into the domain of agriculture. True, this last part of the problem is as yet very far from having been solved in practice, and nobody realizes this better than the Russian Communist themselves. But—and these are the main points—feudalism in the land relations of Russia has been totally destroyed, rent and landlordism as an economic factor simply does not exist in Russia and the major part of Russia's peasantry has been completely won over to the revolution. Consequently, any further development of Russia's agricultural life, provided the proletariat continues to hold the power of state, must proceed in the direction of Socialism and eventually, Communism.

Large-scale industry and commerce have been socialized. Russia's industrial organism is functioning as a consciously-regulated and organized system of production and distribution for the benefit of all who work. The workers are being trained and educated for the performance of their duties as free and equal members of a Communist Commonwealth, and for this gigantic task the Communist Party of Russia is supplying, not only the general plans, but the actual leadership, education and organization as well.

Think of a political party—and the Communist Party of Russia is a political party—sitting in convention assembled and discussing planning and providing for every phase of Russia's economic life! The resolutions of the Ninth Convention deal almost exclusively with economic problems. This last convention was, by the nature of its work, a gathering of economists, bankers and industrialists all in one. And as the deliberations were complete and decisions adopted, the whole Communist press and every single party group went ahead educating and preparing the working masses of Russia for new policies and actions. Thus is the working class being trained for the assumption of control over its own life. But for the present, when the broad masses are still inexperienced, it is the class-conscious and the revolutionary part of the working class—the Communist Party of Russia—that is supplying the brains, foresight, and energy for the proletarian state and its institutions.

The World Revolution.

Very little need be said about the part played by the Communist Party of Russia in the international revolutionary movement. If it is true that the mother of the Third, Communist International was the social revolution, then the Communist Party was its father. It is this last circumstance that has given rise to the ridiculous idea spread by the social-patriots and weak-hearted centrists, that the Russian Communists want to dictate and lord over the revolutionary movement of the world. That the Communists of Russia have been the initiators and creators of the Third, Communist International, there can be no doubt. That they are at present, the strongest and most influential factor in this general staff of the world revolution is equally true. But it is also an undeniable fact that the international policies of the Communist Party of Russia were prompted by one single desire—to revolutionize the proletarian movement of Europe and America and to surrender the leadership of the international revolution to the workers of these countries as soon as they are able and willing to take it. There is not another party in the whole world that is as truly and consistently international in its outlook, policies and dealings as the Communist Party of Russia. And to accuse this party of dictatorial designs upon the workers of other countries is to play directly into the hands of world-imperialism, which is seeking to destroy the Third, Communist International, its only effective and dangerous opponent. Never will the class-conscious workers of the world forget the debt that they owe to the Communist Party of Russia for its great and courageous pioneering in the cause of international Communism.

(Continue on page 5)