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**Thesis for Agitators on the Second Anniversary of Lenin's Death.**

1 Two years have passed since Lenin's death and during these two years new millions of proletarians in the Soviet Union and throughout the world have appreciated at their right value the genius, the revolutionary determination, the steady perseverance and the remarkable foresight of the late leader of the International proletariat. Hundreds of Social Democratic and non-Party rank and file and leading workers who visited the Soviet Union brought to millions of workers throughout the world the message of love and veneration in which millions of workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. hold Lenin. They became imbued with this love and veneration seeing how rapidly Lenin's injunctions are being realised in the U. S. S. R., and from them this feeling of veneration was conveyed to millions of working men and women.

On the second anniversary of the death of the great leader every class-conscious proletarian must resolve in his mind Lenin's injunctions to the working class, he or she must seriously consider their tasks and duties as members of the working class in the light of these political injunctions of the leader.

2. Lenin's chief injunction based on the experience of the revolutions of the 19th and 20th century and on the analysis of the economic development of the world during past decades, consists in pointing out that the imperialist war of 1914—18 was the culminating point of the upward development of capitalism. That it constituted the end of the historical epoch of class peace and social reform, of the historical phase of peaceful competition between imperialist powers. The war of 1914—18 ushered in a New historical epoch: the epoch of the downward development of capitalism, of its decay, of fierce competition between imperialist groupings, of frantic armaments, of acute class struggle, of avowed bourgeois dictatorship and of a systematic capitalist offensive. These inevitable consequences of capitalist development — economic retrogression, wars, political reaction can only be overcome through the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat of the various countries and of the whole world.

Has this fundamental injunction of Lenin been refuted by the development of recent years? Certainly not.

a) The industry of post-war Europe has not reached pre-war level. The decline of British industry during the last few years has become more rapid. There is a serious crisis in French economy. The economy of Germany stabilised with the help of American credits is on the eve of another crisis. America, on whose help the reformists set such great hopes, being more concerned about the instability of capitalism than about the hard

life of the proletariat steadily growing worse, has not only taken upon itself the role of Europe's temporary physician, but also the role of permanent disintegrator of its industry. One of the signs of the diminishing power of world imperialism is the rising of the 400 million population of China, for the unexampled exploitation of the Chinese workers and peasants was one of the foundations which upheld world, and particularly British imperialism.

b) Competition between the imperialist powers has become still fiercer. The whole world was witness to the practical disintegration of the Entente in Locarno. On the world arena the pre-war competition between Great Britain and Germany has been replaced by competition between Great Britain and America. A reflex of the growth of this competition is the enormous growth of armaments with respect to naval and air fleets, chemical warfare etc. This competition and instability led to the Turco-Grecian, the Moroccan and other wars. The peril of new imperialist wars on a large scale has not diminished since 1914—18. It has increased on the contrary.

c) At the same time the class struggle has become more acute. In a number of countries we have avowed, unashamed military dictatorship (Italy, Roumania, Spain, Greece etc.).

The bourgeoisie is smashing up workers' organisations not only in Italy. There are decided signs of approaching fascist dictatorship even in such "democratic" countries as France and Great Britain.

The economic struggle between labour and capital, as compared with the pre-war epoch has become more acute, the proletariat almost invariably appearing in the role of the retreating party. The level of existence of British workers is deteriorating, and the level of existence of the German proletariat is also lower than the pre-war level. Even in France where up to 1925 the output of all the industries was on the upward grade, we witness during the last few years a certain reduction in the real wage. The temporary and partial stabilisation of capital was used by the bourgeoisie to extort from the proletariat the concessions (the 8-hour day etc.) which it had had to make under the pressure of the revolutionary situation in 1919—20.

Great Britain which for many decades has been the Mecca of the reformists is now a classical example of the growing acuteness of the class struggle and of rapidly developing class antagonism.

Thus the post-war epoch far from being the outlet from a blind alley, as the Scheidemanns, Renaudels, Renners and Hen-

persons endeavoured to represent during the years of war, has confronted the proletariat with still greater perils and difficulties. The experience of the seven post-war years shows that imperialist wars, bourgeois dictatorship and capitalist offensive cannot be evaded by parliamentary methods nor by relying on social compromise. The only radical means has been and is: class struggle, proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

This being so, what a derision of the proletariat and of the precepts of Marx, the great teacher of the proletariat, is the assertion contained in the programme of Social Democratic theories that class struggle must give way to social compromise.

Therefore the only precepts for the workers have been and are the Leninism-Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

3. Lenin did not only show to the International proletariat the way out of the post-war blind alley. He led — and everyone can see now that he led successfully — the endeavour of the proletariat of Russia to cure the diseases of capitalism and imperialist war by means of proletarian revolution and dictatorship.

That Lenin was supremely right when he said that it is possible to build up socialism in one separate country has been brilliantly borne out by the economic and cultural successes of the U.S.S.R. during the two years which have elapsed since Lenin's death.

Prostituting Marxism, the Social Democratic theorists have tried to prove that socialist construction in one country only is a utopia. Still more utopian did the Social Democratic theorists consider the attempts to build up Socialism in such a backward country as Russia. With this as their basis the Russian Mensheviks did their utmost to persuade the workers — during the whole period of the revolution — to relinquish the power of the Soviets and to take up the position of political opposition as a class.

Now, when the second anniversary of Lenin's death is approaching, everyone can see that the only correct strategy was Lenin's strategy which was based on the union between the proletariat and the peasantry within the country, on the union with the international proletariat and with the oppressed peoples of the East, and on the utilisation of the differences between the imperialist groupings outside the country: a strategy which aims slowly but surely at taking the country "off the back of the poor worn-out peasant horse — the horse of economies forced on to a ruined peasant country and to put it astride a horse for which the proletariat is looking and cannot help looking — the horse of big mechanised industry and electrification", namely a strategy which will lead the country to Socialism.

Sceptics and avowed enemies of the proletarian revolution considered these plans of Lenin utopian. Unfortunately during Lenin's life the U.S.S.R. was only beginning to reap the fruit of the seizure of power and the nationalisation of land and industry. But the last two years after Lenin's death have produced colossal results on this field.

At the end of 1922 Lenin considered the fact of a three months stabilisation of our valuta an enormous success. He said in his report at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern: "If we succeed in stabilising the rouble for a considerable period and subsequently for good, this will mean that we have won . . . Then we will be able to put our economy on a sound basis and will carry it on unwaveringly." Just now the U.S.S.R. has fulfilled Lenin's maximum expectations on this field. The currency reform which was carried out soon after Lenin's death created a firm valuta which has remained firm for the past two years, whilst the value of such a "powerful" victorious country as France has been reduced to one-fifth of its pre-war value.

At the same Comintern congress he spoke also of a great success — of the accumulation of 20 million roubles from light industry. The re-establishment of the heavy industry he could only dream of. But now in its ninth economic year the U.S.S.R. is expending 800 million roubles on various branches of industry, and there is every reason to believe that at the third anniversary of Lenin's death our entire heavy industry will have exceeded the pre-war level.

In his last articles Lenin placed on record the small progress made by State and Co-operative trading. And 2—3 years later the U.S.S.R. has over 30 million instead of 10 to 15 million co-operated workers and peasants in 1923, and its State and Co-operative trade apparatus is already taking first place in the wholesale and wholesale-retail trade.

During the two years since Lenin's death the political alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry has become stronger, the economic connection between town and country has become closer, the State apparatus has been simplified and improved, new millions of working men and women, peasants and peasant women have been drawn into State and Social work.

The second anniversary of Lenin's death is signalled by the economic and cultural development of the U.S.S.R. This must be acknowledged now even by the Social Democratic renegades of Socialism (see "Vorwaerts" etc.). In the years which are to follow more seeds sown by the great teacher of the working class will yield a good harvest.

4. During the whole of his activity Lenin taught the Russian workers and the workers of all other countries fraternal sympathy with the revolutionary movement of the peoples of the East. Contrary to the assertions of the lackeys of the European and American bourgeoisie — the Social Democratic leaders, Lenin and his progeny, — the Comintern, considered it their duty not to incite the East against the West, but to awaken in the hearts of the peoples of the East sympathy for the workers of the West and hope for the support of the world proletariat. The whole world was witness that the leading organisations of the Chinese revolutionary movement, from the Communist Party to the students and trade union organisations, went for help and advice first of all to the worker's organisations of the West.

The workers and peasants of China, the Nomads and peasants of Syria and Morocco did not rise against the workers, but against the imperialists of the West. These millions strong movements are a menace to the might of the British and French imperialists.

The revolutionary East is seeking not struggle but union with the workers of the West. The proletariat of Europe and America must join hands with the workers of the East on the day of the death of Lenin, the great teacher of all proletarians and of the oppressed peoples throughout the world.

5. The Soviet Union and the revolutionary East are hated by the international bourgeoisie, for the power of the Soviets in Russia and the powerful national-revolutionary movement in the East are a hindrance to the exploitation of hundreds of millions of workers and peasants in the East. The International imperialists are endeavouring to re-establish their right to exploit by preparing new wars against the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the East. The Guarantee Pact, the secret agreements between the imperialists of France and Great Britain about the spheres of influence in the Near East and between the imperialists of America and Great Britain in the Far East show that the international bourgeoisie is preparing another offensive in the East. The fact that the international bourgeoisie is advertising Locarno as the champion of peace, the agitation of its press and of the socialist press which set against the pacifism of Locarno the "imperialism" of the U.S.S.R., are nothing but the ideological preparation for new wars. But the peril of new wars is to be looked for not only in the endeavours of the imperialists to crush the U.S.S.R. and the budding national-revolutionary movement in the East but also in the inevitable competition between the various imperialist groupings — France and Great Britain, Great Britain and America, America and Japan etc., etc.

On the strength of this the workers of all countries must bear in mind what Lenin said on the question of struggle against new wars.

This is what he wrote in 1922: "One must take as an example even quite unimportant conflicts and one must explain on the basis of them how war can break out any day because of a dispute between Great Britain and France with respect to some detail in the agreement with Turkey, or between America and Japan because of a trifling divergence of opinion with respect to any question concerning the Pacific, or between any arising out of the Customs policy or the trade policy in general, etc."

Lenin taught not to believe phrasemongers and politicians who advise the workers not to trouble their heads already now about preparations to resist war, on the plea that war can be easily frustrated by a general strike or revolution.

Lenin taught not to put faith in the Social Democratic leaders who use revolutionary phrases, reminding the workers that they behaved exactly like this at the Basle International Congress in 1912, namely two years before the imperialist war.

Lenin said that the generalities about the inadmissibility of war etc. are not worth anything. The working class must

endeavour to form an organisation capable of carrying out sustained work against war, it must do its utmost to unite its forces, aiming first and foremost at the establishment of unity on an international scale.

6. One of the main injunctions made by Lenin to the Communist Parties and to the working class is the establishment of the unity of the proletariat and of the Trade Unions first and foremost for the struggles for the direct economic and political demands as well as for the ultimate aim of the working class — socialism. Reformist leaders frequently accuse Leninist-Communists of hypocrisy with respect to their united front slogan, for they allege that formerly they caused splits in the labour movement. This is an accusation launched against Lenin, for it was he who issued in 1914 the slogan "Split the Second International". But we ask every conscious, non-Party and Social Democratic worker: Who in the Labour Parties is the real culprit? Scheidemann, Renaudel, Henderson and Renner who supported their imperialist governments, who drew the masses into the accursed war, Scheidemann and Ebert, Renner and Bauer, who saved the bourgeoisie of their countries from the revolutionary onslaught of the masses, Renner, Ebert and Renaudel who suppressed the revolutionary opposition within their parties, or Lenin, Luxemburg, Liebknecht and Clara Zetkin who formed revolutionary parties to fight against the imperialist war and to prepare a leading cadre of the proletariat for the time of revolutionary outbreak, who fought steadily throughout the years of war for its cessation and who led the revolutionary proletariat of Russia and Germany in November 1917 and 1918?

We think that every conscious proletarian will not consider Lenin and Liebknecht, but the reformist leaders as the people who really caused splits. There is certainly nothing more shameful in the history of the Social Democratic Parties, than their conduct during the years of the imperialist war, in the November Revolution of 1918 and during other mass movements (September 1920 in Italy, July 1919 in France, etc.)

Communists split off from the Social Democratic upper strata in order to be able to fight more effectively against their disintegrating influence among the working class. But Communists never split off from the working class, from the Masses. Lenin was never tired of urging Communists to do steady laborious everyday work in the Trade Unions, when urging the establishment of independent revolutionary Communist Parties Lenin and with him Communists of all countries were at the same time endeavouring to establish a united front of all workers in the struggle with imperialism. On Lenin's advice the Comintern already at the end of 1921, namely, four years ago, issued a slogan of the united front of the working class and the struggle against the peril of new wars, of the economic capitalists offensive and the growing political reaction. For the last three years Soviet Trade Unions have been doing their utmost to establish a united front with the proletarians of other countries for the struggle with International imperialism. This historical action of the Trade Unions of the U. S. S. R. received the support of the proletariat of Great Britain and Norway. The proletarians of all countries who really wish to follow in the steps of the great leader of the International proletariat — and there are millions of such proletarians among non-Party and Social Democratic workers — can honour Lenin's memory best by working with increased energy for the establishment of a united workers' front in factories and workshop, in factory and workshop committees and in the trade Unions, in the struggle against the economic yoke of capitalism and the political reaction of bourgeois governments.

7. That the Communist Parties of all countries are determined to put into practice Lenin's injunction about the united workers' front is shown by their activity during the last few months with respect to the partial demands of the proletariat.

In France it is the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions which have brought a clear minimum economic programme in the struggle with the financial crisis, proposing to the Socialist Party and the Reformist Trade Unions a united front for the struggle for such everyday tasks as capital levy, the establishments of a sliding scale for wages etc. It is the Socialists who sabotage the united front with the revolutionary workers, preferring to form a united front with the bourgeois radical-socialists. In Germany, especially in Berlin, it is the Communists who are the most logical champions of minimum measures for the improvement of the life and labour of the working class, whilst the trade unions and Social Democrats come forward only with various promises at election time. This happened in Berlin where

after the municipal elections the Trade Unions tried to sabotage the struggle for the slogans which they had issued in their election programme, on the plea that politics is not the business of trade unions.

The logical and determined struggle of the Communists for the everyday demands of the proletariat carried on in a truly Leninist spirit has already produced good results. The Communist Party was the only party at the Berlin and Russian elections which increased its vote not only relatively but absolutely, whilst absenteeism and general defeat were the lot of the other parties. The Czech Communist Party polled over one million votes at the November elections and has become the strongest political party in the country. In Great Britain, Italy, Belgium and in other countries the Communist Parties are getting into closer contact with the masses.

"Nearer to the masses" — such is the slogan of the Communists for the second anniversary of their leader's death.

"Nearer to the Lenin vanguard" — such must be the slogan of all conscious proletarians.

8. In hardly any country does the proletariat constitute the majority of the population. But the labour element prevails, for apart from the proletarians there are also millions of toiling masses, artisans and home industrial workers etc. These sections of the population do not determine the issue of the class struggle, but they exercise a considerable influence on it. One of the former rather serious mistakes of the working class — Lenin pointed it out repeatedly — was that it did not endeavour to bring these sections of the population into its struggle with capitalism, that it did not make any attempt to take the lead in the struggle of these toiling sections with big capital and landowners. The working class can and will be the leader in the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist order. Therefore it can and must draw to its side large sections of the peasantry and of other workers, it must come forward with a programme for the defence of their interests. But Lenin taught that this struggle for the toiling sections of the population intervening between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie can only be successful, if the working class is able to prepare its union with the other sections of the toiling population by continuously defending their interests.

We can see it is just the Communist vanguard of the working class which is endeavouring to carry out this task. In France it is the Communists who stand up for the interests of the small holders of government stocks and shares who have been expropriated through inflation. In Germany it is again the Communists who fight against tariffs which are only benefiting the landowners and big capitalists. It is only under the leadership of the Communists that the proletariat will be able to draw to its side the other sections of the toiling population for it is only they who make the proletariat understand that its role is that of leader of the working masses and not an appendix of the bourgeoisie.

9. Among the large indifferent sections of the population of whom Lenin says that the workers did not know how to draw them into the class struggle of the proletariat, women constitute one half.

Although even more exploited and oppressed than men in the bourgeois States most of them are still in the leading strings of the bourgeoisie, especially the nationalist and petty-bourgeois elements up to the Social Democrats, all of whom have nothing but "empty phrases and worthless promises about liberty and equality" for working women. In bourgeois democracy all those laws are still valid which deprive women of human, economic and political rights.

Lenin has always asserted that: „Without having the millions of women on their side the workers will not be able to accomplish the revolution and the Communist structure of society. One cannot draw the masses into the exercise of power without also drawing the women into the exercise of power.”

In Russia the proletarian revolution and the proletarian State have given women the rights which are still withheld from them by bourgeois States. The revolution by liberating working women together with the proletariat and by giving them equal rights with men has in its course thereby won and educated large sections of women as champions of the proletarian cause.

That this is so is shown by the important role which the working and peasant women — after their advanced proletarian elements had fought in the ranks of the proletariat and even of the Red Army itself — are beginning to take throughout the Soviet

State extending to the East where they do their share in the cultural development of the Workers' State and in the revolution of the Far East.

That this is so is also shown by the enormous growth in the number of women delegates in the villages throughout Russia and in the Soviet East.

In the autumn of 1925 there were 378,163 women delegates in the Soviet Union who were elected by 9,414,513 working and peasant women and worked through the business-year 1924--25.

In 1923 there were 6094 women members of the agricultural Soviet, in 1925 there were 60,000, an increase from 21% to 86% of the Soviets. In Central Asia there were in 1923, 1455 women members of Soviets, in 1924, 6747. In White Russia there were in 1923, 472, in 1924, 2400. In the Ukraine agricultural Soviets there were in 1923 12,241 women and in 1924, 31,121.

Developments in the capitalist countries after the world war have shown conclusively that bourgeois democracy cannot emancipate women. In a large number of countries, for instance in France, Italy, Belgium, and even in the classic country of bourgeois democracy in Great Britain women, even pro forma, have not the same political rights as men.

In France and Belgium the Social Democrats openly opposed the introduction of women's franchise. In bourgeois jurisdiction, especially with respect to matrimony and the family, there are still in force all those "abominable, disgusting and bestially cruel laws which degrade and disqualify women".

In spite of formal concessions made to women, the oppression and exploitation of working women has become even more acute during the past few years, throughout all capitalist countries. By the very fact that the labour and living conditions of the working class of the small peasantry and of the lower middleclass have become worse, women's position has also become worse. They are crushed from the process of production and in their households they are over-burdened with work, they suffer privations and maternity sickness and death claim a heavy toll among them.

This development in the capitalist countries is due to a great extent to the lack of understanding in the working class itself for Lenin's precept that women, as the most oppressed and exploited elements of society, must be drawn in the political life of the various countries.

It is for the Communist Parties to awaken the working women and to organise them into an active force of the revolutionary class struggle.

10. But who is it according to Lenin who will be able to lead the working class in the struggle for the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie, who will be able to give it a lead in the construction of the new society, who will be able to guide proletarian politics up to the seizure of power in order to draw to the side of the working class all other workers, who will be able to be a consistent champion of its everyday needs? Proletarian Communists, the Communist Party. The Russian experience shows plainly to the workers throughout the world that Communists led in the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, whilst Mensheviks, Social Democrats together with the bourgeoisie were on the other side of the barricade. The Russian experience shows plainly that Communists alone had the entire responsibility of the defence of the Soviet Republic and of the economic and cultural construction of the USSR. At that time, the Mensheviks were partly with the

White generals and were partly bringing confusion into the ranks of the struggling proletariat within the precincts of the Soviet Republic.

There is no doubt whatever that in other countries too Communists will be taking the lead in the overthrow of the bourgeoisie whilst part—and probably not a small part—of Social Democratic leaders will be on the other side of the revolutionary barricades. After all have Social democratic leaders been carrying out in the present epoch their tasks as leaders of the working class? Did not they give their blessing to the Versailles Peace Treaty which has enslaved tens of millions of workers? Did not they capitulate shamefully before the bourgeoisie at the time of economic crises as happened in 1923 in Germany, as is now the case in France and as it was and will be many and many a time in Great Britain, in Italy and in other countries? Do they not now deceive the workers with their cry about the "pacifism" of Locarno and the "imperialism" of the USSR? Do they not sabotage the united front with the Communist vanguard in the struggle for partial demands as was the case in Germany in connection with the demand for the dissolution of the Reichstag and for the relinquishment of compensation to the former rulers — the Hohenzollerns, as this was in France in connection with the demand for the stabilisation of the Real wage and in connection with the struggle against fascism etc.

Everyday practice is convincing and will convince the majority of the workers that the Communist Party is not only the party of Proletarian Revolution, but also the only party which is consistent in its defence of minimum class demands, the only party which is preparing the coming victory of the Proletarian Revolution.

11. On the second anniversary of Lenin's death every class-conscious proletarian must bear in mind the following injunctions of the great leader:

The only remedy for the evils of imperialism — wars, fascism, acute economic crisis is Proletarian Revolution and Proletarian Dictatorship.

Soviet Russia, the first country of Proletarian Dictatorship must be protected by all means and at all costs.

Fraternal help must be given to the oppressed Peoples of the Revolutionary East which have risen against the oppression of their own Militarists and that of the Foreign Imperialists.

One must bear in mind the lessons of the recent imperialist wars.

In the struggle against Imperialism the peril of new wars and for the defence of the Soviet Republic and the Revolutionary East, it is essential to form a United Front of the Proletarians of all countries, a United Front of all workers organised in Trade Unions.

Efforts must be made to form a close union with the Working Peasantry, to draw into the struggle all women who earn their living, above all the working women.

Every class conscious worker must bear in mind that the Communist Party alone is the unshakeable, faithful and determined Vanguard of the proletariat, relentless towards the enemy of the latter.

Agitprop Department of the E. C. C. I.