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# CORRESPONDENCE

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## Theses for the First Anniversary of the Death of Lenin.

1. The 21st January 1925 is the first anniversary of the death of the great and universally recognised leader of the proletarian world revolution, of Comrade Lenin. While mourning this enormous loss, the revolutionary proletariat of all countries must on this day concentrate its attention upon that work to which comrade Lenin devoted his whole life, must call to mind the great bequest he has left, and once again, in the light of the experiences of the "first year without Lenin", test the correctness of his revolutionary, communist line and our fidelity towards the legacy he has bequeathed to us.

2. The name of Lenin is the standard of millions of proletarians and peasants who have entered into the immediate fight for the shaking off of the imperialist yoke, for establishing their own power, for communism.

The reformists of all countries, the social traitors and compromisers of the II. International, the whole of international menshevism, have hypocritically clothed themselves in the revolutionary teachings of Marx and Engels and distorted them for the benefit of the imperialist bourgeoisie. In the course of many years they have stifled the revolutionary activity and enthusiasm of the working masses exploited by capital, by persuading them of the stability of the bourgeois social order and chaining every national section of the proletariat to the fatherland created by its bourgeoisie. Comrade Lenin summoned the workers to revolt against capital. By his fight against the war and by the slogan of the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, by the example of the victorious Russian October Revolution, Comrade Lenin took the first steps for making a decisive breach between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, resurrected the old slogan of Marx and Engels "Proletarians of all countries, Unite!" and gave it its revolutionary content by strengthening in the working masses and all who are suppressed by imperialism the belief in their own forces and the conviction of their victory.

3. The fundamental "work of Lenin" is the revolt of the working masses against imperialism, which in the past year has further extended and developed.

The bourgeoisie of all countries and their lackeys from the camp of the II. International continually talk of the decline of communism. Nevertheless the "spectre of communism is haunting the whole world", is terrifying the bourgeoisie and is prompting it to continually fresh attempts at the creation of the united front against the proletarian revolution, against the workers of the West and of the East.

The German bourgeoisie and the German social democracy have done everything in order to crush the revolution of the German working class; but the Communist Party of Germany lives, it has withstood the attack of this united front. It has withstood all the blows of the severest suppression, and is standing firmly at its post as the leader of millions of revolutionary workers.

The French bourgeoisie has for six years conducted an armed struggle against the Communist danger in the East and against the Soviet Union; and it now perceives this communist danger in its own country, as it has seen tens of thousands of revolutionary workers in the streets of Paris marching under the banner of Lenin.

The English bourgeoisie had made the attempt to deceive the workers by the formation of the so-called "Labour Government", but soon found it necessary to get rid of it as it felt the danger of the pressure of the proletarian masses of England, who are becoming more and more revolutionary and who are following the policy of class war.

In the Balkans and in Poland, in the countries where the peasantry preponderate, the revolutionary alliance of the workers and peasants against the bourgeoisie is becoming stronger and compels the bourgeois governments to adopt the most desperate measures in order to suppress the revolutionary movement of the masses.

In little Esthonia, where the proletariat and the peasantry are oppressed by the combined dictatorship of the profiteers, speculators and social democrats, the revolutionary worker Jan Tomp and the insurgents of Reval who were shot down by the bourgeoisie, died with the name of Lenin on their lips and have reminded the bourgeoisie of the strength of the idea of the armed uprising of the proletariat.

In the Near and the Far East, in North Africa, in India and in China, however, the revolutionary movement of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples against world imperialism is growing, and is undermining the latter's existence and reminding it of the inevitable downfall of the rule of capital.

"Lenin is dead, but his work lives!"

4. In summoning the working class of the whole world to the revolutionary fight for the overthrow of the power of capital, comrade Lenin unrelentingly exposed the petty bourgeois illusions

of reconciliation between the classes and the whole fraud of the hypocritical talk of "democracy" and "pacifism".

The lackeys of the bourgeoisie in the II. International at the time of the death of Lenin contrasted him, the leader of the workers, with the puppet of the English bourgeoisie, MacDonald, and his so-called "Labour government", and thereby spread throughout the whole world the lie of the opening of a new epoch of "democratic pacifism". But in this year the name of MacDonald became the symbol for grovelling before the bourgeoisie, and the whole course of political events has once again, in the most striking manner, demonstrated the entire correctness of the revolutionary line and its teaching of the irreconcilability of the interests of the proletariat and of the bourgeoisie. True to the teachings of Lenin, the V. Congress of the Communist International in June 1924, when the democratic illusions were at their height, refused to recognise the opening of any kind of new era in the relations between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the peoples in the imperialist world, as it saw in the whole policy of "democracy" and "pacifism", only a manoeuvre of the imperialist bourgeoisie in order to deceive the working masses and to strengthen the rule of capital.

The ever sharpening contradictions between labour and capital on the one hand, and between the various imperialist cliques on the other, have rendered impossible any further continuation of this policy of deception, and have compelled the bourgeoisie to revert once again to open fascist measures.

In England the most reactionary wing of the English bourgeoisie is in power. The English government and its agents support throughout Europe all reactionary and military groups.

The government of Herriot, supported by the French mensheviks, is more and more openly adopting the methods of Poincaré. Italian fascism is receiving support from the English Conservatives, a support which is postponing the moment of its overthrow.

Estonia, Poland, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Roumania openly adopt the policy of proclaiming the military dictatorship against the working masses.

The workers of all countries must unite under the Communist banner of Lenin, in order by armed methods to overthrow everywhere the reactionary power of the bourgeoisie.

5. Comrade Lenin pitilessly scorned and exposed the pacifist illusions spread by the Menshevik Parties of the II. International of a peace and fraternisation of the peoples under the rule of capitalism. He stigmatised the Peace of Versailles, which was concluded with the participation and approval of socialists, as a peace based on force which endeavoured to strengthen the rule of the group of imperialists who were victorious in the war. The League of Nations, which the socialists of the II. International adopted as their banner, was stigmatised by Comrade Lenin as a League of robbers which makes use of the democratic phrases of the fraternisation of the peoples in order to maintain the monopolist rule of the group of imperialists who won the war.

The last year has exposed the whole fraud of the pacifist phrases. The so-called Dawes Plan, which was supported by all parties of the II. International, has brought along with it the complete economic enslavement of Germany by Anglo-American capital, and will result in a tremendous increase in the exploitation of the German proletariat for the requirements of its own and of the international bourgeoisie.

The so-called Geneva protocol of the League of Nations means nothing else than the preparation of a new, powerful, military alliance of the bourgeois countries against the only soviet republic, the Soviet Union, and against the peoples of the East who are fighting for their emancipation.

At the same time the antagonism between the various groups of imperialists are becoming more and more evident: between England and France, between the United States and Japan, between England and the United States.

The governments of all countries, while declaring for the limitation of the armaments, are preparing for the future war by increasing on the widest scale these armaments on land, on sea and in the air, for which purpose they invent ever fresh means for the destruction of the armed forces of their opponents and for the devastation of hostile countries.

The growing expenditure for militarism presses with special heaviness upon the little countries, as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Yugoslavia, whom imperialism has converted into armed defenders of its rule in Europe.

For the same purposes of the coming war against the Soviet Union, the Allies refuse, in violation of the Peace of Versailles signed by them, to evacuate Cologne, whereby they expose the entire fraud of the agitation of the II. International for the Dawes Plan, which it held up as a solution of international questions as opposed to militarist methods of solution.

The pacifist illusions of the working masses must be overcome. The proletarians must unite for the revolutionary fight against the threatening and approaching danger of a new world war.

6. Comrade Lenin not only spread among the masses of the working class and of the exploited the slogan of the fight for the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also, in the light of the experiences of the Russian October Revolution which was carried out under his leadership, gave the world proletariat a living example of the revolutionary construction of a proletarian state, which continues in history the work of the Paris Commune. The Russian proletariat, under the leadership of Lenin, destroyed the bourgeois state and, while it ruthlessly suppressed the resistance of the ruling classes, built up in the midst of the fire of civil-war the new state of the Soviets which has brought forward for the leadership of this state thousands of representatives from the depths of the working and peasant masses.

This first Workers' government of the world stands also today as a powerful stronghold, which maintains the work of the proletarian world revolution and mobilises the masses of the workers in the West and in the East for the armed struggle against the world rule of capital. The bourgeoisie and its lackeys, the mensheviks, on the day of the death of Lenin more than once predicted the inevitable collapse of the Soviet State. But this same bourgeoisie was compelled during the past year to recognise the enormous success of the economic reconstruction in the Soviet Union, and to grant de jure recognition to the Soviet government, as the real, legal government of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The international bourgeoisie is again preparing a united front against the Soviet Union in order to deprive the Russian working class of the gains of the October Revolution, to compel payment of all debts and to hand back the factories and undertakings taken away from the foreign capitalists. The International proletariat must be on the alert! Hands off Soviet Russia!

The Mensheviks did not succeed by their campaign of calumny against the Soviet Union in destroying the fraternal bond between the workers of all countries on the one side and the Soviet Union on the other. The visit of the Delegation of the English Trade Unions to Russia, the conduct of these non-communist delegates in the Soviet Union and in Berlin, and finally, their report regarding all that they had seen in the Soviet Union, once again confirmed before the whole working class the success of the first attempt of the proletarian dictatorship and called upon all workers to carry out this revolutionary overthrow in their own country.

"The Work of Lenin lives"!

7. Comrade Lenin has enriched the teachings of the struggle of the workers for their emancipation by the idea of the revolutionary alliance of the working class with the peasantry. The Mensheviks of all countries have formerly summoned and even now summon the working class to an alliance with the imperialist bourgeoisie, to the struggle for their predatory, imperialist aims, and have at the same time sown dissension between the proletarians of the town and the poor sections of the small-holding peasants. Comrade Lenin consistently maintained that not only the agricultural workers, these wage slaves of the big landowners, but also the small-holding peasants, who, suffering from the lack of sufficient land and the burden of taxation and of militarism, are interested in the overthrow of the present regime of capitalist domination and must support the revolutionary proletariat in its fight for dictatorship.

This teaching of Comrade Lenin has been confirmed in a most striking manner by all the developments. True to the heritage entrusted by Lenin, the C. P. of Russia continued last year this work of strengthening the alliance of the workers and peasants, in directing the work of the socialised industries to the satisfying of the requirements of the peasant economy, in caring for the all-round increase of the well-being of the peasantry, and finally, in inducing the latter to participate more and more in the administrative work in the villages, in the municipalities, in the districts and provinces, in the national republics and in the whole Union.

In the countries under the rule of capital, the revolutionary workers in the course of the past year achieved great successes in the direction of fulfilling the trust bequeathed by Lenin by drawing nearer to the revolutionary section of the peasantry. In Germany, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Roumania and in the United States great sections of propertyless peasants have been drawn into the revolutionary front and are carrying on the struggle, hand in hand with the proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Party. Everywhere there are taking place conferences of representatives of the revolutionary peasants, while in addition peasants newspapers are being published. The influence of the International Peasant Council is growing. The revolutionary movement of the peasants in the countries with a predominating peasant population has already become so great, that it is provoking continually increasing repression on the part of the bourgeoisie against the peasants, with the result that the revolutionary alliance of the peasantry with the proletariat is becoming more firmly consolidated.

8. Before Lenin, only the workers of the West and of the United States of America, the workers of the so-called civilised countries, had been drawn into the international revolutionary movement. The working masses of the black and yellow races only served as cannon-fodder for imperialism in the world war, or they were exclusively the objects of imperialist bondage and exploitation. The imperialist bourgeoisies succeeded in instilling their arrogant and contemptuous attitude towards the black and yellow races into the aristocracy of labour. The Parties of the II. International, however, who supported the world bourgeoisie in their policy of exploiting and suppressing the colonial countries, could of course not take up the task of drawing the working masses of the countries of the East into the international trade union and political movement.

Comrade Lenin was the first to raise his voice in the international movement for the participation of the working masses of the East in the revolutionary proletarian International. The October Revolution summoned to participate in the revolutionary soviet construction the peoples of the East who were formerly under the yoke of Tsarism: The Tartars, Bashkirs, Kirgis, Usbeks, Turkomen and others, and created free Soviet Republics of these peoples within the Soviet Union. The October Revolution cancelled all the Tsarist Treaties with the peoples of the East (with Persia, Afghanistan, China) which were permeated with the spirit of the enslavement of these peoples and of the exploitation of the natural resources of their countries.

This revolution itself awakened the workers of the East to the revolutionary struggle. In the colonies of the imperialist countries (India, Egypt, Morocco etc.), and among those peoples who had been robbed already by imperialism of a great portion of their independence (China, Persia, Afghanistan etc.), precisely in the course of the last year the movement for emancipation underwent its most powerful development. As a result, international imperialism has become frightened, as everywhere it encounters resistance to its predatory policy, and as the peoples of the East see in the Soviet Union a reliable ally and friend in their fight against imperialism.

At the same time the revolutionary workers of England, France and Spain, who are true to the teachings of Lenin, are rendering help on their side to the colonial peoples who are suppressed by their bourgeoisie in their fight for emancipation. The alliance of the workers of the East with the revolutionary proletariat of Europe against world imperialism is becoming closer and closer even after the death of Lenin.

9. International Menshevism, true to its alliance with the ruling bourgeoisie, always regarded everything from the point of view of the states created by the bourgeoisie, and thereby supported the national suppression on the part of the ruling nation concerned. The English Mensheviks always fought along with the bourgeoisie against the slogan of the independence of Ireland. The Austrian social democrats occupied themselves with reforming the unnatural ramshackle Habsburgian Empire, which was only held together by force, and fought against the efforts of the various nations to establish their independent states. At the present time, the Czechian socialists, and the Polish socialists, in alliance with their bourgeoisies, carry on the most determined struggle against the efforts of the subject nationalities in their countries for separation and independence.

Comrade Lenin made a complete break with the support of bourgeois chauvinism and nationalism. The slogan, "right of nations to self-determination", which had already been issued by the

1. International and most warmly supported by Marx, was given by Lenin the most serious and urgent importance, in that he called upon the revolutionary workers in every country of a ruling nationality to support the fight of the suppressed nations for their complete independence.

In the Soviet Republic the Communist Party broke in the most decided manner with the old practice of Tsarism, by recognising the right of all nations to self-determination, by helping the backward peoples to establish their national Republics, and achieved by this policy the creation of a firmly welded Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, held together by brotherly, revolutionary solidarity. In the course of the past year the revolutionary workers of other European countries: Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans, followed this line of supporting the struggle of suppressed nations for independence, which constitutes a great achievement for the successful development of the movement for emancipation of the proletariat.

10. International Menshevism betrayed the cause of the International which was initiated by the great teachers of the working class, by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Already, in the period before the war, every Party of the II. International united itself more and more with its own bourgeoisie and forgot the common international interests of the proletariat which was fighting for the annihilation of capitalist domination. With the outbreak of the world war this treachery on the part of Menshevism became clear, and the II. International collapsed.

At the moment of open and universal treachery of the leaders of socialism, Comrade Lenin issued the slogan of the international unity of the workers in the fight against the world war and against social treachery. Nothing was more hateful to Comrade Lenin than every form of nationalism and chauvinism. Comrade Lenin taught the workers to close their ranks regardless of existing national distinctions. The slogan: "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" was converted by him into deeds by the creation of the fraternal union of socialist Soviet Republics and the International Revolutionary Workers Association, the Communist International.

The Communist International is a true, living, world-embracing revolutionary organisation, which links up the struggle of the workers of the various countries, checks the faults of the different sections of the world army of labour, and enriches all workers with the revolutionary experiences of individual countries. In spite of all the calumnies and all the hate, the Communist International lives and develops and thereby prepares for the victorious uprising of the whole proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

11. The work of Lenin has become a living work for the masses of the proletariat who are striving for their emancipation, because during his life Lenin succeeded in creating not only in Russia, but also in other countries, powerful organs for leading the emancipation movement of the proletariat in the shape of revolutionary Communist Parties. The working masses have, in the long years of their struggle for emancipation, more than once created political organisations to which they entrusted the leadership of their struggle. But these Parties fell into the hands of the labour aristocracy which was bribed by imperialism and became a tool of bourgeois policy. This is the fate of all Parties of the II. International.

The Communist Parties unite the revolutionary advance guard of the working class, which has abandoned all illusions regarding reconciliation with the bourgeoisie. The Communist Parties are welded together by the uniform, revolutionary theory of Marx and Lenin which is an opponent of all opportunism and all compromise. The Communist Parties unite in the working class all who are active and capable and entirely devoted to the cause of the emancipation of the proletariat. The Communist Parties are welded together by a uniform, revolutionary discipline and have as their example the Russian Communist Party, the Bolsheviks, who thanks to its revolutionary theory and tactics and thanks to its revolutionary discipline and steadfastness has overcome all its enemies. The Communist Parties, following the teachings of Lenin, conduct the struggle along with the whole mass of the proletariat for partial reforms as well as for complete emancipation, thereby spreading the revolutionary teachings of Lenin among the masses and endeavouring to win over the majority of the working class.

12. Comrade Lenin in carrying on an inexorable fight against all opportunist leaders and bureaucrats in the labour movement

summoned the revolutionary workers to develop and consolidate the trade unions which unite the whole mass of the proletariat on the basis of their struggle for every day needs. According to the teachings of Comrade Lenin the trade unions must become a real school of revolutionary struggle, a school of proletarian solidarity, a school of communism. The opportunist trade union bureaucracy on the contrary converted these workers organisations into centres of bourgeois influence upon the proletariat, into centres of support of the existing bourgeois regime. The Amsterdam Trade Union International has in fact become the last bulwark of the International bourgeoisie.

Comrade Lenin summoned the revolutionary workers to patient and persevering work within the trade unions for the purpose of propagating revolutionary communist ideas within the same and for the purpose of rallying round them the majority of these trade unions against the treacherous opportunist trade union bureaucrats. Against the splitting policy of this trade union bureaucracy, comrade Lenin always opposed the slogan of the unity of the trade unions movement.

The past year has brought us success in this direction. Following the teaching of Lenin and meeting the revolutionary efforts of the English trade unions for the restoration of international trade union unity, the V. Congress of the Communist International issued the slogan of the convocation of an international congress

of labour unions for the creation of a new and united international which shall unite the whole trade union movement of the workers upon the basis of a real revolutionary platform. The formation of the Anglo-Russian Committee for the fight for the restoration of the unity of the trade union movement has called forth the most bitter attack on the part of the opportunists, but the proletariat will see the thing through to an end. The revolutionary workers of all countries must enter in great masses into the trade unions in order to fight there from within against the splitting bureaucrats and for the transformation of the trade unions from organs of reaction into points of support of the revolution.

13. Comrade Lenin has shown by his teachings, as did Marx and Engels at their time, to the working class the true way in their fight for emancipation in the epoch of decay of imperialist world economy and of the immediate struggle of the proletariat for power. The teachings of Lenin and his name are organically linked up with the whole revolutionary fight for emancipation of the proletariat. Comrade Lenin is the leader and hero of the proletarian struggle. This he was in his personal life, hostile to all opportunism and all agreement with the enemy, ever an irreconcilable opponent of the bourgeoisie and closely connected with the revolutionary fight of the working masses. The name of Lenin and his teachings — of Leninism — will for ever remain the banner of the proletarian revolution.