

International Pamphlets No. 1

AFTER MUNICH

BY

George Dimitroff

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THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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Number Two

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The Socialist Truth in Cyprus – London Bureaux

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42

LENIN

and the

International Labour Movement

By D. MANUILSKY

THE main thing in Leninism is "the problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the conditions of winning it, of the conditions of strengthening it." (Stalin). The doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the soul of Leninism. This doctrine has been tested by the experience of millions. This doctrine is now not only a revolutionary theory, it is a living reality. It is expressed in the mighty Socialist State, it is materially embodied in the tremendous victories of the Socialist Revolution. Lenin's doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat has now been developed and enriched by Comrade Stalin on the basis of the great experience—summarised by theoretical thought—of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. The theory of Marxism-Leninism is inseparable from all that has been contributed to it by Comrade Stalin, who in all his theoretical creative work teaches the inter-

national working class that Marxist-Leninist theory is not a dogma, but a guide to action.

Lenin's genius marked out for mankind the path of the proletarian revolution which millions of workers in the capitalist countries will tread with greater confidence and daring. Along with Lenin in marking out this path was Comrade Stalin. It is along this path that, since Lenin's death, Stalin's genius has led and brought the working people of our country to the world-historical victory of Socialism.

Lenin's tremendous service to the world Labour movement lies in the fact that he restored and upheld Marx's doctrine, which had been distorted and discarded by the opportunists of the Second International; in the fact that he developed it further, transforming it into an ordered theory of the proletarian revolution in the new conditions of the class struggle.

For the workers of the capitalist countries who are still on the road to the overthrow of capitalism, the Leninist-Stalinist doctrine of the proletarian dictatorship is of decisive significance. Lenin was right a thousand times over in mercilessly trouncing and exposing all varieties of opportunists who, on the pretext that no clause regarding the dictatorship of the proletariat was included in the programme of the majority of the European Social Democratic Parties, wanted to throw overboard the very idea of the proletarian dictatorship. Lenin was right a thousand times over in incessantly castigating the opportunists and centrists who, at the moment when the Socialist Revolution was growing in Europe, under the guise of defending bourgeois democracy, con-

ducted a struggle against the proletarian revolution and saved capitalism from destruction.

Had the workers of the most important capitalist countries in 1918-1920 followed the path of the Soviet proletariat, had they not allowed themselves to be duped by the Kautskys, Otto Bauers and MacDonalds who persuaded the workers of their countries not to overthrow capitalism but to follow the path of bourgeois democracy so as to achieve reforms, the world would have looked different now. There would not to-day be a sanguinary fascist dictatorship either in Germany or in Italy, a second imperialist war would not now be raging, we would not now be witnessing the brigandage of the fascist interventionists in Spain, the outrages of the Japanese fascist militarists in China, the enslavement of Austria and the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. *Socialism would have been the prevalent system over the greater part of the globe.*

The Kautskys, Bauers and MacDonalds sought to scare the workers with the fact that the proletarian revolution is accompanied by difficulties and privations. But can one compare these difficulties and privations with the horrible calamities inflicted on mankind by dying capitalism? What endless suffering and sacrifice was inflicted on the proletariat even by the world economic crisis of 1929, not to speak of the new crisis that has begun! And what agonies of whiteguard terror is fascism to-day inflicting on the masses of the people in the Sudetenland, Austria, in the Spanish territory occupied by the interventionists, in Germany, Italy, Japan!

The Kautskys, Bauers, MacDonalds, asserted that they were defending bourgeois democracy, but by the whole of their ruinous policy of retreat before

fascism they prepared its downfall. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, which followed the path of Lenin-Stalin, the path of proletarian revolution, a nation-wide socialist democracy flourishes, a democracy such as has never yet existed in history.

The victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat would have been impossible without *the establishment of a new type of working-class party*. A party, free of opportunism, irreconcilable towards conciliators, and capitulators, revolutionary in relation to the bourgeoisie. A party, capable of uniting the basic masses of the working class, of attracting to the side of the proletariat its allies. A party, capable of using the possibilities of every situation for the organisation and mobilisation of the masses, and of leading the working people to the storming of capitalism. The establishment of such a new type of party as the Bolshevik Party—was not a “Russian,” “national,” affair. It was a supreme achievement of the entire international labour movement.

Fashioned, reared and steeled by Lenin and Stalin—the two giants of revolutionary thought and revolutionary deed—the Bolshevik Party is a model for the entire international Communist movement. All the sections of the Communist International learn from it. It has elevated to tremendous heights the significance of the party of the working class as the decisive instrument in the struggle for the liberation of the common people, for the socialist revolution, in the struggle against Fascism and wars of conquest.

Under the direct influence of the *Leninist-Stalinist* doctrine, there have grown up parties, such as the heroic Spanish Communist Party which plays a part of prime importance in the defence of its country

and its people against the invasion of the foreign interventionists. The French Communist Party, the initiator of the Popular Front in France, with growing influence over wide masses not only of workers, but also of the peasantry and of those in the towns who work for their living, has grown into a first-rate political force. The Communist Party of the United States, which has won new strength in the struggle against Fascism, in the struggle for the development of the democratic front, is becoming transformed into an important political factor, and is drawing into its ranks, on an ever wider scale, all that is best in the American Labour movement. In the front ranks of the armed struggle stands the heroic Communist Party of China, which is giving tens of thousands of its best sons for the cause of liberating the great Chinese people from the yoke of the Japanese invaders.

Severe is the ordeal through which the Communists in the fascist countries are now passing. But let the fascist executioners not delude themselves into believing that by killing hundreds and thousands of Communists in the fascist countries, they are putting an end to Marxism-Leninism, to the Communist movement, that they are curbing the working class for long. “The schooling of civil war,” wrote Lenin, “is not wasted on the peoples.” The Russian Bolsheviks underwent this hard schooling, and in the fire of it they hammered out the new type of party. Hundreds of people are coming forward in the fascist countries to take the place of every tortured, murdered Communist, and in the hour of historic reckoning—there will be hundreds of thousands and millions. And the hundreds who are rising up to-day constitute the iron shock-troops of the new type of party.

But this by no means implies that the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries are already Bolshevik Parties in the full sense of the term. They have yet much to learn, and above all to learn revolutionary theory from the great classics of Marxism namely those of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin. They need to make a deeper study in the light of the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the experience of the revolutionary movement, so as out of this study to fashion a keen weapon for their day-to-day activities. Lenin and Stalin always taught the Communists to establish better contacts with the masses, not to grow conceited at moments of success, not to give way to panic at moments of defeat. They taught them Bolshevik vigilance, the lack of which has inflicted no small damage on the Communist Parties. They taught them to be ever on their guard, to be on the alert for every manoeuvre of the enemy. In the present grim days of acute class struggle, the experience of Spain and China goes to show that the Communists must master all forms of struggle.

While putting forward the task of establishing a new type of party as the chief weapon of the working class struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, for Socialism, Lenin conducted a merciless, irreconcilable *struggle against all varieties of opportunists*. Lenin did not wait for opportunism to become transformed into open counter-revolution. Lenin did not wait for the Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries, Bourgeois-Nationalists, Centrists, openly to desert to the camp of intervention. He did not let them develop, acquire influence over the working class, but from the very first appearance of these trends attacked them with the utmost revolutionary passion. — Stalin upheld with supreme devotion the doctrine

of Marx-Engels-Lenin against the Trotskyists and Bukharinists long before these latter degenerated into a gang of spies, wreckers and assassins. Both Lenin and Stalin were irreconcilable in clearing out of the way of the working class all that was rotten, foul and hindering its progress. And had the active elements of the International Labour Movement mastered the essence of the struggle waged—on a profound basis of principle—by Lenin and Stalin against opportunism, the monstrous betrayal of the parties of the Second International during the imperialist war, of 1914-18 would not have taken place, nor would people of the Citrine type continue to speak to-day on behalf of the working class. The *Leninist-Stalinist doctrine* of the proletarian dictatorship presupposes the *unification of the basic masses of the working class under the revolutionary leadership of a new type of party*. The path to the solution of this task in the contemporary Labour movement of the capitalist countries lies through the establishment of the united working-class front. The united working-class front helps to draw into the general stream of the class struggle millions of workers disorganised by the policy of retreat before Fascism pursued by the social-democratic capitulators. It contributes in every way to the most speedy formation of the Popular Front for the struggle against the capitalist offensive, fascism and wars of conquest. It increases the activity of the masses of workers, trains them in the spirit of irreconcilability to the class enemy, steels their revolutionary will, leads them on to the practical fulfilment of the final aims of their movement. The Communists fight for the united working-class front because it renders it possible for the workers, at the moment of the oncoming new economic

crisis, to conduct a successful struggle against the endeavours of capital still further to reduce their standard of living. The Communists fight for the united working-class front because its establishment will contribute to the victory of the Spanish and Chinese people over the fascist vandals, because it will help to frustrate the insidious plans of the Munich plotters who are preparing chains of still worse slavery for the peoples, because it hastens the overthrow of the bloody fascist dictatorship by the downtrodden peoples.

The doctrine of the proletarian dictatorship further presupposes the *attraction to the side of the working class of their allies*—the peasantry, all townspeople who work for a living, the oppressed nations and the enslaved colonial peoples. The opportunists of the Second International never seriously raised the question of the allies of the proletariat, because they never seriously raised the question either of the overthrow of capitalism, or of the defence of so-called bourgeois democracy against the encroachments of fascism, or even of the defence of the working class against the capitalist offensive.

It is precisely to-day, when there is an intensification of monstrous imperialist brigandage, when the turbid waters of fascism threaten to inundate new countries, when the conditions of the working class and working people generally in the capitalist countries are becoming still more terrible—it is precisely in the present specific historical situation that *Lenin's great strategic plan regarding the allies of the proletariat* assumes exceptionally great significance. The significance of this plan is increased by yet other factors. It must not be forgotten that the reactionary bourgeoisie systematically betray the interests of the

nation. They are ready to place their own peoples under the heel of alien fascist domination, for the sake of maintaining their own narrow class interests. In these conditions the working class is the force that binds together all the working sections of the people, becomes the backbone of its nation, of its liberty, dignity and independence.

The *Popular Front* tactics, outlined by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International both in its resolution and in the report of Comrade Dimitroff, are part of this great Leninist-Stalinist plan. And precisely because these tactics constitute a danger to world reaction, they have come up against considerable difficulties in a number of capitalist countries. A furious struggle has been conducted against the Popular Front by fascism. Operating hand in glove with the latter have been the reactionary bourgeoisie in all capitalist countries, particularly in Great Britain. Powerful aid is rendered to reaction by the capitulators in the Labour Party and the Second International. All the fascist trotskyist spies, provocateurs and stool-pigeons endeavour to injure the Popular Front movement.

It needs to be stressed in addition that in those countries where the Popular Front already exists, the Communists have, in operating it, to take account of the fact that the allies of the working class—the peasantry, the people in a small way in the towns, are frequently still under the influence of other parties and organisations, that these parties and organisations conduct a vacillating policy, that the struggle against the vacillations of such parties is no easy matter, all the more since the Socialist Party leaders contribute to these vacillations. The partners of the Communists in the Popular Front frequently endeavour to switch over the policy of the Popular

Front to a policy of coalition with the reactionary bourgeoisie. It is absolutely clear that the so-called policy of non-intervention, pursued by certain leaders of the Radical and Socialist Parties in France, was not the policy of the Popular Front at all, but the policy of agreement between big business in England and France, and German and Italian fascism against the interests not only of the Spanish but also of the French people.

The policy of the Popular Front runs directly counter to this policy of reaction. It does not mean agreement with fascism, but a resolute, consistent struggle against it both on the internal and the international arena. The Popular Front policy does not mean the suppression of workers' strikes, but the defence of the elementary demands and needs of the workers. It does not mean attempts to split the Labour movement and the democratic forces, but self-sacrificing work to bring about their unification. It does not mean the reactionary vilification of Communists on fascist lines, but joint struggle by all the anti-fascist forces against reaction.

The Communists cannot forget the fact that the united working-class front and the anti-fascist Popular Front are not a peaceful idyll of "well-disposed neighbours," but a militant association within which it is necessary to conduct comprehensive, tenacious, patient, explanatory political work, persistently and resolutely to criticise all waverings, ruthlessly to expose every act of treachery. On no account must this be forgotten, for otherwise it will be impossible to defend and strengthen the United and Popular Front.

But to defend and strengthen the United and Popular Front means in addition to extend it to such countries where it does not as yet exist. This, in its

turn, demands of the Communists a great amount of persistent work to convince workers who are really misled, who have been led into an impasse by the capitulatory elements of social-democracy, and are bewildered by the blows which the Munich policy inflicted on the Popular Front in France. At the same time, however, it demands of the Communists a most ruthless struggle against those pro-fascist leaders in the Labour movement who, by their malicious policy of systematically rejecting the united working-class front brought the International Labour movement to such a pass that it proved helpless to prevent the Munich plot against the peoples. Only by fighting in this way for the united workers' front and the Popular Front will the Communists be acting in the spirit of the *Leninist-Stalinist doctrine*.

The *Leninist-Stalinist* doctrine of the proletarian dictatorship includes not only the problem of the alliance of the proletariat with the urban and rural working people of one nation, but also the problem of the reserves in the shape of the *oppressed nations and the enslaved colonial peoples*. The fascist obscurantists, in developing their aggressive policy, basely endeavour to speculate on the national sentiments of the peoples belonging to other multi-national States. They endeavour to exploit the slogan of the self-determination of nations, for the dismemberment of those States against which their plans of aggression are directed. This method is no new one. It was used by Metetrnich. It was resorted to by the ring-leaders of the imperialist war of 1914-18. Now times have changed. At the present time there exists the U.S.S.R. which has shown all peoples *how to solve the national question*. The U.S.S.R. is fulfilling, before the eyes of the whole world, the Stalinist policy of great friendship, real national equality and fraternal alliance between the peoples. This solution

of the national question is exerting a profound influence over all the oppressed nations and peoples. In the capitalist countries of to-day the *social element*, in the *self-determination* of peoples, will play the *decisive role*.

Lenin taught us that all questions of home and foreign policy must be regarded and solved from the point of view of the fundamental interests of the proletariat and of its struggle for the liberation of all working people. That was how *Lenin* approached the *question of wars* as well. His approach was not to war in general, but specifically to each given war. Lenin taught that "Marxism, which does not stoop to Philistinism, demands an historical analysis of each separate war, in order to determine whether *that* war can be considered as progressive, serving the interests of democracy or the proletariat, and is in *this sense* legitimate, just and so on." (Lenin Works, volume 19, pages 198-199, Russian edition.)

What distinguishes the present position from the situation at the time the world imperialist war of 1914-18 broke out?

Firstly, capitalism is no longer a system wielding undivided power over the whole world; in addition to the capitalist countries there is the U.S.S.R., the powerful land of Socialism, the foremost stronghold of the international proletariat, the Fatherland of all working people, to *defend* which against foreign attack is the *sacred duty of the working people of the whole world*.

Secondly, not only imperialist States in general exist, but also such imperialist States as have established a sanguinary fascist dictatorship in their countries, created a bloc of aggressors, are rallying around themselves the dark forces of reaction of the

capitalist countries and have jointly begun a new forcible re-division of the earth. To *assist* to the utmost in *bringing about the defeat* of these fascist governments is the *prime duty* of the working people of all countries.

Thirdly, now it is not only the colonial and semi-colonial countries that are the object of the imperialist re-division; so also is Europe itself (Austria, Czechoslovakia, etc.), in which there thus arises the possibility of *national anti-fascist wars*, wars for the independence of the country, *just wars*.

Only the trotskyist blackguards, who are direct agents of the Gestapo and the Italian Ovra, can assert that it is a matter of no concern to the international proletariat which country emerges victorious *in such a war*. It is well known that the proletariat has no desire for imperialist wars. It is well known that the Communists conduct a resolute struggle against imperialist wars, for peace. But if the fascists force war on the peoples, then it is absolutely clear that the Communists will be acting in complete harmony with *Lenin's* doctrine if they call on the masses to utilise this war to overthrow the bloodstained fascist régime, to extend and deepen the gap in the world imperialist system, begun by the great socialist revolution in October, 1917.

Proletarian Internationalism runs through the entire doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, the entire theoretical and practical work of Lenin and Stalin. As far back as at the dawn of the 1905 revolution, Lenin spoke of the international significance of overthrowing the Tsarist autocracy, that "most powerful buttress not only of European, but . . . also of Asiatic reaction." He pointed out at that time that the overthrow of Tsardom was the most revolutionary of all the immediate tasks

facing the international proletariat. Of no less significance for the international proletariat is the task to-day of overthrowing the fascist dictatorships. By building Socialism in the U.S.S.R. and by strengthening the socialist State to the utmost, the working class of the U.S.S.R., led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) headed by Comrade Stalin, has solved the gigantic task of advancing the cause of the international proletarian revolution. Thereby Comrade Stalin has raised the cause of proletarian solidarity to heights such as have never yet been reached in the history of mankind.

Leninist-Stalinist proletarian internationalism is the internationalism which is put into practice by the land of victorious Socialism. It is manifested in the *powerful political support* being given by the land of the Soviets to the Spanish people in their heroic struggle for independence. It is manifested in the *effective solidarity* of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. with the great Chinese people, who are conducting a life and death struggle against the Japanese imperialist invaders.

A striking manifestation of this proletarian internationalism is provided by the heroic page of the *struggle of the international brigades in Spain*, of whose feats the entire world Communist movement and the entire international proletariat are proud. All these constitute new, higher forms of proletarian internationalism. These are no paper resolutions, in the productions of which the reactionary leaders of the Second International, who disrupt united action of the international proletariat, are past masters. These are living revolutionary deeds, from which the entire international working class, all the best people in the world gain knowledge.

An expression of this effective proletarian internationalism is to be found in the splendid advice of Comrade Stalin to the workers of all countries, when he said:

"The international proletarian ties between the working class of the U.S.S.R. and the working class of bourgeois countries must be increased and strengthened; the political assistance of the working class in the bourgeois countries for the working class of our country must be organised in the event of a military attack on our country; and also every assistance of the working class of our country for the working class in bourgeois countries must be organised; our Red Army, Red Navy, Red Air Fleet, and the Chemical and Air Defence Society must be increased and strengthened to the utmost."

The entire history of the great socialist revolution, the entire history of the struggle and victories of the Soviet people, the entire history of the C.P.S.U.—constitutes a record of great proletarian solidarity. It is a great school for the Communists and foremost workers of the capitalist countries, in which they learn how to wage the struggle against the class enemy, how one can and should defeat the enemy. The "*Short Course of the History of the C.P.S.U.*" that is now appearing in many foreign languages, will make the great doctrine of Lenin-Stalin accessible to millions of proletarians and working people in the capitalist countries. This book will make the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism the property of hundreds of thousands and millions of people; it will tell them the great truth of the tremendous battles and victories of the party of the proletariat which was the first to plunge into battle against capitalism, the first to establish a proletarian dictatorship, the first to lead the working class, the peasantry, the huge Soviet country to Socialist

society. The history of the C.P.S.U. is one of the sharpest weapons of the class struggle. It is Marxism-Leninism in action. It is the summarised experience of the Bolshevik Party, of the first new type of party in the world, which was built, taught and reared by the great *Lenin*, and which is now being led in the teeth of all machinations of the enemy to further victories by our leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin. The history of the C.P.S.U. should become a manual not only for active Communists, but also for all advanced workers, for all honest fighters for the liberation of the proletariat, for all those who wish to act, fight and conquer in Leninist fashion.

Published by Modern Books Ltd.,
4A Parton Street, London, W.C.1,
and printed by Marston Printing Co.
(T.U. all depts.), Cayton Street,
London, E.C.1.