

THE FIFTH (LONDON) CONGRESS OF THE RSRP, 1963 Edition of the original of the 1909 French appearance of the 1907 Congress, which was held on April 30 to June 19, was really the first genuine, all-party Congress, in which there were not only Mensheviks and Bolsheviks, but the Social Democracy of Poland Lithuania SD, Latvian SD and the Bund. It is 712 pages of actual text and in addition to that, Appendices and Footnotes of 111 pages, and a listing of all the participants of 74 pages, not to mention the writings of the participants and sources of another 30 pages.

(1) The first session was opened by Plekhanov, with lots of greetings and telegrams. The second session was the election of a Secretariat. The third and fourth sessions took up the agenda. That's the first appearance of Trotsky (pp. 48 to 51) where he rejected the idea of discussing theoretical questions: "p. 49) "What I want to say is that the Congress, from beginning to end should be political, that it has to be a meeting of the representatives of revolutionary parties and not a club inclined to discuss ... I need political directives and not philosophic discussions about the character of the present moment of our revolution... Give me a formula for action! That's what I need... Before discussing the character of our revolution or class tasks..."

He and the Mensheviks thus voted down the Bolshevik proposal to have a discussion on the character of the present revolution, but in fact, everyone talked exactly on the one political position that was adopted -- the attitude to bourgeois parties, and by then Lenin and the Polish had the majority.

The greetings continued but with full speeches. And Luxemburg began her first talk as a delegate from the German SD. (pp 97 to 104). (That speech will be translated in my Appendix.) The reports of the Duma Faction, the Executive Committee continued forevermore. The 2nd speech of RL occurred at the 22nd session, May 12 (25) (pp 383 - 392). This time she speaks in the name of the Polish delegation. And it's at this point that she runs into great opposition to Plekhanov on the question of what part of the 1848 revolution is applicable to the 1905 events. But because she also speaks about her differences with the Bolsheviks and she speaks not as a factionalist but for the unity of the party, it will be this that LT will associate with.

However, LT, in his major speech at the 23rd session (May 12, evening) (pp 397 to 404), 1st (p. 397) says that the Bureau granted him 15 minutes to speak for a "special tendency" but he did not pretend to represent this special tendency, but wanted to speak as an individual; "I can with pleasure testify to the fact that the point of view which Com. Luxemburg developed in the name of the Polish delegation is very near to my own. If there are any differences, it's just a question of individual shadings of opinion and not a question of a political direction. Our thoughts proceed along the same materialist analysis." In fact, however, he not only develops different views, but though he does separate himself from the Mensheviks, ...

The speech which LT reproduces as an appendix to the 1905, skips the part about associating with RLs views as well as the question of factialism. It begins on (p. 393) with the last 2 1/2 paragraphs and ends (p. 404).

On the 24th, May 14 (27) RL (pp 432-437) speaks some concluding remarks, and this time directly on Plekhanov (I will translate those few paragraphs) and Lenin goes to her defense with his concluding words (pp 442 - 446). And Lenin speaks again at the 26th session (May 15 (28) / pp 462-464) and again runs into opposition with IT, but LTs amendments are defeated.

88\*\*\*\*\*

In other references to both the Congress as a whole and to his own part in it, and to Lenin, there are quite a few discrepancies both in LT's My Life, and more seriously, in HISTORY OF THE RR. And it's these that I wish to take up. In Vol. I, appendix 2 "To the chapter on The Rearming of the Party", especially (p. 476 and 477) LT reproduces from his 1909 article in the Polish journal of RL, that horrible quotation about the Bolsheviks, like the Mensheviks only after the rev'n will manifest their "anti-revolutionary traits". He then says that after 1923, those words were ~~used~~ quoted widely "by the epigones in their struggle against 'Trotskyism' 2. insisting that in fact it gave "a perfectly accurate characterisation of the conduct of the present epigones in the case of a rev'n victory." And he then repeats his footnote in the 1922 reproduction of the 1909 article, that the only reason it didn't happen was that "under the leadership of Lenin, Bolshevism carried out (not without inner struggle) its intellectual rearmament, upon this all important struggle in the spring of 1917 -- that is, before the conquest of power." And he then quotes from Lenin's April Thesis.

\*\*\*\*\*

Now there is also an Appendix to Vol. III, which is called "Socialism in a Separate Country" (pp 378-418). Here, since it is arguing against Stalin's Socialism in One Country, and reveals Lenin as an internationalist, there suddenly appears quotations from Lenin in Sept. 1905, where (p. 382-383) VIL speaks of "socialist revolution." "We stand for a continuous revolution, we will not stop half way, ~~we will not stop~~ But LT, in fact, keeps maintaining that it is no accident that the Stalinists were unaware of the change in line until the April Thesis, and again (p. 383), though VIL in 1905 is again quoted as saying: "It will be the beginning of the real struggle of the prol. for socialism."

Finally, in the same appendix, this time on p. 385, LT (1) attributes the fact that the peasantry is an unreliable and treacherous element and "a common property of all Russian Marxists, including Lenin" WHICH IS ABSOLUTELY UNTRUE.

14204

And when he gets back to quoting something from 1905, he  
~~XXXXXX~~ quotes not the part about the middle class peasantry,  
the bourgeois peasants who had organized a counter-revolution,  
and only after that quotes VII, "The 2nd victory will be the  
socialist revolution in Europe. The European worker will show  
us how it is done." And LT still doesn't have that be the  
climax. Rather he proceeds immediately to quote himself in  
that period on the fact that the solution of socialism is  
internationalism.

\*\*\*\*\*

Z  
A much more serious and objective analysis of Lenin's position  
in 1905 and for that matter RLs and even KRs, in the sense of  
both "continuous revolution" and internationalism, is in the  
Menshevik Solomon Schwarz's The Russian Revol  
(separately summed up).

\*\*\*\*\*