and the same time that the dispute was directed as much against the Germans as the Rolaheviks and the fact that she, herself, was living the biggest contradiction since all of the criticism against bureaucracy, leadership, etc., did not lead her to break with the Party. That was seen most in 1914 and even when she organized the Sparagus League it was as a faction within the SFD; 5) the 1919 Revolution itself likewise shows that she herself was living the greatest contradiction, i.e. that the greatest contradiction was within her own concept of party and spontaneity, so that at the end, a)though she called the Second International a stinking corpse she opposed the attempt to create a Third Diternational — AND THAT PERSISTED EVEN AFTER THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND IS THE LEGACY SHE LEFT HER TENDENCY; b) she reversed her whole life motif by in the end approving the unity of her group and the PPS as the new CP of Polend; c) she did head (even though she didn't vote for it) the CP in Germany and called for "all power to the Soviete".

ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS OF RUSSIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY by RL (Dick Howard translation) pp 283-306.

After a Very brief introduction which establishes the fact that she doesn't hold that when a Party is not as big as the German SD, it shows "under-development". Quite the contrary. Each is "of equal historical status and there is to be learned as much from the under-developed as the developed.

She further admits that it is not an easy question because the Russian SD has to work in a absolutist state and must always look at the police.

14271

retainly had to get rid of "circles and local clubs" atmosphere to schieve a unified political action of the masses in the entire state."

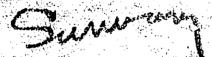
Which is the for three long years (1900-1903) the thrust of Islam was towards that one end with all stress on the quetion of centralism. Howseer, though the German Party likewise consdered centralism important, "the ultra centralist viewpoint of the Russian party " as "Com. Lenin, one of the outstanding leaders and fighters of the Islam in its campaign for the preparation of the Party Congress, must be criticised."

( rd- RL, However, doesn't bother to mention that the iskra which is asking her for this article is <u>not</u> the iskra which conducted the campaign and is certainly the menshevik organ.)

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The point is always that "no rigid formulas for organization will do to express Marxist conception of socialism," and that Lenin's two principles — (1) on the blind-subordination of all patty organization ... to a seek central power which alone seek thinks, plans and decides for ally and (2))... seems to us to be a mechanistic transfer of the organizational principles of the Blanquistic movement of complicatorial groups to the Social Democratic movement of the working masses." (p. 290)

RL then continues her attack. I) on "discipline", going hammer anatongs against Lenin's expression that "factory discipline" is something the proletariat has and Provide the intellectuals don't have and are no good. After that she goes into proving how all the development over the last decade in Russia has come from the spontaneous movement and not from the SD leadership; "in each case, they were the spontaneous product of the movement in action." (p. 292) She mentions the 1896 strike in Petersburg, the student agitation in Petersburg of March 473 1901 and the mass strike in Rostov-on-Don, but even here the thrust is equally directed against the (p. 294) German SD.



## THE ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTION & RL

Since Howard's Selected Writings (p. 283 ff.) is the only one that has a new translation of (and cleared of the slanderous retitling of the NL 1904 article as "Leninism ... Marxism?")

RL's original article, titled "Organizational Questions of Russian Social Democracy. I will summarize that even though there is only one aspect, the more important one being both 1905-07 and 1917-1919.

Pp: 293-4 RL correctly states the t she knows the extraordinary task SD has in trying to create a working class party: in a police state."

Centralism was absolutely important in a situation of "circles" and local club atmosphere. What is wrong, she says, is that centralism then became a motto as the new face of organization at the party congress. She is correct again and quite objective in that 3-year campaign, 1900-03, that took to prepare that congress; "Mowever, at the party congress, and even more so after, it became evident that centralism is a slogan which does not completely exhaust the historic content and the of the Social Democratic organization."

It is here, that is as soon as she mentions the historic content, that she becomes quite abstract in the sanse of completely disregarding the concrete whix with which she started—"no rigid formula for organization will do to express the Marxist conception of socialism."

Once whe has stated that and once she doesn't really go through the concrete at the congress which incidentally she did not attend, nor does she make it so clear that she is talking not on What is to Be Done, but on Lenin's One Step Forward, 2 Steps back 14274

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that nearly everyone, including Nettl, misrepresented her 1904 thesis as an attack on What is To Es Done (see <u>The Legacy of RL</u> by Norman Geras for an interesting expose of that fact), she launches into an attack on Lenin's concept as ultracentralist.

237: "Lenin thinks that the unification of such a strict centralism which the Social Democratic mass movement is a specific revolutionary Marxist principle."

RI edmits that such a tendency has been "inherent in the SD." because that's what capitalist

on p. 288 she then goes further back in history in relationship to "independent direct action of the masses" and how it was opposed to early socialist movements like Jacobinism and Blanquism: "Lenin appears to underestimate that fact when he calls the S.D. a Jacobin indissolubly connected with the organization of the class conscious proletariat.' She then insisted Lenin is wrong, that proletarian class consciousness is opposed to the conspiracy of small minorities: "He forgets that this difference implies a complete revision of the concept of organization, a whole is new content for the concept of centralism and a whole new conception of the reciprocal relations of the organization to the struggle."

On p. 290 she accuses Lenin of making "a mechanistic transfer of the organizational principle (?) of the Blanquist movment of conspiratorial groups to the S.D. movement of the working masses."

P. 291 she quotes and opposes both Lenin's attacks an on intellectuals and his glorification of the "educational influence of the factory on the proletariat." whereupon (p. 292) she points to the class connections during the last decade:

14275

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"In each case, they were the spontaneous products of the mass in action." She speaks there of both the 1896 Petersburg strike and the March 1901 Petersburg and Rostov-On-Don strikes as having arisen spontaneously, with the S.D. nowhere around. But they weren't exactly a party then either, and the whole point from those early circles to the Party was that they went in two separate directions, the masses and the Party; while the Marxism didn't take root, neither did the spontaeneous activity of the masses result....

F. 295 Russian S.D. stands on the eve of revolutionary struggles and to try to change

on p. 289. appears really the essence of her argument where she takes Lemin's expression that the SD is "s Jacobin indissolubly connected with the organization of the class-conscious proletariat" wherever she devotes the next few pages to exposing Jacobinism and Blanquism: " paddly by by

He (VII) forgets that this difference (class sonctionsess) implies a complete revision of the concept of organization, a whole new content for the concept of centralism; and a whole new conception of the restrictal relations of the organization and the struggle 12 and cannot possibly simply be dismissed as if class consciousness applicable automatically meant o position of Blanquism as "a conspiracy of a small minority."

Quite the contrary. The SD movement was the first in the history of class societies which, in all its moments; in its entire course, reckons on independent, the organization and the/direct 'action of the masses,"

in hilly one our also in Mis & new a conception party of