......

"UNDER RANK AND FILE

LEADERSHIP" One of the demands in the program of the lefts, who were elected to the convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, was for "a real strike under rank and file leadership". This slogan does not appear here for the first time. It did not originate with the workers who stood as the candidates of the Left in the International elections, and they should not be blamed for it. ists. There is no doubt that this anti-leadership slogan was imposed upon them by their own "leaders", the Stalinists, whose "rank and file" ballyhoo is intended for the deception of others and by no means for their own guidance in relation to

their own rank and file. In their steadily losing battle of recent times with the traitorous leaders of the Right wing unions, the demoralized officials of Stalinism have been trying to outwit their opponents and to sneak into the leadership of the workers without their knowledge. This is the grand "strategy" which motivates the demagogic appeal for the leadership of and the leaders and the inter-relations the "rank and file". The sad results between them, apply so pertinently to the which these unworthy maneuvers have present aberration of the American Stalworkers in the simplest and most ele- be in order. mentary questions, justify a discussion of this ridiculous slogan from the standpoint of the A B C of Marxism.

obestvant worker, and which in part rote all the frivolous attacks on 'leaders' accounts for the miserable failure of the __contrasting them with the 'masses'slogan about rank and file leadership, is but failed to grasp the application and the howling inconsistency of its authors. the inner meaning of these words." On the one side they stand at the head "To a Russian Bolshevik . . . all talk of the party by virtue of appointment of 'from above' or 'from below', the 'dic- understand the historical class position and rule it with the most bureaucratic tatorship of leaders' or 'the dictatorship of the proletariat. These are the conarbitrariness. If one is looking for an of the masses' cannot but appear as scious workers, the vanguard of the class. example of "the leadership of the rank childish nonsense. It is something like In order to influence the class in iss and file" he will never find the merest discussing whether the left leg or the own interest most effectively it is nectrace of it in the Stalinized party. The right arm is more useful to a man". rank and file Communist who would venture to assert the modest right to say something extraordinary, and in their against the domination of the capitalisas what he thinks in criticism of the lead- zeal to be intellectual they become rid- and their agents in the labor movement. ership, to say nothing of the advocacy iculous. It is common knowledge . . of the slogan which he propagates in the that the classes are usually and in most centralized workers' party. It is the unions under party instruction, would cases led by political parties, at least first letter of the Marxist alphabet on soon be handed his passports. This is in modern civilized countries; that poli- the question of working class organiwhat has happened to many, and the tical parties, as a general rule, are led zation. workers in the unions know it. Integr- by more or less stable groups of the ity, common sense and a decent respect more influential, authoritative experi- most conscious and resolute elements, apfor ordinary human intelligence all argue enced members, elected to the most re- plies to strikes and other daily strugagainst this sordid attempt to fool the sponsible positions, and called leaders. gles as well as to the class struggle as workers with an idea that is flatly con- All this is elementary. It is simple and a whole. The agitation for "the leadertradicted in the practices of the Amters plain. Why then all this rigamarole, ship of the rank and file" negates this colonies, not only its scarcity but also its opment and new markets for penetration. and all the other Fosters.

essary to convince them. And since the fantile Sickness'.

masses take nothing on faith, but test everything out in life and learn from their experience, the slogans of the party ership" is a disgrace for Communists. which do not correspond to reality are Such horseplay can very well be left to unavailing. Thus it happens that such the confusionists of syndicalism who obmanifest absurdities as the "leadership ject to the idea of a workers' political of the rank and file" leave the masses party on the ground that the masses untouched, and only succeed in deceiv- need no leaders. This demoralizing noning and disorientating the Communist sense only hampers the organization of workers. In this case simple questions, the working class and thus serves the long ago settled in the camp of the Marx- bourgeoisie. The mission of the Com-

LENIN ON LEADERS

AND MASSES Twelve years ago Lenin wrote a pamphlet for the purpose of clearing up some misconceptions in the newly-formed Communist parties. One of these misconceptions was the prejudice, derived from syndicalism, regarding leaders and masses. Replying to the arguments of those "Leftists" in the German party who contrasted the one to the other he remarked: "What old and well-known rubbish! What 'left' childishness!" The simple explanations and ironical comments of the great teacher, regarding the masses

"One notices the superficial and in coherent use of the now 'fashionable' terms, 'masses' and 'leaders'. People The first thing which must strike the have heard much and have conned by

this new Volapuk?"

But hypocrisy and dishonesty are These citations are taken from The it only makes the leadership of the readdition, contempt for the workers. Have the new members of the party ever secure. This harmful and anti-Marxist and indentured slaves from Europe enterior to the new rulers of America. In the American revolution amounted to so many words and pieces of paper for the seen this pamphlet, and have the old slogan should be cast aside. Instead of abled the merchant and commercial fact, the dictatorship was becoming a workers and farmers, so much did the letariat in the Russian revolution and members forgotten it? These teachings, it, the Communist workers in the unthe Comintern, they imagine they can like all the fundamental doctrines ela- ions, as in every other field of the class sanctify anything by mere command. This borated by the Comintern under Lenin, struggle, should frankly contrast their is what misleads them into such self-con- have been declared out of date; they are policy and their leadership to the policy tradictory policies in relation to the buried under the filth and confusion of and the leadership of the labor lieutengeneral labor movement. Ruling within the Stalin regime. The Communist work- ants of capital. This is the only way the limited sphere of the party by de- er who wants to find his way back to to teach the workers and help them in cree, they forget that in order to influ- the Lenin path might well begin with a their struggle. There is no roundabout ence the non-Communist masses it is nec- study, or a reexamination, of the "In- way.

After that he would never be able to go around shouting such absurdities as "the leadership of the rank and file". He would not be able even to listen to such an instruction from his own "leaders" without laughing under the table.

THE ROLE OF THE

CONSCIOUS WORKERS The chatter about "rank and file lead munists is to educate the workers, not to muddle and confuse them; to aspire, frankly, to lead them in their struggle, not to trail behind them and cater to ignorance and prejudice with demagogic

The working class under capitalism, is not and cannot be a homogeneous body. The enormous pressure of the ruling class ideology presess heavily upon it. the press, the schools, the church, the movies, the political parties, and in other the working class under capitalism is opment. divided into various economic categories, with different standards of living and, to a certain extent, different immediate brought, not the least of which has been inists on the subject of "rank and file interests. The upper str um, the aristthe disorientation of the Communist leadership" that a few quotations will ocracy of labor, which is the most conservative, and at the same time the best organized, becomes a means of strengthening bourgeois influences over the class. The labor bureaucrats, with their high salaries and petty-bourgeois standards of life, act as the agents of capital in the labor movement.

> As a result of all this, it is possible under capitalism, only for a minority of the working class to free itself from bourgeois influences and ideas and to essary for these conscious workers to "People bend every effort to elaborate organize themselves and to fight unitedly From this arises the Marxist idea of the

> > This principle of leadership, by the principle and sows confusion. By this

The Negro and the Class Struggle

The National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition), by direction of the National Conference, appointed a commission to asemble material on the Negro question in America and to open a lowing article by comrade Oehler, a member of the commission, is a contribution to the discussion and presents his personal views. -Ed.

In modern Europe, where capitalism of bourgeois domination in America. has long ago had its decisive battles with feudalism, there still linger remnants of

The period when economic systems were gaining a foothold in new America cannot be separated from the class struggles in Europe at that time. The discovery of America which gave the feudal tween the feudal land property relations and the developing bourgeois property relations. The commercial system of Europe was on the upgrade and the race for America reflected this. The discovery of America accelerated bourgeois development in Europe and logically expressed its growth in the colonies.

In Europe, feudalism ruled by the monopoly of land through the feudal estates and the Catholic church and by hindering the developing handicraft system, keeping it part of the feudal hand-tool production. Free land in America played havoc with feudal relations, not just because there was free land, but primarily War. The forceful expropriation of the cannot be written properly unless this because with this free land developed the bourgeois property ' relations. Bourgeois relations are made difficult by free land, but the presence of large tracts system. However, this did not remove allies in the coming revolution. of usable free land in a new country all the obstacles and give a free hand smashes all feudal atempts at stability for capitalist penetration. The carry- ern American development and colonial when capitalism moves in at the same

The Problem of Labor Power

the northern part of the colonies.

had escaped feudalism through the handiand turning them into an army of pro- fore, propertyless wage slaves, there was no further escape. Either work as wage discussion in the League. The fol- imprisoned as beggars and thievesthese were the alternatives. In America the escape to the west was still open. But this "escape" laid the basis for the

the past, feudal carry-overs complicating ditions called for a different form. The ready trained, kept in check the rapid the solution of the proletariat's problems, crops demanded large scale agriculture transformation of former chattel slaves This complication does not confront the production, and, capitalist agriculture into wage slaves. The slaves' "freedom" workers of America, but in its place we relations were yet in their infancy. Feud- turned out to be a bourgeois joke. The have a variety of more conflicting in- alism could answer this request but, it former slave found himself, free from his heritances. One of these was the carry- could not furnish Serfs tied to the land former master's obligation to feed, clothe over of chattel slavery, a more backward and accustomed to the hot climate, and shelter him, and keep him well as system which gained, supremacy over when livelihood could be obtained by property, but not free from the economic Bourgeois ideas, disseminated through atempted feudalist inroads in new Amer- hunting and fishing, and trapping and exploitation and political domination of ica by its economic advantages in the free land for farming. The only suitable the capitalists and plantation owners. south for large scale agriculture produc- alternative, that rising bourgeois rela- Left "free", without economic means for ways, demoralize and corrupt the tion. The race form of chattel slavery tions could tolerate was chattel slavery; a livelihood (land and tools), the Negro thoughts of the workers. Besides that, in America gave impetus to this devel- bringing in large scale agriculture pro- was free to starve to death, to submit kingdoms greater land rights only ac- dentured slavery was the closest form ditions were not ripe for a successful celerated the internal contradictions be to chattel slavery possible for the white revolution to free themselves from their and tobacco production in the south. The traffic in Negro slaves was just as

profitable as the traffic in indentured slaves. The chattel slave was more profitable for the south under the conditions. But in the latter period of Slavery in America the bourgeois relation had far outstripped the other forces and had shown that the wage slave was by far the most profitable for the master class. over was as heavy as a mountain, hindering all speedy solutions.

The expropriation of the chattel mas-Labor power and its control was the ters of their property in the slaves, openburning problem of the rulers of the ed up new avenues for capitalist develcontrol once obtained. Wage workers The dictatorship which the capitalists set would soon disappear as free farmers, up in the south after the Civil War soon classes to retain a sufficient supply of boomerang. The former slave was takcheap labor power, but this could only ing his liberty seriously in an increasing the Negro masses. be kept up by a constant influx from degree. The exploiters of the wage Europe. The land to the west was an es- slaves were not long in learning they had cape for this labor supply. At the same a hundred times more in common with time, however, this resulted in devel- the former chattel masters than with the oping bourgeois agriculture relations in former slaves. The freedom taken by Get a Sub for The Militant the slaves had to be checked; the dicta-In Europe, where capitalism was al- torship against the chattel masters was ready at work appropriating those who modified when their resistance was brok- Send Us Your Contribution

en, when they came to terms-the terms of the northern capitalists. From them on the capitalist supremacy took on a form of democracy for the white rulers of the south, and a new form of dictatorship against the Negro masses who craft system or by free peasant farming, were driven into worse slavery than be-

The New Role of the Negro

The freeing of the Negro from chattel slaves, starve to death, or be killed or slavery opened the door to a tremendous supply of cheap labor for the American capitalist. In fact the supply was too great for developing capitalism to absorb. However, it remained in reserve, further development and strengthening ever ready to be used as expansion would warrant. Although capitalist de-In the south conditions were different. velopment in America was fairly fast, The kinds of crops and the climatic con- the influx of European wage slaves, alduction, labor power bound in slavery, to his former master in worse economic suitable for the climate. It was proven subjection than before, or to become a that the Indian could not serve this pur- wage slave, providing he could find an pose. The white man from Europe had employer. The "free" Negro, without too easy an escape, even if it were pos- land or tools, had only one road to sible to brand him as a chattel slave, travel as a class and race-to submit to The Negro race answered the need. In- the new forms of exploitation, since conman of Europe. It sufficed for the re- white masters and obtain the land and cruitment of a supply of labor in the tools of production for themselves. As a north, but was not suitable for cotton race they adjusted themselves to the new condition-unassimulated as wage slave; not held as chattel slaves; reflecting the old and looking at the new, but representing neither. They started the process by ekeing out an existence on the land and as servants of the white rulers; part slave, part serf and part wage slave.

At the time of the transformation only the Marxists realized the historic signi-The conflict of these two antagonistic ficance of the "freeing" of the chattel systems reached its climax in the Civil slaves. The history of American labor chattel masters' property in the form current is traced back and properly of the slaves put an end to the most dan- connected with the development of the gerous internal enemy of the bourgeois white and negro proletariat and their

Westward expansion, internal northexpansion could tolerate concessions to the white rulers of the south in return for their political support as plantation owners. Rule the Negroes in your own state as you like so long as you support your political hegemony, said the northern capitalist; and besides you can make more profits by your support than by freedom of the Civil War amount to for

> -HUGO OEHLER. (To be continued)

BUREAUCRATIC ULTIMATISM

by LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from last issue)

Instead of aiding the social democratic workers to find their way through experience, the C. E. C. of the the masses to skip the necessary phases of their own Communist party abets the leaders of the social democracy against the workers. The Welses and the Hilown unwillingness to fight, their dread of fighting, ture snaps up our criticism of the ultimatistic pol- working class. icies of Stalin-Thaelmann.

The official leaders of the Comintern are now expatiating with profound demeanor upon the need to elevate the theoretical level of the party and to study "the history of Bolshevism". Actually "the level" is falling constantly, the lessons of Bolshevism are forgotten, distorted and trampled under foot. In the meantime, it is by no means difficult to find in the history of the Russian party the precursor of the present policy of the German C. E. C.: he is none other than the deceased Bogdanov the founder of ultimatism or of "the up-and-outers" (Otzovists). As far back as 1905 he deemed it impossible for the Bolsheviks to participate in the Petrograd Soviet, unless the Soviet recognized beforehand the leadership of the Social Democrats. Under Bogdanov's influence, the Petrograd Bureau of the C. E. C. (Bolsheviks) passed a resolution in October 1905: to submit before the Petrograd Soviet the demand that it recognize the leadership of the party; and in event of refusal-to walk out of the Soviet. Krassikov, a young lawyer, in those days a member of the C. E. C. (Bolsheviks), read this ultimatum at the plenary session of the Soviet. The worker deputies, among them Bolsheviks also, exchanged surprised looks and then passed on to the business in the order of the day. Not a man

the coals mercilessly. "You can't-he lectured them -nor can any one clse by means of ultimatums force political development."

Bogdanov, however, did not discard his methodoferdings are enabled to screen with flying colors their logy, and he subsequently founded an entire faction of "ultimatists" or "up-and-outers" (Otzovists): they their inability to fight by citing the aversion of the received the latter nickname because of heir tendency Communist party for participating in a common to call upon the Bolsheviks to get up and get out from struggle. The stubborn, doltish and insensate rejec- all those organizations that refused to accept the ultition by the Communist party of the policies of the matum laid down from above: "you must first accept er must perforce and forthwith accept as infallible all United Front provides the social democracy, under our leadership." The ultimatists attempted to apply the past, present and future decisions of the C. E. C. the present conditions, with its most important pol- their policy not only to the Soviets but also in the The more erroneous the policies become, the greater itical weapon. This is just the reason why the social parliamentary sphere and to the trade unions, in are the pretensions to infallibility. democracy-with the parasatism inherent in its na- short, to all legal and semi-legal organizations of the

Lenin's fight against ultimatism was a fight for the correct interrelation between the party and the class. The ultimatists, in the old Bolshevik party, never played a rôle of the slightest importance, otherwise the victory of Bolshevism would not have been possible. The strength of Bolshevism lay in its wide awake and sensitive relation to the class. Lenin continued his fight against ultimatism even when he was in supreme command, in particular and especially, as regards the attitude to the trade unions. "Indeed, if now in Russia," he wrote, "after two and a half years of unheard of victories over the bourgeoisie of Russia and of the Entente, we were to place before the trade unions as a condition for their joining us that they 're cognize the dictatorship' we would be guilty of stupidity, we would impair our influence over the masses, we would aid the mensheviks. For the task of the Com munists consists in being able to convince the backward to know how to work among them and not to fence ourselves from them by a barrier of fictitious and puerile 'left' slogans". (The Infantile Disease of "Leftism".) This holds all the more for the Communist parties of the West, which represent only a minority of the working class.

During the last few years, however, the situation in the U. S. S. R. has changed radically. The arming

there enters the element of force. Lenin's struggle | And whatever is funny is fatal, particularly in matagainst party and Soviet bureaucracy was in its essence a struggle not against the faulty organization of departments, nor against departmental red-tape and inefficiency but against the apparatus laying down the law to the class, against the transformation of the party bureaucracy into a new "ruling" clique. Lenin's counsel, from his death bed, that a proletarian Control Commission be created independent of the C. E. C. and that Stalin and his faction be removed from the party apparatus was aimed against the bureaucratic degeneration of the party. For various reasons, which cannot be dealt with here, the party ignored this counsel. Of recent years the bureaucratic degeneration of the party has reached the extreme limit. Stalin's apparatus simply lays down the law. The language of command is the language of ultimatism. Every work-

After gathering into its hands the apparatus of the Comintern, the Stalinist faction naturally transferred also its methods over to the foreign sections, i. e., to the Communist parties in the capitalist nations. The policy of the German leaders has for its counterpart the policy of the Moscow leadership. Thaclmann observes how Stalin's bureaucracy rules the roost, by condemning as counter-revolutionary all those who do not recognize its infallibility. Wherein is Thaelmann worse than Stalin? If the working class does not willingly place itself under his leadership that | gles. is only because the working class is counter-revolutionary. Double dyed counter-revolutionaries are those who point out the balefulness of ultimatism. The collected works of Lenin are among the most counterrevolutionary publications. There is sufficient reason why Stalin should—as he does—submit them to such rigid censorship, particularly on their publication in foreign languages. Baleful as ultimatism is under all conditions-if in the U. S. S. R. it dissipates the moral capital of the party-it breeds double disaster for the the decisive rôle; what does decide is the political in-Western parties which must yet begin accumulating terrelation between the party and the class. Along their moral capital. Within the Soviet Union, at this line, which is fundamental, the situation is not least, the victorious revolution has created material improving, because the German party has placed begrounds for bureaucratic ultimatism, in the guise of tween itself and the class the thorny hedge of ultimaan apparatus for repression. Whereas in capitalist tism. countries, including Germany, ultimatism becomes conof the Communist party with sovereignity means the verted into an impotent caricature, and interferes with walked out of the Soviet. Shortly after that Lenin introduction of a new element into the interrelation the movement of the Communist party to power. Above arrived from abroad, and he raked the ultimatists over | between the vanguard and the class: into this relation | all, the ultimatism of Thaelmann-Remmele is funny. | man Proletariat)

ters concerning a revolutionary party.

Let us for a moment transfer the problem to England, where the Communist party (as a consequence of the ruinous mistakes of Stalinist bureaucracy) still comprises an insignificant portion of the proletariat. If one accepts the theory that every type of the United Front, except the Communist, is "counter-revolutionary", then obviously the British proletariat must put off its revolutionary struggle until that time when the Communist Party is able to come to the fore. But the Communist party cannot come to the front of the class except on the basis of its own revolutionary experience. However, its experience cannot take on a revolutionary character in any other way than by drawing mass millions into the struggle. Yet non-Communist masses, the more so if organized, cannot be drawn into the struggle except through the policy of the United Front. We fall into a charmed circle, out of which there is no way out by means of bureaucratic ultimatism. But the revolutionary dialectic has long since pointed the way out and has demonstrated it by countless examples in the most diverse spheres; by correlating the struggle for power with the struggle for reforms; by maintaining complete independence of the party while preserving the unity of the trade unions; by fighting against the bourgeois régime and at the same time utilizing its institutions; by criticizing relentlessly parliamentarism-from the parliamentary tribunal; by waging war mercilessly against reformism, and at the same time making practical agreements with the reformists in partial strug-

In England, the incompetence of ultimatism hits one in the eye because of the extreme weakness of the party. In Germany the balefulness of ultimatism is masked somewhat by the considerable numerical strength of the party and by its growth. But the German party is growing on account of the pressure of events and not thanks to the policies of the leadership; not because of ultimatism, but despite it. Moreover, the numerical growth of the party does not play

—L. TROTSKY.

(To be Continued)

(From What Next?-Vital Questions for the Ger-