

# Communist Organizational

By Alexander Stoklitsky

Under the pressure of sharp criticism and finally the complete realization of the fact that the old Socialist Party organization is not worth capturing the majority of the Left Wing Council, who had opposed the immediate call for the formation of a Communist Party, have come to realize their error and have now changed their attitude toward us. The so-called majority of the Left Wing has now fully accepted the tactics of the National Organization Committee of the Communist Party; so the slogan of both groups, united as one, is now: "Sever all relations with the old party and build up a new militant Communist Party."

Accepting this slogan, the National Left Wing Council withdraws from the old party and joins the National Organization Committee in its call for a convention to organize the new party. Issuing the joint call for the convention of September 1, the National Council of the Left Wing comments: "Realizing also the futility of participating in the proposed emergency convention of the Socialist Party, the Council does hereby join with the National Organization Committee in issuing the following call for the organization of the Communist Party." Then follows the call issued previously by the minority Communist group and signed by both and which appears on another page. Those who have the interests of the revolutionary movement at heart cannot fail but to feel elated at this outcome, as this action on the part of both groups and the determination to devote the combined energies of the members to the organization of the new party will mark the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the revolutionary movement in this country.

The revolutionary proletariat of America, passing over the ruins of the opportunistic party, faces today very vital problems. One of the most important of these problems is how to build and how to organize the Communist Party so the principles of Communist International can be interpreted to conform to conditions of capitalism in America and put into practice.

The majority of the readers of *The Communist* are familiar with the form of organization of the old Socialist Party, with its state autonomy and its bureaucratic officialdom. Every state is practically organized as an independent socialist party. "Official socialism" of Milwaukee is entirely different from "official socialism" in Ohio, both in regard to platforms and form of organization. Every state has a "socialism" of its own brand, and even dues are not uniform throughout the country. "Official papers" of the party are in most cases organs of independent associations, not at all affiliated with the central party organizations. Such important weapons in the struggle of the proletariat are left in the hands of the petty bourgeois ideologists who, in reality, prostitute the labor press. As examples, we have, for instance, "The Milwaukee Leader," the "New York Call," the Jewish "Daily Forward," the "Appeal to Reason," and many others scattered throughout the United States, and each contradicting not only the others, but containing in each issue glaring contradictions that an intelligent person who reads them becomes disgusted with the whole muddled mess. Such papers are even more vicious than the capitalist press, as they force upon the minds of the workers distorted ideas of the function of the proletariat. They are veritable poison to the minds of the workers. The Communist Party must have a uniform press so that a uniform program can be intelligently placed before the workers of the country, and this press must be under the direct control of the party. There is only one revolutionary socialism, one Communism, and whenever a reader picks up a Communist paper he will then find invariably the same general principles expounded.

The Socialist Party as a whole is the best example of pseudo-democratic decentralization; in other words, it is a lame excuse of a menshevik organization. The history of the revolutionary movement throughout Europe, as well as the practical experience gained in Russia, shows how dangerous is this decentralized form of organization; dangerous because of its inefficiency in propaganda work, in educational work and in organization. The strength of the Communist Parties in Europe is not only due to a clear understanding of the principles of revolutionary socialism, but also to strict party discipline and democratic centralization of their organization. What do we mean by the words "democratic centralization" of our organization? Is this only an insignificant phrase? No, indeed! It is the most essential feature of the structure of a

revolutionary organization. By the word "centralization" the bourgeois conceives of all forces united in the hands of a dictator. The word when applied to the revolutionary movement means that the workers consciously centralize their power by placing it temporarily in the hands of certain individuals who are trusted servants of the membership and who are thoroughly familiar with the problems arising out of the class conflict and have sufficient historical foresight, initiative and courage to function for the membership at all times. Does that mean the members have no right to criticize them? Certainly not! Any of the acts of officials can be criticized and should be criticized. But that criticism must be based on questions of principles and tactics and not against the party officials as individuals or the party organs as institutions. In order to immediately, or in a very short time, eliminate any disrupting elements or any traitors, it is necessary at all times to be able to get the recall into action without delay. Officers are constantly under the surveillance of the group for which they function, so there is no opportunity for Menshevik tendencies. Under those conditions opportunism is eliminated. Centralization enables the Communists to present a solid front against the highly centralized and well disciplined bureaucratic organizations of the imperialists. Against the combination of capitalists only a militant Communist Party, based on the principles of democratic centralization and revolutionary discipline can succeed in establishing the revolutionary dictatorship of the working class. The party has to be built as a revolutionary machine, which functions intelligently and consciously against the master class, carefully considering each step taken.

The old socialistic party used to recruit members from the ranks of the petty bourgeois, rather than from the proletariat, as its propaganda was of a nature to appeal to the middle class element. It was never able to reach the masses of the proletariat where they spent most of their waking hours—in the factories, mills, mines, upon the railways and in the other industries of capitalism. We must understand that the revolution by the proletariat must be accomplished by the working class itself, and that our propaganda should be of such a nature that it will have only a special appeal to the workers in each industry, but must be of a general nature so we can weld the broad masses of the workers into a unified mass. In this struggle on the part of the working class for emancipation, history places the Communist movement of the world at the head of this mass, as the vanguard of the proletariat.

The popularization of the principles of Communism and the idea of the necessity of a militant Communist Party as the vanguard of the working class must be our first consideration. Shop committees for the purpose of disseminating propaganda alone must be organized, so that each industry will be appealed to in language that the workers can understand—in the vernacular peculiar to each particular industry. Such committees are to be composed only of members of the Communist Party, so that they can always be under the direct control of the central groups.

This work must be organized on a national scale, so that at a given date all the workers in a certain industry or all the industries can be reached. This form of organization makes every member of our movement an active participant in party affairs. Passive elements are not only useless, but in some cases a positive hindrance to revolutionary activity because of being out of touch with the trend of events. When this organization is perfected the message of Communism will reach every part of the industrial life of the United States and the mighty voice of the vanguard of the American proletariat will ring around the world.

The time to think and act is here!

One of the Milwaukee "socialist" officials has been able to build up an eloquent defense of the actions of Scheideman, Ebert and their clique. Possibly he desires to defend his own actions should something occur in this country.

"Unity" is the plea of those who fear to break away from the reactionaries and dare not join with the revolutionary elements. The fence is awfully shaky, John; better climb off before you fall!