"Another Revolution Necessary?"

(From "Nation," Dec. 4, 1920.)

A self-confessed Russian murderer sailed into New York the other day without a passport, and was allowed to land by the immigration officials. He was Prince Youssoupoff, and if he did not have a valid passport he had a slip of paper which, he said, was a diplomatic pass during the period of the Czar. As the Prince was being rowed down the harbor the prince could look across at the red roofs of Ellis Island. He probably did not know that several hundred compatriots of his were locked in a room on that island. Among the Russian newspapers he read, whether they might be admitted or not—and had been waiting in that room, without toilet facilities and without excuse, for weeks. But then, they were third-class passengers, not princes of the blood. And he was a prince, and, if a murderer, a good counter-revolutionary. If Patrick Henry, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were alive to see that contrast in the republic they helped found, they might think another revolution necessary.

The Reorganization of the Party

"The Worker" has received a copy of a "Thesis on Reorganization of the Workers Party on the Basis of Industrial Branches," proposed by Comrades Bedacht, Ruthenberg and Jack Tampolsky, of New York City. The thesis has been sent to the party press with the request to publish. Since the thesis contains upwards of 6,000 words, it is manifestly impossible to publish it in full. "The Worker," therefore, gives space to its most important sections, as follows:

A. The class struggle, political and economic, acquires its bitterest manifestation where the exploitation of the proletariat day by day actually takes place—that is in the industries.

B. It is there where the worker first becomes even primitively conscious of his class interests and feels the need of organization, the union; and there is also the basis of his class power, political and economic. It is there that our party branches should be organized and made to function.

Territorial Branches Useless.

These branches are a period of unsufficient. But our party is not built on that basis; our membership, although consisting of at least 80 per cent of industrial workers, is not organized on a basis that would make them effective in the industries. Our party, on the contrary, is organized on the basis of territorial branches as if agitation, at wisdom, to the nonexistent and unorganized passerby in the street, would be our most important and effective form of reaching the masses and getting them to us.

Proposed Plan of Reorganization.

In order to reorganize our party on a basis that will put it into actual organizational contact with the masses, with their daily problems and struggles and to permit it to grow into a mass movement, and a party that can absorb readily the energies of these workers desiring action and results, we propose the following:

1. Reorganization of the party on the basis of industrial branches, the industrial branches to consist of all members working in one and the same industry, irrespective of whether at that time they are members of a union or not.

2. Each of the Language Federations of the party to organize industrial branches in its language beginning with those industries where its membership is most heavily represented.

3. Simultaneously with the reorganization of the federation machinery, the general party machinery be proposed with co-ordinating the various language industrial branches, in each industry and locality.

4. The organization of the industrial branches shall begin preferably with those industries where we have the strongest membership, such as Needle Trades, Mining, Textile, Food, Building Trades, until all members in any one industry have been organized and transferred into his or her industrial branch. The transfer of members from territorial to industrial branches to be GRADUAL, of course the territorial branches remaining side by side with the industrial.

5. The territorial branches thru the transfer of members into the industrial branches will be reduced in size and number, but will still remain functioning with those party members who have not been or cannot be organized into industrial branches.

6. For political campaigns, the territorial branches, the industrial branches, and the labor and other working class organizations in any one particular election territory should form a combine.

7. The Central Executive Committee of the party to send out an appeal to all organized militant groups and unorganized militants to join the party and form industrial branches of their respective industries.

What About These Members Who Cannot Go Into Industrial Branches?

As already pointed out in No. 2 of our proposal, the industrial branches will be formed of all members engaged in one particular industry, irrespective of whether they are union members or not. It will be the task of the industrial branch to get them into a union or organize new local unions where none exist. This will leave only a small percentage of our membership outside the industrial branches. The students, professionals, engineers, dentists, doctors, etc., which fall in this.

There is no reason why communist students cannot develop a broad activity among the industrial branches. The fact that the future of most of these students lies in the big army of white collar slaves, amongst the lowest paid workers in the country, should make approach possible and comparatively easy. Many of our intellectuals should go into the industrial machinery of the party. Professional associations of the engineers, etc., should be formed by communists to get into, and where no organization exists, one should be organized.

The Industrial Branches.

It has been claimed that reorganization into industrial branches would be almost impossible because of deportations. On the contrary it would strengthen their influence upon the masses and the activity of the party. A federation organized on an industrial basis would have to deal with the problems of these workers in the industries right thru the United States, where they are exposed to the danger of diverting their interest to their mother country.

The federation branches would function just as any party industrial branch, concerning their business, agitation, press, etc., in their own language as before.

The members of the federations will most probably thru this form of activity be forced to learn the English language sooner than under present conditions, but until the proletarians of their language become more English speaking, language federations will remain an indispensable necessity for the party as at present.

There is no possible argument that can be advanced to show why the federations by reorganizing their machinery into industrial branches and establishing effective contact with the masses of the foreign workers in the industries should not benefit even more than the rest of the party, considering that most of their workers are more receptive to our aims and most deportations have a daily press at their disposal.

The fact that our federation members are not citizens and do not speak the language of the country and are accordingly excluded from the parliamentary election campaigns as voters cannot make up the industrial formation practically the only means by which to get them out of the nationalistic isolation they have them become the factor in the labor movement that their numbers warrant.

Foreign Comrades Concentrated in Few Industries.

B. Industrial Federation branches are not only highly desirable but also practical, in spite of the fact that it may appear at first consideration that the membership of a federation is so scattered over so many industries that usually there are not enough in any one industry to form a effective organization. The actual facts are that in our federations, taken as a whole, at least 80 per cent of the membership of all the federations are composed of workers in these industries, and that the majority of the membership of the federations will show that the bulk of the membership is working in one or at most, in two or three industries. In some the bulk of the membership is working in one industry, for instance, the Finnish; the Needle Trades, Food and Building Trades; the Finnish; in the Lithuanian, the Germans; in the Food and Building Trades.

The federations need only to concentrate to begin with upon those industries in which the bulk of their membership is employed in order to make this plan operative and be seen as basically practical. Where there is there is not enough, proceed to organize the smaller groups.

Co-ordination of Language Industrial Branches.

C. A further objection is made that there being so many languages, the industrial branches would fail. All the branches of all languages in one industry must of course, work in very close contact as their interests in that particular industry are the same, the only difference is their language, the problem, however, is solved as well as it can be by forming each language industrial group separately.

Co-ordination of the various language industrial branches is effected thru the formation of a local executive committee of the branches of that particular industry. This committee will unify the work of all members, no matter what language, in each industry. In smaller towns the problem will most probably be simpler, the groups being smaller.

The reorganization will leave the general apparatus, District Committees, Executive Secretaries, Central Committees, Section Committees (where they exist) practically untouched. Instructions directive organs will function the same as before, but with additional help and support of the industrial branches.

Syndicalism.

If political class consciousness would develop in the form of organization that a worker happens to be in, there would never be a chance for such a thing as syndicalism. How could we ever expect to win great numbers of members from among the left wing unions? We did not a large number of active I. W. W. to join us, in the last three years. Political consciousness does not depend on the form or organization but on the necessities of the class struggle.

The Syndicalists were wrong by certain principles they advocated, but their activities were of greater revolutionary patent and value than those of the Socialist Party, whose main political activity consists of parliamentary action.

We Communists combine with the proper emphasis and evaluation these two fields of activity, laying the foundation for the Third Party, direct among the masses in the industries within their economic organizations. The fine large European parties are developing this plan of party organization and that the Communist International favors this development and confirms our conviction that this is the logical development out of the Social Democrat parties, Syndicalist and Anarchist, as a form suitable to the Communist aims and needs.

Territorial Branches Encourage Syndicalism.

The fact that active workers do not meet in the present party branches, and that those who have the same problems to face, discourages them from attending branch meetings at all. Many of our most active militant trade unionists do not attend party branch meetings. The branches are apathetic, thus become cut off from activity along industrial lines. They become engrossed and enveloped in the problems of their own union. They develop a strong contempt for "Politics" or political action and ultimately become opponents.

Inactivity Leads to Political Action.

If there is danger of anti-political tendencies among the left elements this form of organization will do away with it by strengthening the Communist influence among them and closely associating the political work with the industrial work of the party work. At present this is not the case, and with the growth of the T. U. E. L. and other left wing, the pure and simple trade unionist tendency on the part of those not thorely class conscious. A strengthening of the party's machinery on the industrial basis will be an effective means to lessen that danger.

Shop Nuclei.

To reorganize the party on the basis of Shop Nuclei is nothing short of Utopia at the present time, first of all because our party is far too small numerically to have nuclei in plants or shops with enough members to form a permanent group would be ridiculously small, and considerably working conditions that prevail in most of the unorganized industries, the hours of work are changed too frequently.

Even under the most favorable conditions the shop nuclei would have to be supplemented by our general industrial work and would have to work hand in hand, in harmony, with our union activities. Our industrial work cannot be effectively formed at all or made to function properly, they would have to be formed by the union and our industrial branches. The territorial branches can neither organize nor effectively direct their activities as they are necessarily out of touch with the actual needs and problems in each particular industry.

Shop Nuclei organization cannot be made virile and live by and for the sake of our occasional party leaflet distribution. Our work and propaganda in unorganized industries would not risk their jobs for such trifles, and even the industrial branches would find it advantageous at this stage of the game in the United States to organize shop nuclei only in preparation to a unionization campaign in the industry, in which case they would appeal, organize and get the support of all those who wish to set up a union to protect their bread and butter. Shop nuclei under such trade union nuclei would have plenty to do. They would be the framework and preparation for a big drive to organize the workers against the bosses, effective centralized nuclei work in the industries can be done only by the industrial branches.

Industrial branches would undoubtedly protect the party organizations against effective nuclei destruction, as the members of the branch, knowing each other, could connect up within the unions around the factories during lunch hour; their headquarters being the union office or party office. The purpose and aims of the reorganization, however, should be a much larger one. If the reorganization is limited only to shop nuclei it will only affect a very small portion of the membership.

In Conclusion.

We are rather inclined to think that the Central Executive Committee has not taken this matter seriously, but has simply used a popular phrase, hoping that the convention will be lured upon the subject and work out a plan.

The greatest opposition to this plan will come from some of our most active members and leaders (especially in the federations) who do not see where they would fit in if the party should be reorganized on such basis. They have adopted certain habits and methods in their party work for many years and may look upon this plan as designated to upset most of their old ways and ideas. They look with suspicion upon innovations, and may seek to prevent the adoption of this plan. But industrial branches will come and organize and will have to adapt their abilities to the new needs and we know they can and will do it easily once they have to. We will not be satisfied with a pious resolution endorsing this plan in principle and indifferent. Knowing that many comrades are with us, and that the tendencies in the movement, internationally and nationally, are with us, we will fight for the adoption of this plan inside the party until it is put into effect.

Shop Nuclei not Basis of Organization

By HARRY.

It is a grave mistake if the question of the organization of the party is a mere organizing question. To change a profound political change within our party, a change in our whole way of transact. To carry on only the work of a farce in a well-organized party. To stay down into the realities of the struggle.

Hence it is that a change in the structure to the shop basis involves a change in the entire activities of the party.

In our territorial or language branches we are practically forced away from the center of the struggle, the work shop, and it requires a great deal of effort to get our comrades to become active in the shop. There is no organized plan of active agitation in the shop, no organized program within the shop, and if we ever are to function as a mass Communist Party we must. This is our duty, our duty to win the support of the workers on the job.

The question of organization and re-organization on the shop nuclei or industrial branch basis is not an over-night matter. It requires, first of all, a Congress of Workers Education. Secondly, it necessitates an industrial registration of the membership of the party. The Central Committee might have before it a graph—a true picture of the social make-up of the Party. Thirdly, and in that way, know the limitations of the party and gauge in a measure to the job the Communists can be carried thru our own members.

An industrial registration of the membership would show only of use to our district organizers and the Central Executive Committee, but is invaluable to the members them-

OURSELF
and Start the New Year Right

st lesson of "Twenty-Living," by Dr. Emer-

DNEYS, STOMACH and other
t CONSTIPATION, RHEUMA-
ult from lowered vitality.
id. It is worth many times that
ly enjoy life. Fill out the coupon

, Naturopath,
Chicago, Ill.

THIS COUPON

path,
nia Ave., Chicago, Ill.
hich please send me postpaid your
n Right Living. I understand
t least one lesson each week until
ntire twenty-five lessons.

Name.....
Address.....
City.....State:.....

Illinois Miners Jobless.

BELLEVILLE, Ill.—Out of the 67 coal mines in Illinois, 24 are closed down. The average number of days worked by those running is two days a week.