

To All Members of CP of a (Section of the CI) and to all Members of the former Opposition

COMRADES:

The unity of the Communist Party of America has been achieved. The "opposition" faction to the Communist Party has decided by practically a unanimous vote at its convention, which has just terminated, to rejoin the American Section of the Communist International.

To insure the organic and lasting unity of the Communist forces, the Special Representative of the Communist International formulated the following conditions which were accepted by the Convention of the "opposition" and approved by the Central Executive Committee of the Party. These conditions follow:

1. AMALGAMATION OF THE UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATIONS.

1. The Convention of the "opposition" shall elect two comrades to be added to the Executive Committee of the Party with right of voice and vote. It shall also elect two alternates.

2. One comrade of the former opposition shall be elected by their convention who shall be one of the delegates sent by the party to the 4th Congress. If the party sends several delegates to the Enlarged Sessions of the Communist International, the most important tendencies existing within the party shall be represented in such delegation.

3. The "opposition" convention shall elect representatives of the most important districts, numbering not less than four, to the Party Council.

NOTE The Party Council consists of the CEC members and of one member from each district. The delegates to the Council from the districts are elected by the Convention of the Party. The Council meets every four months to decide upon a plan of action for the coming months. The decisions of the Council are to be approved by the CEC.

4. The Bureaus of the Language Federations of the Party are to be reconstructed for the amalgamation of the federations in the following manner:

(a) Where federations of one of the parties are overwhelmingly superior in number to that of the other, the Bureau of the larger federation augmented by the addition of several members (one to three) of the less numerous federation shall be approved by the C.E.C. as the Bureau of the respective language federation of the Party.

(b) If the numerical difference between the federations of both sides is not so considerable, the Bureaus of both federations shall be united. The united bureau shall elect an executive committee of five for the administration of current affairs.

(c) In both cases the new bureaus shall conduct all work in the spirit of complete party unity under the political guidance of the C.E.C. In such federations where conventions are forthcoming soon after the amalgamation takes place, these conventions shall elect new bureaus.

5. The members of the former "opposition" shall be represented in the District and Sub-district Executive Committees in numbers corresponding to the numerical strength of the membership returning to the Party. Such committees shall serve until the next regular elections of the Party in District and Sub-districts.

All members of the committees (old as well as new) must carry on all the work of the Party in the spirit of complete unity. The C.E.C. must see to it that all district and sub-district organizers shall not only cease to support the old factional antagonisms in the organization, but should endeavor to earn the entire support of the district and sub-district through their tact and party loyalty. The principle of elective organizers cannot be accepted in a centralized Communist party, especially in an illegal party.

6. It is exceedingly important to bring about a complete unification of the rank and file of the Party down to and including the groups. This organizational readjustment which is to do away with all factional alignments must be combined with the general reorganization of the lower units which the C.E.C. is preparing

in order to make the party apparatus more simple, more real and alive and better adapted to the tasks of the party.

7. The C.E.C. shall appoint a special committee for the carrying out of the organizational unification to be composed of the two members of the C.E.C. of the ranks of the former "opposition" and several members of the old C.E.C. All concrete practical questions must be decided by this committee on the basis of these conditions and in the spirit of liquidation of factionalism and the strengthening of party unity.

8. The C.E.C. of the Y.C.L. shall be augmented by the addition of comrades from the former opposition.

2. THE UNIFICATION OF THE OPEN WORK.

1. All the members of the former opposition must, upon their return to the Party, join the ranks of the L.P.P. and actively work in the branches and governing bodies.

2. The L. O. shall unite with the L.P.P. The Party shall immediately take all necessary steps in order to facilitate this work of the immediate unification of all members of the L. O. in the ranks of the L. P. P.

3. All important and necessary organs under the control of the former "opposition" must be preserved. In liquidating the parallelly existing organs, the Party must take care to preserve their editorial forces, circulation apparatus, as well as the circle of readers acquired by them. This relates especially to the main English weekly.

3. GUARANTEES OF PARTY UNITY.

1. The issues that have provoked the split are outlived. The apprehensions that the illegal party, necessary under the present conditions in America as the guide of the entire communist work in this country, may be dissolved and replaced by a legal party more or less approaching communism, are conclusively dispelled by the clear and definite decisions of the last convention of the party. The phantom of "liquidation" must disappear from amongst our ranks. On the other hand the necessity of open work of every kind and form, in order to connect the Party with the proletarian masses is recognised by all. The L.L.P. exists; if it suffers at present from many and considerable defects, it is the duty of all Communists to double and treble their efforts, to close their ranks and make of the L.L.P. a strong instrument in the hands of the Party. The tremendous growth of the labor movement in connection with the strikes of the last Summer, the consciousness of the necessity of independent political struggle and independent political organization growing monthly in the American working class, create exceptionally favorable conditions for the activity of the C.P. The combination of these internal party and the external circumstances is the best objective guarantee of the possibility and durability of party unity. Inability to utilize

these conditions, to strengthen them by a strong subjective will, would be the greatest crime on the part of American Communists against the working class.

2. The Party must be a unit to include all elements that are now in the official party as well as in the organization of the opposition. No individual nor group must or can be expelled from the Party. On the contrary, the Party must attract into its ranks and assimilate all the elements gravitating towards it. All agitation for new expulsions or splits, from the right or from the left, would be considered as a crime by the Communist International.

3. Organized factions (caucuses) within the Party are inadmissible according to the decisions of the 3rd Congress. Every attempt to create within the Party any organized caucus with its own leadership and its own discipline, must be crushed by the Party in its very inception. There must be no other discipline in the Party, than **Party discipline**.

4. Discussions in party organizations and press upon definite issues may be carried on only by a special decision of the C.E.C. The purpose of such party discussions decided upon by the C.E.C. must be specifically stated. In such cases, the C.E.C. shall supply the organization with the material for discussion **for and against**.

Individual members or groups may recommend to the C.E.C. to place a certain question for discussion but may not themselves raise this discussion in the Party. All decisions and regulations of the C.E.C. especially those concerning a definite action must be carried out without any opposition; it is permitted to discuss only the best ways and means of carrying them into effect. If some one has doubts in regard to the advisability (expediency) of a given decision of the C.E.C. he may communicate his doubts or considerations to the C.E.C.; however, the decision of the C.E.C. must be carried out without delays or sabotage.

5. The most important internal problem of party life is the recreation of the atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence. Especially the comrades from the former opposition must exercise superhuman efforts in order to inwardly overcome factional passions natural in the past and must judge their party comrades not by what they have said or done in the past, but by what they are able to contribute to the Party at the present time. The comrades from the former opposition must also strive to acquire for themselves the trust of their former factional opponents. The best means to attain this is to work for the United Party with the same energy, loyalty and devotion with which they worked for their separate organization.

Resolutions on the Above Conditions

The convention of the former opposition after a thorough discussion, adopted the following resolution:

“RESOLVED BY THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE C. P. OF A. IN SESSION ASSEMBLED THAT WE ACCEPT THE CONDITIONS FOR UNITY AS PROPOSED BY THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE E. C. OF THE C. I. WE DECLARE OUR WHOLE HEARTED DESIRE TO WORK WITHIN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT OF THIS COUNTRY ON THE BASIS OF COMMUNIST DISCIPLINE AS DEMANDED FROM US BY THE COMINTERN.”

The C.E.C. of the Party approved the foregoing

conditions by the unanimous adoption of the following resolution:

“THE C.E.C. DECLARES THAT THE TERMS AGREED UPON BY THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL WITH THE ‘OPPOSITION’ FOR THE RE-UNITING OF THE ‘OPPOSITION’ WITH THE C. P. OF A. SECTION OF THE C. I. ARE IN ACCORD WITH THE POLICY ADOPTED ON THIS SUBJECT BY OUR RECENT CONVENTION.

“THE C.E.C. ACCEPTS THE TERMS AND DECLARES IN THE NAME OF THE PARTY THAT THE ‘OPPOSITION’ MUST IMMEDIATELY BE REINCORPORATED WITH THE PARTY.”

Decisions of the Committee on Amalgamation

In conformity with paragraph 7, Section 1, the Committee on Amalgamation, elected by the C.E.C. has adopted the following rules for the amalgamation of party units. These decisions are to be carried into effect with the same spirit of party unity as expressed in

the conditions formulated by the C.I. representative and adopted by the party.

1. C.E.C. The opposition is to immediately turn over to Secretary of the Party all records, connections, inventory of property, etc. The two members of the

opposition elected by their convention are immediately seated on the C.E.C. of the Party.

2. **DISTRICTS**—The D.O.s of both sides (or the S.D.O.s where the district of the opposition does not geographically correspond to the district of the party) are to get together and make the necessary arrangements for amalgamation of the Districts. Meetings of the D.E.C.s of the Party are to be arranged for, to which members of the opposition elected by their respective D.E.C.s or S.D.E.C.s are to be added as follows:

Party District	Members To Add
District One	2
District Two	3
District Three	3
District Four	2
District Five	2
District Six	5
District Seven	1
District Eight	1
District Nine	1
District Eleven	3
District Twelve	3

Note: Opposition districts 1, 2, 3 and 6 correspond to those of party. Oppos. dist. 7, corresponds to district 8 of party. Oppos. dist. 8, corresponds to district 9 of party. Oppos. sub-dist. 4, corresponds to dist. 11 of party. Remaining sub-districts of Oppos. dist. 4, correspond to district 4, of party. Oppos. dist. 5, corresponds to party districts 5, 7 and 12.

1. Opposition D.O.s or S.D.O.s are to turn over all connections, inventory, cash on hand, etc., to the D.O.s of the Party.

2. The joint D.E.C. formed is to immediately appoint a committee consisting of representatives of both sides to bring about the amalgamation of the lower units of the party in their respective districts.

SUB-DISTRICTS: The Committee on amalgamation elected by the joint D.E.C. shall determine the number of opposition members to be added to S.D.C.s of the respective S.D.E.C. of the opposition.

SECTIONS: Same rule shall apply in amalgamating the Section Committees.

BRANCHES: Branches of opposition shall be amalgamated with the respective language branches of the Party in the same territory. The captains of the opposition groups are to be added to the Branch Executive Committee. Groups not having full quota of members shall be combined by Branch Executive Committee after the amalgamation of the Branches has been completed. Reorganization of Branches may take place upon a mutual agreement between both sides and with the approval of the S.D.C.

DISTRICT CONVENTIONS.

Groups of the opposition shall at once proceed with the election of delegates to District Conventions in accordance with the arrangements made by the D.E.C.s

of the Party. In places where the D.E.C. decided not to hold any District Conventions, the amalgamated D.E.C. shall again take up the question and decide on this matter. The final decision of the D.E.C. is to be approved by the C.E.C.

FEDERATIONS.

1. **Ukrainian:** 2 members elected by the Bur. of the Ukr. Fed. of the Party shall be added to the Bur. of the Ukr. Fed. of the opposition. The joint Bureau is to be recognised as the Bureau of the Ukrainian Federation of the Party.

2. **Polish.** Both bureaus are to be amalgamated. The amalgamated bureau is to elect an Exec. Council of 5 consisting of 3 members from the former opposition and 2 from the party.

3. **Russian.** Both bureaus to be amalgamated. An Exec. Council of 6 to be elected, consisting of 3 members of the former opposition and 3 from the Party.

4. Instructions regarding the Jewish, Lithuanian, Lettish and German Federations, will follow shortly.

5. All other Federations of the Party are not affected.

FINANCES.

Party regulations regarding dues and assessments are immediately to be applied to all members of the Party. The one dollar assessment levied by the C.E.C. on every member of the Party is to apply also to all members of the former opposition. During the period of amalgamation the collection of dues, assessments, etc., shall not be interrupted. Rigid disciplinary measures are to be taken against all those who do not abide by this decision.

MISCELLANEOUS.

All suspensions for advocating unity are to be annulled.

In appointing members to D.E.C. and to other Party committees, the comrades must be guided by the best interests of the Party and not allow themselves to be blinded by past prejudices. Comrades must be judged by what they can contribute to the Party and to the movement and not by the position they held before the convention.

In electing members to the various party committees, non-members of present committees may be designated.

COMRADES:

We urge that the work of amalgamation be carried out with great despatch. This can be done only if the entire party membership enter fully into the task before us—the complete party unity—and overcome any points of difference in true Communist spirit.

September 3rd, 1922.

(SIGNED) J. MILLER

Executive Secretary, Communist Party
of America, Section of the Communist
International.