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Unity of Communist Forces in America

After a split lasting more than nine months, the Communist forces in America have united. The brutal persecutions of the authorities and the shameful slanders of the yellow socialists and the "25,000-a-year labor leaders" threatened to destroy the Communist movement. To the raids in Michigan and Chicago, to the arrests in New York and to the slanders of the Gompers clique, the New York Call and the Daily Forward, the answer of the Communist proletarians in America is:

Workers! Struggle with united forces against capitalism and its lackeys.

To our members and to the working class we send the happy message: **The American Section of the Communist International embraces in its ranks all the Communist elements in the United States.**

Unity was inevitable.

The controversial points that separated Communists from Communists have been settled. That the Communist Party of America must remain an underground party for some time to come has been settled beyond all doubt. The necessity of open political work and organization have also been settled beyond question.

Unity was inevitable.

The International situation is collecting ever more menacing storm clouds over the heads of the capitalist world. The crisis in the question of the German reparations, the victorious advance of the Turkish peasant army, the Greek revolution, the possibility of a new

world war starting in the Near East, the growing might of Soviet Russia, in a word — the approach of a new wave of World Revolution — forces every Communist to devote himself with tenfold energy to the work of the Party.

Unity was inevitable.

The unity between the Social Democrats and the Independent Socialists in Germany, the approaching unity of the Second and the Second-and-a-Half International, the return of the Hillquit Social-Democrats to the International of the murders of the working class, Scheidemann and Noske, — to the International of the royal lackeys, Vandervelde and Branting — make it imperative that we gather all the really revolutionary elements in the American labor movement in one united organization.

Unity was inevitable.

The intervention of the Communist International promoted, hastened and facilitated the work of uniting the Communist forces. **Every Communist was obliged to recognize that any element cut off from the big, living body of the Communist International would perish.**

Unity was inevitable.

Unity had to take place finally and primarily because the tension in the American political life and the ever sharpening class struggle made it absolutely imperative. America is becoming radical. The petty bourgeoisie and the farmers are manifesting more and

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more opposition to the capitalist magnates. The structure of the old capitalist parties is shattered. It is becoming ever more apparent that out of the ruins of the old Republican and Democratic parties there will arise a new alignment: on the one hand, an alignment of the conservatives, and on the other, the radical petty bourgeois and farmer elements. What, however, is of far greater importance is that the tremendous masses of the American workers, who have been politically dormant for such a long time, are awakening. The war, the vast unemployment, the open shop movement, the reduction of wages, have forcibly opened the eyes of the workers. The miners' strike and shopmen's strike have left unforgettable lessons. Ever larger masses of workers are beginning to recognize the present decentralized form of labor unionism does not furnish a sufficiently sharp weapon in the struggle against the exploiters; and again, that they can put up a winning industrial struggle only if they extend the struggle to the political field. The brutal intervention of the capitalist State power in the latest labor struggles has focused the attention of the workers upon the question of State power, political power, and of an independent labor party.

The development of political life in America has reached a new epoch. The labor movement of America stands before a new era. **Only the Communist movement can be the heir to the bankrupt leadership of Gompers and his ilk.**

Our Communist Party stands face to face with big tasks.

These tasks are so gigantic as to challenge even our united forces. Failure to effect unity of the Communist forces in America would have been treason to the mission of the Communist Party in this historic

period. **The work of each and every Communist is required.** Unity has been achieved in a comradely spirit. **Every comrade, without distinction as to the faction he formerly belonged to, will be given opportunity to devote 100 per cent of his energy to the Party work.**

Vast tasks and work await us.

We must organize the defense of all persecuted workers.

We must penetrate the trade unions and transform them into militant, fighting bodies.

We must lead into the class struggle the millions of foreign-born workers in this country and organize them for the fight, for the liberation of the American working class can only be the achievement of the united efforts of the English-speaking and the foreign-born workers of this country.

We must develop and bring to consciousness every tendency in the labor movement of America for independent political action on the part of the workers, for an independent political party of the working class.

Wonderful historical perspectives are opened to us. **The capitalist government will continue to persecute us; but these persecutions will only strengthen us, for they take place in the midst of a labor movement which daily is becoming more militant and radical.**

Comrades! Forward to work, shoulder to shoulder!
Long live Communist Unity!

Long live the Communist International!

J. Davis, for the former Opposition.

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

Wilke, Spécial Representative of the Communist International.

September 30th, 1922.

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 C.E.C. 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 C.E.C.

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 30th, 1922.

(SIGNED) J. MILLER

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

A View on the Former Opposition and Our Present Unity

Second Extract from Report of the Representative of the Communist International to the Presidium of the C. I.

As a continuation of my previous report, I shall depict to you in the following the progress and the results of the work of liquidating the Opposition.

1. A few days after my arrival I had two talks with an ad hoc selected committee of the C.E.C. of the Opposition, consisting of four persons. At first the members of the committee were irreconcilable, repeated the "conditions" laid down by their organization in May (after the return of Moore), the most important of which was the expulsion of the "liquidators", and attacked the Party most violently. They also boasted of having developed extensive legal work in the meantime ("entirely in the spirit of the tactics and directions of the Comintern"). They also showed me a collection of the issues of their legal weekly and two special bulletins one of which was devoted to the coal strike, the other to the railroad strike. I rejected the "conditions" as not even to be discussed. I took pains demonstrate to them the hopelessness of their existence as a separate organization, emphasized the fact that every attempt to postpone the matter (by appealing to the Fourth Congress etc.) would merely impair their situation. I especially parried their attacks on the Party by a minute examination of the contents of these attacks. The fact that they produced their open legal activity as their highest trump card proved, I told them, that the pretended cleft between the two sides did not exist; that the existing differences had been constructed by factional passion (and factional gossip). Thus they combatted the formation of a legal political party, but several months after the split formed a legal political organization and tried to explain away the contradiction by hair-splitting arguments on the difference between the idea of a "party" and an "organization". (Their legal organization had about 1,200 members as against 2,500 in the illegal organization.) At our second session, upon my request, they laid before me a questionnaire containing the points of greatest importance to them and which I answered in writing in that session, in order to leave authentic signs of our discussions. (See report of opposition convention). As I later learned, my replies were sent out to the Districts as material. For several weeks I interrupted these negotiations with the opposition, owing to my being occupied with other work. It later turned out that the first meetings with the representatives of the Opposition had been the beginning of lively discussions in their ranks which

were to have a decisive influence on the results of their convention. (More in detail below).

II. Shortly after my arrival conferences of the two largest federations of the Opposition took place: the Polish (about 450 members) and the Ukrainian (800 members). I attended the Polish conference. It voted unanimously to affirm the necessity of reuniting, and asked the C.E.C. to hold a Party convention within six weeks, in order to effect this; otherwise, they would return to the Party on their own account. As I could not attend the Ukrainian conference, for various technical reasons, I sent them a detailed letter. They passed a similar motion. It may be remarked that the representative of the C.E.C. at the Polish conference **fought against** unity, whereas at the Ukrainian conference, which took place after my first talks with the C.E.C., the representative of the C.E.C. **advocated** return to the Party.

III. On the eve of the convention, which took place at the end of September, the situation in the Opposition was as follows. There were two opposing tendencies. One contained the convinced believers in unity, the other fought unity with all bitterness. The extremists accused the advocates of unity of betraying the Opposition and of having become tools of the representative of the C. I. An issue of the organ of the Opposition which appeared before the convention reflected the situation: it contains two articles written by members of the C.E.C. advocating unity and two articles against unity.

The convention met. There were present 24 district delegates with vote, in addition to C.E.C. members, federation secretaries and editors with voice but no vote. From the very beginning, the convention divided into two caucuses: the opponents of unity (they called themselves the opponents of "unconditional surrender") had a majority of 12 votes to 9. The large majority of those without vote were for unity. The majority was composed of two groups: factional extremists of different languages and several Americans (from Boston) with syndicalist tendencies under the leadership of two Letts.

The debate on "International Relations" was introduced by a long address by the representative of the C.I. and lasted three days. Twenty-eight speakers took part in the debate. Your representative stressed the following points: The possible differences do not justify the continuance of the split; the question of responsibility is a secondary matter, the blunders made by the C.E.C.

of the Party in December, last year, did not justify the frivolous split and the breaking of all discipline even to the Comintern; in the most important questions in dispute (the formation of an L.P.P.) the Opposition was absolutely wrong; the demand that a group of comrades (the "liquidators"), who had proven to be good Communists, valuable and indispensable elements for the Party be expelled, the demand for a new split, had to be rejected; in the present situation, not only would expulsions be a crime, but the Party must make efforts to attract all elements gravitating towards it, even those not yet fully Communist, and get them into its ranks. On the other hand, the Opposition had proven by its activity that it did not intend to develop into a consistently left-radical group, that it accepted in principle the tactics laid down by the C.I. Its opposition was based more on faction radicalism than on political radicalism. The unimportance in real differences between the Party and the Opposition made unity possible; while the general situation in America, the big perspectives opened to the Communist movement by the struggles of last summer, the gigantic tasks before the Party make immediate unity necessary. In conclusion the representative of the C. I. warned against an insincere unity, unity with reservations, with a stone in the hand, unity which might lead to new factional fights and new splits. Such unity however, would not take place: we would disclose the concealed stone; we intend to effect guarantees not only for the equal rights of these returning to the Party but also for real, enduring unity of the Party.

In the debate the advocates of unity emphasized chiefly the necessity of international discipline, the hopelessness of the struggle against the C.I. They also attacked the exaggerations and falsehoods which their opponents had made use of in their fight against the Party. The opponents of unity collected a large mass of so-called "material", but could not build up any kind of serious program for the continuance of the Opposition as an independent party. They sometimes gave one the impression of having already given up the fight, and were only pursuing the naive tactic of procuring better "conditions" by adopting a relentless attitude.

IV. The end of the debate was quite dramatic. The minority made a motion to accept unity on the basis of the decisions made by the C. I. on the American question. Thereupon a speaker of the majority made an amendment containing 7 conditions, the first of which demanded the exclusion of four "liquidators" mentioned by name (which list, it stated, could be extended), the second the replacement of five members of the C.E.C. of the Party by five members of the Opposition. The representative of the C.I. immediately made a written declaration to the effect that he would regard the passing of the amendment by the convention as a rejection of the decisions of the C.I. and would discontinue all negotiations with the convention. After making this declara-

tion, he was forced to leave the room, owing to other work. A vote was taken in his absence. The minority demanded that the majority withdraw its amendment; the majority made a condition that the minority withdraw its motion, which the latter refused. When the vote was taken, the amendment passed by 12 votes to 8. Thereupon the minority declared that it no longer considered itself a part of the convention and would leave. The next day the minority sent a time ultimatum to the majority: either the majority must reverse its decision, or the minority would enter into negotiations with the representative of the C.I. on its own account. The majority surrendered. The minority returned, and after a discussion lasting several hours, a motion was passed embodying the ideas that had been advanced by the minority. A committee of five members was elected to confer with the representative of the C.I. on the conditions of unity.

V. The procedure from then on was as follows. The C.E.C. of the Party had agreed that the conditions of unity should not be decided by negotiations between the two sides, but should be formulated by the representative of the C.I. after hearing both sides, and should be couched on the basis and in the spirit of the old decisions of the C.I. After talking for several hours with the committee of the Opposition convention, during which the irreconcilables spoke quite differently from two days before, the representative of the C.I. formulated the terms of unity in writing. (See terms). They consist of three paragraphs. Paragraph 2 demanded the unconditional entrance of all members of the Party into the L. P.P. and active work there, and the amalgamation of the legal organization of the Opposition with it. Paragraph 1 took up the method of fusing the illegal Party organizations from top to bottom on the basis of equal rights of all Party members. Paragraph 3 considered the guarantees for the future unity of the Party. In an annex, which is not to be published, was demanded the collective obligation the Opposition convention never and in no form to raise in the united Party the demands made in the majority amendment at the Opposition convention.

These conditions were accepted by the convention of the Opposition by all against four votes.

VI. The C.E.C. of the Party accepted them un-animously. A committee of 5 members (three old, and two new) were elected to carry out the work of unity. (See Manifesto and circulars of this committee).

VII. Characterization of the former Opposition and the present unity.

The former Opposition consisted as a whole of good Communist elements. The possible germs of left-radical conceptions or tendencies have not crystallized into a systematic left-radicalism. In fact they were perhaps no stronger than manifest in some circles that remained in the Party. This must be emphasized, since the keen

struggle against the Party, the separate existence, the expulsion from the Comintern, etc., would have tended to make a group charged with left-radicalism a real left-radical group. It is in fact quite remarkable that this split-off group charged with left-radicalism made every effort to prove that it not only accepted the policy of work among the masses, of participation in the daily struggle of the workers, of exploiting the possibilities of open "legal" activities, but really applied it (it is true, after a delay of a few months). In fact, this group boasted of its open activities. Left-radical or sectarian tendencies, prejudices and traditions are a universal disease of our American Communist movement. They cannot be removed by a surgical operation, but can be overcome only by extensive, persistent educational work. The past year with its splits, internal factional controversies, attempts at open work on a broad basis, the influence of the CI and finally the unification of the Party in an atmosphere of a rising labor movement, have contributed not a little to this educational work. It was not the shortest or least painful method: but it was a method.

The Party has been decidedly strengthened by the return of the Opposition, the prodigal son. It will contribute valuable elements for all fields of Party work, for trade union work, the press, open political work, for major and minor organizational work. At one stroke, it represents a large numerical growth; as regards quality, the elements returning to the Party are, taken all in all, equal to those in the Party.

The great specific defects marking the members of the former Opposition were their light valuation of Party discipline, their frivolity in causing Party splits, and their inability to perceive the importance of Communist Party unity. These are serious and extremely dangerous defects. But these defects are the product of the whole previous history of the Communist movement of America. The Party, as a party, not as a loose conglomeration of language federations, has developed no real political activity in America. It has not been connected by means of thousands of threads with the outer reality, with the working masses, with their organizations and struggles. Its whole life has been an "inner" life: debates, discussions, groupings, formation of caucuses, reorganizations—the conception of the Party as a

difference, some said, if this party, a party of this kind, was split and broken up!

fighting party has not been a live one. What was the Party discipline, Party unity, Party confidence, responsibility, Party patriotism, up to a short time ago, were empty words in America. No moral sermons could change it. Now there is real substance, living content, to the idea of the Party. Only in this way can the defects be remedied.

It has been stated by sceptics both in the Party and in the former Opposition that the present unity runs the risk of being as fragile as the unity of 1921: the same people, the same factions are concerned; that organic amalgamation has not taken place, but only artificial unity under the pressure of the CI. Without giving myself any illusions as to the idyllic life that the reconciled brothers will live together, without closing my eyes to the many dangers threatening not only Party unity but the very existence of the Party. I have a different opinion on this matter than the sceptics have.

A number of organizational guarantees of unity have been created which are not to be underrated. Between 1921 and 1922 there has passed a year of experiences for all participants; it is not necessary to forget anything but only to learn a little in order to become wiser from these experiences. The most significant, however, is that unity has taken place at a time when, if all signs do not mislead, a change has taken place in the history of the American labor movement. The most important point is that our Party is beginning, not only in theory but also in practice, to place the center of gravity of its work in outer activities. The most important thing is that the order of business of its sessions is not occupied with "inner", more or less fictitious questions, but with real problems of the struggles of the American working class and our work within these struggles. The most important is that our Party is about to become a real party.

It is possible that the path of this development will not be a straight one; it is probable that it will be a stumbling one. The effects of the past will burden it for a long time. We shall experience some more splits, some Don Quixotte revolts. Party splits, frivolous caucus fights paralyzing all Party life for months and years, in my opinion, are things of the past.

CORRECTION: In the publication of the Decisions of the Second Annual Convention in issue No. 10 of the Official Organ, an error was made. In Section II., Relations of the C. P. to L. P. P., paragraph 5 (page 4) should have read as follows:

5. The whole work of the Communists in the L.P. P. must be carried out according to the following rules: (etc.)

Report of Convention of the Opposition

The convention of the "Opposition" organization of Communists decided to reunite with the Communist Party recognized by the Communist International. If the report of that event necessarily records some bygone controversies, the comrades are asked to remember that those wounds are now healed and must not be re-opened. History, merely is recorded here. As the convention of the Opposition represented a large number of comrades who are now incorporated in the Communist Party of America, Section of the Communist International, a report of that gathering finds its place in the official organ.

Written by a comrade of the former opposition, a participant in the convention.

The convention of the former "opposition" in the Communist movement of America was held recently and, after eight days' debate, decided to re-enter the ranks of the Party recognized by the Third International.

There were twenty-four regularly elected delegates and a number of fraternal delegates, as well as members of the C.E.C., editors, etc.

There were at first three distinct factions in the convention, divided as follows: nine in favor of immediately achieving unity on the basis of the decisions of the C. I.; six who were opposed to unity on any basis except complete capitulation of the other side (the recognized C. P.), and nine who thought it advisable to oppose immediate unity in order to obtain better terms. The two latter factions worked together until the final day, when two factions joined in accepting the decisions of the convention to unite. Only four delegates held out in voting against unity throughout the entire convention.

The report of the secretary of the C.E.C. was read as follows:

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE "OPPOSITION"

The special conference called by the Central Caucus last January declared itself as the emergency convention of the C.P. of A. There was no other course left for the convention after the expulsion of several thousand members from the party. It was clear to every one that the majority of the C.E.C. wanted to liquidate the C. P.A., and to organize together with the centrist elements a number two to take the place of the no. 1. Thus the organization of a no. 2, and the practical methods applied in its creation became the main cause of the split of the communist forces in this country. If the C.E.C. (majority) would have called an underground convention at a time to the organization of the no. 2,

according to the instructions received from comrade Zinoviev, the impending split would have been prevented. The criminal policy of the C.E.C. (majority) in terrorizing its own membership on the one hand, and making overtures to the centrists on the other, was instrumental in breaking all faith in the C.E.C. and the consequent disruption of the entire party.

The central caucus did all in its power to prevent a split in the party. They even sent communications to the membership to refuse to be browbeaten by the C.E.C. and to remain within the party in spite of all the provocations and attempts on the part of the C.E.C. and its agents to force them out.

Soon the ruthlessness of the C.E.C. threatened the annihilation of the entire movement. Branches, sections, and subdistricts were expelled from the party. The entire party was in a chaotic condition. In order to organize the expelled and suspended forces we were compelled to take decisive action against those who attempted to break and destroy the communist party in this country.

The January convention has elected a C.E.C. of the party, and an international delegate to present our case before the Third International.

Our C.E.C. took advantage of the Labor unrest and utilised it for communist propaganda. If the comrades will only take into consideration the fact that the C.E.C. consisted entirely of workers recruited from the factory, and was devoid of intellectual forces, they will understand the difficulties under which the C.E.C. had to labor. The convention decided to issue a paper and the C.E.C. carried these instructions in spite of the fact that we did not possess a single comrade capable of editing a paper. With the greatest difficulties we finally succeeded in procuring a comrade from the shop where he received a much larger salary, and compelled him to take that job. He has since turned out to be one of the most fit and capable comrades for that work.

During the short time of its existence our party has succeeded in organizing nuclei in many of the basic industries. Our nuclei have captured many locals of the during the recent elections. Our strike publication has helped us a great deal to revolutionise the miners. We have nuclei (also) in the following industries:—

Our party held 139 mass meetings and 111 lectures. [The word "party" throughout this report refers to opposition organization except in the case of the answers given by the representative of the C.I.—Editor.] This does not include the mass meetings and lectures arranged by the federations, who held hundreds of meetings and lectures monthly.

Some of the chief tasks of the party fell upon the

editorial committee, which met regularly every week, worked out the policy of our papers, issued on many occasions leaflets of national character which were printed and distributed in the districts to the number of 700,000 illegal, and 100,000 legal leaflets of a local nature. The C.E.C. had no special editor for the number 1 paper; hence the entire burden of issuing the paper fell upon the whole editorial committee, mostly upon the editor of the no. 2 paper. The C.E.C. has issued 6 issues of paper no. 1 amounting to 30,000 copies. All the other committees were likewise overburdened with work; the same comrades however, did the work of all the committees.

No C.E.C. in the history of the communist movement in this country has ever been confronted with so many grave problems: the fight for our recognition by the Third International and the participation in the gigantic struggles of the workers. Let us analyse and see if the C.E.C. did really carry out the instructions of the convention, and if it has created a party of ACTION? Ours was the only organization that did real constructive work in connection with the great strike wave that swept this country. By participating in the everyday struggles of the workers our party has gained prestige for the communist movement in this country and for the Third International.

In accordance with the thesis adopted at the emergency convention the C.E.C. launched the b. It has now 70 branches in all parts of the country with a membership of over 1200. The b could have been developed into a mass organization if the comrades had thrown all their energy and efforts into its development. But some of the comrades looked at it as a by-product of the movement. They accepted the b, not because they realised the necessity of building a legal instrument with which to reach the masses, but because the Third International wanted it. And this is one of the reasons why the b could not as yet become an effective force in the American labor movement. All the conditions were ripe for the development of that organization. It appealed to the workers, because its form and elasticity were better fitted to reach the large masses than any other organization. Much more effective work could have been done if the proper men existed who could be placed at head of the b. The influence of the b is actually much greater proportionately than its actual strength in membership.

The C.E.C. has created a paper no. 2, a paper which can be classified as one of the best labor papers in this country. Everyone who reads our paper likes it. Even our political enemies admit that our paper deserves attention. But we are forced to admit that the rank and file of our organization did not support our paper wholeheartedly. Our membership could have done much more and made greater efforts in distributing our paper and placing it in the hands of thousands of workers. With

more effective and systematic distribution our paper could become the most popular labor paper in the country. We must say that the paper was the first carrier of news on labor questions, and its articles and manifestos have been reprinted by many European labor papers.

Our party has taken an active part in the textile strike and has sent a special organizer to work there. We have also issued...leaflets in the strike,...of which were of a legal nature and one was signed by the C.P.A. We have collected food and money for the strikers.

Even before the declaration of the mine strike the C.E.C. issued instructions to our membership how to utilise the strike situation and to do effective work among the strikers. An underground leaflet was also issued to the miners and was well distributed in all the coal fields, and 3 special organizers were sent to take charge of the agitation among the strikers. Our speakers and agitators held many meetings and addressed thousands of striking miners, until they were stopped by the authorities. With the first days of the strike the C.E.C. prepared to meet the situation by issuing a special strike paper. This paper came to play a great part in the miners struggle, and soon gained a marked influence over masses of strikers. In the entire coal fields no paper was as popular as this one. Two hundred and seventy-five thousand copies of it were spread over the coal fields. In that paper we have constantly linked up the everyday struggle of the miners and their strike experiences with the ABC of Communism. We have succeeded in sowing the seeds of Communism in the coal mines.

Our party did not miss the splendid opportunity for communist agitation which presented itself with the Railroad strike. We hurled a timely and powerful circular to the railroad workers which all the capitalist papers reprinted. The leaflets were distributed to the strikers by the hundreds of thousands. The C.E.C. has also issued and distributed 75,000 copies of a paper devoted entirely to the interests of the railroad strikers. The paper became so popular that we received many requests from railroad workers throughout the country for that publication. We participated actively in the struggle of the strikers, pointing out to them the treachery of their leaders, teaching them the inevitability of more effective action against their exploiters, and drew Communist lessons from their everyday experiences, turning their attention toward the class nature of the government in its attempts against labor.

For the first time in the history of the Communist movement in this country the Communist Party issued a direct appeal to the soldiers and sailors. The appeal was issued at a time when the government sent troops to guard scabs in the mines and on the railroads. Our appeal was distributed among the soldiers in the strike

areas so effectively that it caused a sensation in the War Department, and was featured in all the newspapers of the country.

Our members were also on the job in many strikes of local importance like the car strike in Chicago, etc., where our members have taken an active part and issued leaflets.

On the question of the c, the C.E.C. had to adopt a policy not to split the organization. The other tried its best to force a split in the organization and pronounced us counter revolutionists In several places our delegates were suspended even when they represented trade unions. We have prevented a split in the c only by our efforts and the intelligence of our membership. Our membership lost all confidence in the administration of the c. Our C.E.C. has sent a letter to the Ex. of the c requesting them to permit our organization to be represented on the Ex. comm. of the c in order that our members may regain confidence in that organization. Our proposition was rejected; but in spite of the fact the C.E.C. sent out instructions that all should be sent thru the c our C.E.C. had to take the same attitude on the d and the e, and instructions were sent out to the membership to participate actively in the organization of the latter.

As soon as our representative returned from the other side, all the information on the question of international relations was properly transmitted to the membership. As soon as the time of his arrival was made known to us the C.E.C. called a conference of all D.O.'s, federation secretaries, members of the C.E.C. and editors, for the purpose of discussing the international situation. After a conference all the delegates with the exception of two members of the C.E.C. decided in favor of a declaration: rejecting the Carr-Moore agreement.

The C.E.C. acted in conformity with the recommendations of the conference and issued the declaration to the membership in the name of the C.E.C. Upon the two members who voted against the declaration fell the entire burden of defending the position of the conference. It must be stated that although they had voted against the declaration they have carried it out to the best of their ability both in letter and in spirit. Moore's going over to the other side and his campaign to destroy our party made it quite a difficult task to keep the membership together. It was necessary to send a comrade to tour the country after Moore and to debate the issues with him. A slogan was issued by the C.E.C. to wait for the arrival of the special representative. The first federation that decided to desert us and to go over to the other side was the Lithuanian federation whose representatives voted in favor of the declaration. We had received a few demands from the bureau to the effect that the C.E.C. should reconsider their stand on

unity and decide to go over to the other side before the 25th of June. The C.E.C. decided to reaffirm the decision and stand taken by the party conference; and the result was that the Lithuanian federation was split. One part went over to the other side, many remained with us and some dropped out from the movement. The C.E.C. did everything in its power to maintain the unity of the federation. Many circulars and instructions to that effect have been issued to the party organizers.

When the special representative arrived in this country the C.E.C. elected a committee on International relations. The committee met with the representative on two occasions. They presented and defended the conditions for unity laid down by the conference. At the second meeting the committee, upon the request of the representative of the International, presented a series of questions which he answered in writing, as follows:

ANSWERS OF C. I. REPRESENTATIVE.

"(1)—Did you read our literature?

"A.—Yes.

"(2)—Is our agitation and propaganda in accord with the position of the Third International?

"A.—In general, yes, with one important exception, viz: integral part of the stand in relation to America is essential condition in carrying out its political policies of unconditional unity of Communist forces in C. P. This condition is organically linked with whole policy of the Comintern in relation to America.

"To this condition your activity is not satisfactory. Further, the Comintern considers necessary the creation and development of L. P. P. You want only legal non-political organisation.

"But I state with satisfaction that your organization is tending toward open activity in connection with the vital needs of working class, especially in connection with the strikes. This convinces me more than ever that unity is not only necessary, but possible.

"In relation to trade union activity, the explanation given by you orally on this question shows that also in this field your position coincides with the policy of the Third International. The center of gravity must be co-ordinated with it.

"The unification of independent unions into one body, which is defended by some of your members as their personal opinion, appears to the Third International as dangerous tactics.

"About your relation to the . . . , I take into consideration your declaration that you (regardless of your critical attitude toward selection of personnel of the leaders) are ready to support it in any way, and that if until now your members were not so actively working in it, as was demanded of you by your party, it was only

because they were systematically eliminated by leaders of the same.

“(3)—Did you read their literature?”

“A.—Yes.

“(4)—Is their agitation and propaganda in accord with the Third International?”

“A.—Yes. It is necessary to strengthen their control over legal papers and, in case of necessity, publicly, in the press, to come out against those articles that depart from the policy of the Third International.

“(5)—Did you place responsibility for the split?”

“A.—In the formation of the L. P. P. the majority of the C. E. C. committed a series of mistakes. The expulsions from the party of members was not confirmed by the Comintern, because the Comintern, regardless of the disorganising activities of the expelled, demanded from the party their readmission.

“But the split, namely the exodus from the party and the creation, together with the expelled, of a new party under the old name, is the fault of the leaders of your organization, reinforced by the obstinate refusal to fulfill the demand of the Comintern and to liquidate the split. This fault is increased more by the insignificant tactical differences.

“(6)—Did the C. E. C. majority apply correct tactics in lining up the membership for the policies of the Third International?”

“A.—On the whole, yes.

“(7)—Did you find tendencies for liquidation?”

“A.—There are no elements in the C. P. tending toward liquidation. i. e., disbanding existing C. P. in favor of an entirely open. C. P. and therefore to make superfluous the existence of No. 1. This optimism, in relation to legal possibilities in the near future has created, outside the party, as within the ranks, the fear that the No. 1 may be liquidated if there is not enough attention paid to its existence now. These fears may and must be dispelled with the mere statement of the fact that all elements of the No. 1 agree on the following affirmation:—In the present situation in the U. S. the maintenance of the illegal C. P., as the directing force of the entire Communist work is absolutely necessary; the center of gravity of the work must lie in open (legal) activity.

“(8)—Do you believe it to be a breach of discipline to persist in propaganda tending to liquidate the No. 1, after the issuance of the November 21 document?”

“(9)—Should, in your opinion, those who show tendencies toward liquidation be placed in responsible positions in the party?”

“BOTH THE ABOVE QUESTIONS” ANSWERED BY REPLY TO No. 7.

“(10)—What do you propose to do with the publications:,, and?”

“A.—The two latter are only temporary for the duration of the strikes and will be disposed of soon. As a whole it is clear that there must be full amalgamation of party press. I consider that it is not impossible, if a complete liquidation of the split is accomplished, that an organ like the may be maintained, — it is understood under full control of the C. E. C.

“(11)—How do you propose to amalgamate the federations?”

“A.—Practical methods of unity between federations cannot be identical for all, regardless of numbers. In general the existing bureaus of federations of the opposition, just as all party institutions, must be disbanded. Until the new elections in the already united federations (the date of which is defined at the time of unity) the existing bureaus of the C. E. C. of the party must be, according to my opinion, completed with co-optated members from the opposition.

“(12)—Do you think our side should have representation in the party?”

“A.—Same as 11.

“(13)—Do you think that our side will be represented in the Third International?”

“A.—According to the whole practice of the Comintern, including the matter of delegates to World Congresses and even to Enlarged Sessions of the E. C. of the C. I., comrades are included representing all existing tendencies in the party. If unity in America will occur in time there must naturally be representation of the opposition in the Fourth Congress.”

EFFECT OF NEGOTIATIONS.

The committee on international relations made its report to the CEC, and after a thoro discussion of the entire situation 4 out of 5 present (2 being absent on party duties) expressed their opinion that they will favor unity on certain conditions.

The Polish federation and also the Russian federation requested the CEC to call a convention of the party. The Polish federation had their convention first. The CEC sent a representative to the convention. The international delegate requested permission to attend the conference and it was granted by the secretary of the party. The Polish federation convention decided to demand that the CEC call a convention within six weeks. Should the party not grant this request the Polish federation will go over to the party recognised by the Third International. The Ukrainian convention accepted a resolution as recommendation to the party convention to achieve unity in spite of the principle differences that exist on the question of the L. P. P. and also their attitude toward the liquidators and centrists of the other side. The Lettish bureau has issued an appeal to their members to boycott the party