
Circular Letter to All District Organizers and Federation Secretaries of the CPA from William Weinstone, Executive Secretary, Jan. 10, 1922. †

Document in the Comintern Archive, RGASPI, f. 515, op. 1, d. 97, l. 2.

Jan. 10, 1922.

TO ALL DOs AND FED SECYS.

Provide your own code for parts coded and send down with key to the membership. This is part of a report. Full report will be sent within a few days. These instructions are binding on all members.

Excerpt of report of Exec. Secy. Lewis [Weinstone] on adjustment of #1 [CPA] and #2 [WPA] made at the Xmas gathering [1st Convention WPA: New York, Dec. 23-26, 1921]:

The complete and satisfactory adjustment of #1 [CPA] and #2 [WPA] is the next problem that the Party must solve.

We have had no experience in the form of organization which we are at the present time building. Up to the present, we have been functioning as a Party under conditions of suppression. The form of organization was adapted to this condition and although the machinery was cumbersome, there was no particular problem of organization. Today in constructing the #2 [WPA], we are confronted with the problem of adjusting the #1 [CPA] to the #2 [WPA] in such a manner as not to hamper the growth of #2 [WPA] and at the same time not allow #1 [CPA] to fall into disuse.

The need for #2 [WPA] does not have to be

emphasized. It is by this time definitely established that without such an organization we cannot hope to draw the broad masses to us. ON the other hand, the need for maintaining a virile #1 [CPA] machinery to assure the uninterrupted activity of the Party as well as to insure the necessary 5/1 7/3 9/1 1/3 7/1 9/2 9/1 [I L L E G A L]‡ work, should require no argument — certainly not for comrades who are acquainted with the conditions under which we work and with the general policy of the Comintern. The Thesis declares: ‘The Party must perfect its PRELIMINARY revolutionary work on the basis of preparedness, for it is frequently next to impossible to foresee the changeable waves, stormy and calm periods; and even in cases where it might be possible, this foresight cannot in many cases be made use of for reorganization, because the change frequently comes quite suddenly.’

Granting these two organizations, the problem consists of adjusting one to the other. This problem will be definitely solved at the next convention of #1 [CPA], which will take place within a few months.§ Actual experience will tell us what rearrangements, if any, are necessary. The members must give their earnest consideration to this problem and solve it in a realistic fashion, on the basis of the needs of the Party.

For the present we may be guided by the following rules:

We, the 2/1 1/5 of 10/1 [CP of A] — 7/2 9/8 - 8/1 1/3 2/1 of the 10/5 11/7 [A.M. SEC. of the CI] are to have undisputed control of the #2 [WPA].

†- Will Weinstone (Dec. 15, 1897-Oct. 1985) served as Executive Secretary of the CPA from Oct. 15, 1921 to Feb. 22, 1922.

‡- Weinstone uses the November 1921 “Money Order Code” in this document. Exact decode transcription is provided here.

§- This issue was, in fact, a central matter of contention at the 2nd Convention of the CPA, held at Bridgman, Michigan. Due to a fluid factional situation, this convention was delayed until August 17-22, 1922.

It is our 1/10 1/3 10/10 9/2 7/3 [L E G A L] expression. It must, however, not be a mechanical control. Such would only be harmful to the organization. It must be a control through numbers, through better organization, through activity, through fusion with the #2 [WPA]. This control must be used not for a particular sect interest, but for the development of a mass organization.

There must be no talk of liquidation. Instead, we must strengthen our #1 [CPA] machinery and recruit every active member into its ranks, making him or her part of the 10/1 9/8 - 8/1 1/3 5/2 [A M. S E C.], thus making easier and with less conflict the control of the #2. If as so we cannot win over the most active members of #2 [WPA], then we are not worthy of the name. We must act as a UNIT within the #2 [WPA]. This must not be a machine rule. The control must be more REAL than APPARENT. The actual carrying out of this instruction must be left to the intelligence of the membership. No minute laws can be laid down.

District Committees.

District Committees of #1 [CPA] will function as District Committees of #2 [WPA] except where it is advisable or necessary to have others.

Where DEC of #1 [CPA] and #2 [WPA] are the same, there are no difficulties. Where DEC of #2 [WPA] consists of a majority of all of DEC #1 [CPA] and additional #1 [CPA] members, not members of DEC #1 [CPA], the other members should be present at DEC #1 [CPA] meetings and upon all matters of #2 [WPA] they shall have a voice and vote. These joint meetings amount to a caucus of work in #2 [WPA].

#1 [CPA] DEC's shall not discontinue their meetings. They shall be held regularly. The other members of #1 [CPA], members of DEC #2 [WPA] but not of DEC #1 [CPA], may be invited to such meetings, as fraternal members, with voice but not vote, having the same status as education and industrial organizers on the DEC #1 [CPA], previously.

Where the DEC #2 [WPA] consists of DEC #1 [CPA] members and in addition members of #2 [WPA] who are not members of #1 [CPA], the DEC #1 [CPA] members shall act as a caucus in their DEC #2 [WPA] meetings.

THIS GENERAL RULE SHALL HOLD

ALSO FOR SUBORDINATE UNITS.

Party DOs.

Where DOs of #1 [CPA] and #2 [WPA] are the same, DO #1 [CPA] shall make arrangements to take care of #1 [CPA]. Special attention must be given to the matter of files, records, literature, and connections so as not to expose the connections between #1 [CPA] and #2 [WPA] in writing. Connections of #1 [CPA] must be made doubly secure now. Copies of them shall be deposited with two comrades — one with the Assistant to the DO and the other with one of most trustworthy members of DEC #1 [CPA].

Where, because of inability of the DO #1 [CPA] to serve also as DO #2 [WPA], either for personal reasons or because other groups in #2 [WPA] must be given representation, the DO of #1 [CPA] shall continue to serve in his present capacity.

Where DOs of other groups come into office, the DEC #1 [CPA] must cooperate with him, and must direct his activities so that he carries out the policies and principles of the Comintern and does not limit the District activities to parliamentary campaigns.

Dues.

The dues in the #1 [CPA] shall be reduced to 25¢ taking effect Jan. 1st [1922].

Press.

The press of #1 [CPA] shall devote itself to the following tasks:

1. To continue the fight against Leftism with the object of winning over the Leftists to our policies.

2. To discuss matters and documents, which for obvious reasons cannot be printed in the press of #2 [WPA].

3. To clarify issues. The problem of #1 [CPA] and #2 [WPA] work; the nature of the state; the role of the forces in the Proletarian 12/3 11/3 10/17 12/2 9/1 8/3 8/4 5/1 5/3 6/1 [R E V O L U T I O N] and similar problems.

4. To discuss the problems of the #1 [CPA] in all its phases. The members are requested to make contributions and especially for the next few issues which

will be concerned with the problems that are to come before the #1 [CPA] Convention.

Meetings.

The meetings of #1 [CPA] and #2 [WPA] shall be held in accordance with previous instructions — alternately, each week. However, if further adjustment shall be necessary, such adjustment shall be guided by the following: #1 [CPA] meetings shall be regular and shall be held prior to #2 [WPA]. These meetings may be long or short according to necessity, but the DOs are instructed not to permit #1 [CPA] meetings to be discontinued.

Conclusion.

The CEC expects the members to use their intelligence and good judgement in carrying out these instructions. As we go along, further adjustments may be necessary, and we shall make them.

The proper forms for the building up of a mass movement under c [Communist] influence is in general outline, now established.

We are trying to build up a c [Communist] mass movement in this country. Whether we shall achieve this end depends largely upon the earnestness and discipline of the membership. Discipline is the cornerstone upon which we can accomplish this. Anyone who attempts to break down the discipline of #1 [CPA] demoralizes our organization and has no place in its ranks.

G. Lewis [Will Weinstone],
Execsec.

Edited with footnotes by Tim Davenport.

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