

SHOULD ENDORSE THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL. It means also strengthening the syndicalist sentiment and weakening the Communist sentiment in the I. W. W. It means that the U. C. P. demands at the most merely to sacrifice to Communism such as they themselves pay to the Third International in order to come to an understanding with the I. W. W. It means that the U. C. P. is ready to throw its whole strength to building up the I. W. W. on the basis of syndicalist or semi-syndicalist tactics.

It is quite certain that those of the rank and file members of the I. W. W. who are also Communists, who have been carrying on a determined and ceaseless agitation for affiliation of the I. W. W. to the Third International without reservations, will realize that they have been betrayed by these Centrist leaders who practically advise the I. W. W. membership not to vote for such affiliation. It is also certain that this cowardly offer of compromise will be rejected by the I. W. W. membership, who whatever their shortcomings may be—are not cowards. They have been tried and tested in the long fight for their ideas—ideas which though they are now obsolete and even potentially counter-revolutionary, as now exemplified by the syndicalist Masco in Italy—were once the height of revolutionary daring in this country. Either they will accept the program of the Third International in toto and affiliate without reservations, in which case they will not be afraid to take the full consequences of their act, even if it means being driven underground—or they will reject it because they do not as yet understand the Communist position, BUT THEY SURELY WILL NOT TAKE A HALF-WAY POSITION THROUGH COWARDICE, AS RECOMMENDED BY THE U. C. P.

By this cowardly offer of compromise the U. C. P. leaders have shown beyond the shadow of a doubt that they are absolutely incapable and unfit to remain at the head of any revolutionary organization of the working class in this country.

We do not know whether there has been any collusion in this "deal" with any members of the G. E. B. or other leaders of the I. W. W. If there has been the facts will come out sooner or later. In the meantime we would advise the Communist members of the I. W. W. to demand an investigation and if such collusion is found to start a move for the expulsion of the guilty one or ones.

As for the treacherous leaders of the U. C. P. responsible for this act of betrayal—not only of the Third International but also of the rank and file of the C. P. and U. C. P. who have been waging a bitter struggle within the I. W. W. which finally culminated in the issuance of the referendum—THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE U. C. P. TO RID THEMSELVES OF THESE LEPCHES AND POLITICAL ADVENTURERS, WHO, ON EVERY QUESTION, HAVE PROVED THEMSELVES TO BE CENTRISTS IN WORDS AND OPPORTUNISTS IN DEEDS.

In the same article these Centrists say: AN UNDERGROUND INDUSTRIAL UNION WOULD BE AN ANOMALY. THE EXISTENCE OF SUCH AN ORGANIZATION IS NOT CONCEIVABLE.

An anomaly to whom? Inconceivable to whom?

Certainly not to real Communists! Certainly not to the Russian Communist Party who know that the industrial organizations of Russia as well as the political were under the heel of the Czar! Certainly not to the German Communist Party where even now some industrial organizations are flourishing underground! The Knights of Labor, The Industrial Brotherhood and other organizations in America were secret underground organizations from 1873 to 1879.

Even if the argument that the I. W. W. is a purely industrial organization were true—which is not, for the I. W. W. is also a political party advocating syndicalist theories and principles there is no legitimate reason for asking the I. W. W. not to officially endorse the Third International under pain of being driven underground.

Should the I. W. W. accept affiliation to the Third International and consequently be driven underground this would be a distinct advantage to the revolutionary movement in

this country in more ways than one. Aside from the accelerated impulse this would give to the workers in this country the I. W. W. could then cooperate with the Communist Party of America, through the Communist nuclei, for propagating Communism to the workers and winning the trade union rank and file away from Gompers and the social-patriots.

Only then can real co-operation and understanding be achieved between the Communists and the I. W. W. Co-operation between the Communists and the I. W. W. must be based upon spreading Communism, building up Communist nuclei in the shops and factories—not on building up the I. W. W.

Besides, only by a referendum vote in favor of affiliating with the Third International can the I. W. W. purge itself of its syndicalist theories and prove that it has accepted the Communist position. There is no other way at present. Anything less than that, as for instance, affiliation with reservations, or affiliation to the Red Trade Union International would be no criteria that the I. W. W. has renounced its syndicalism. Sandgren, editor of the One Big Union Monthly, anti-Communist and syndicalist is in favor of affiliating with the Red Trade Union International; nor does he consider that he will in any sense renounce his syndicalist theories in doing so. Here is his position in his own words to prove it:

"... but we are sure that not a voice will be raised against affiliating with such an industrial international.

"We always have been and are now a purely industrial organization and expect to solve the whole social problem on an industrial union basis. We want to build industrial unions as organs of production and distribution and central councils emanating from the industrial unions as organs of local and regional administration. That is how we propose to solve the social problem. We cannot introduce a political party, communist or otherwise, into this scheme, without surrendering our fundamental principles and abolishing our independence....

They (The I. W. W.) are out to establish the rule of the workers; they (the I. W. W.) have been at it now for fifteen years and grown into a world movement on the strength of it. They (the I. W. W.) are not likely to adopt a program which saddles a political party on their back as their taskmasters." One Big Union Monthly (October 1920)

Or take the following brazen comment of Sandgren on Zinoviev's statement as printed in the same issue, "The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism":

"At a time when the best elements in French syndicalism are abandoning their former errors, and moving towards Communism in laying down the principles: 'All power to the Workers' Councils', there are working class groups and circles in Russia which are TRYING TO REVIVE THE WORST FEATURES OF SYNDICALISM. The famous Left Wing Social Revolutionary Party recently adopted a resolution demanding the transfer of the whole administration of industry and transport to the Central Committee of the industrial unions. It further proposed that COMMON ACTION SHOULD BE TAKEN BY THAT COMMITTEE AND THE INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE WHOLE WORLD FOR THE ENTIRE MANAGEMENT OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION AND THE WORLD CONTROL OF INDUSTRY AND TRANSPORT BY A COMBINE OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONS".

The comment of the I. W. W. editor who wishes to affiliate with the Red Trade Union International on this is as follows:

"THIS IS PRACTICALLY THE POSITION OF THE I. W. W."

In other words, he endorses the position which Zinoviev condemns as trying to "revive the worst features of syndicalism".

If this vicious syndicalist can wish to affiliate to the Red Trade Union International holding such opinions, it follows that all the syndicalists will also vote for it. Therefore if this referendum wins it will not mean that the I. W. W. has changed its policy.

If the resolution for affiliation to the Third International with reservations should win that would be prima facie evidence that the I. W. W. proposes to retain its own course of action and rejects the Communist position again.

THEREFORE, AND UNLESS THE I. W. W. VOTES FOR AFFILIATION TO THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL WITHOUT RESERVATIONS, THERE CAN BE NO POSSIBILITY OF "UNDERSTANDING AND CO-OPERATION" BETWEEN THE I. W. W. WITH ITS PRESENT CONSERVATIVE CHARACTER AND A REAL COMMUNIST PARTY.

The terms which the U. C. P. submits are camouflage intended to save their faces. They are seeking some rapprochement with the I. W. W. on the basis of a compromise with Communist principles. They probably see that they are doomed to extinction between the syndicalist forces on the one hand and the Communist Party on the other. They are making an eleventh hour attempt to catch at a drowning straw in order to save themselves.

As for the I. W. W. leaders they can deceive no one by wanting to affiliate with the Red Trade Union International. So long as they do not accept Communist principles and tactics, as laid down by the Third International, they will never be admitted to the Red Trade Union International, which will be composed of Communist trade unions, party organizations and Workers' Councils as well as industrial unions all of whom must accept Communism. The I. W. W. will be compelled to change their position or will not be permitted to enter.

The Communist Party of America calls upon the rank and file of the I. W. W. not to heed the treacherous proposal of the U. C. P. It calls upon them to vote for direct affiliation to the Third International. It calls upon them to expel the syndicalists like Sandgren from their organization and to entrust the leadership and editorial positions only to convinced Communists. Do not be afraid of being driven underground as a calamity. It would be a calamity only if the I. W. W. should be afraid to accept Communist principles and tactics because of the fear of being driven underground, and becoming outlawed.

By voting for direct affiliation to the Third International the rank and file will rebuke the cowardly tactics of the leaders of the I. W. W. and the U. C. P. and prove to the whole world that the I. W. W. is on the right road—THE ROAD THAT LEADS TO COMMUNISM THROUGH THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE FORM OF A SOVIET GOVERNMENT IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD FROM CAPITALISM TO COMMUNISM.

The Failure of Syndicalism in Italy.

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The American workers should take the Italian lesson deeply to heart. By doing so they may lessen the period of their political immaturity and hasten the day of their complete emancipation from the domination of the capitalist class. Compare the proletarian revolution in Russia, with its programme of MASS ACTION CULMINATING IN ARMED INSURRECTION AND CIVIL WAR AGAINST THE CAPITALIST STATE—THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE FORM OF A SOVIET GOVERNMENT IN TRANSITION PERIOD FROM CAPITALISM TO COMMUNISM—WITH THE SYNDICALIST PEACEFUL ATTEMPT AT REVOLUTION BY SEIZING THE INDUSTRIES, WHICH BROKE DOWN BEFORE IT HAD BEGUN.

The workers and peasants of Russia are now in power for three years, resisting the aggressions of the capitalist governments of the entire world and in spite of it, making such progress in governing themselves and building up and administering industry solely in the interests of the working class, and poor peasantry, that it stands for three years as a beacon light for the workers of all other countries as the most inspiring example that the world has ever seen.

The programme of the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia, by which they accomplished and maintained their revolution, the programme of the Communist Party of America, is the programme of the Third (Communist) International, the revolutionary vanguard of the workers of the world!

The syndicalist programme, which led the workers of Italy into a shambles and a blind alley from which they find it hard to extricate themselves, is the programme of the I. W. W. and similar syndicalist organizations in America. Workers of America! Which will you choose?