

# The Unity Proceedings

## Between the Communist Party and the U. C. P. of A.

### STATEMENT OF THE C. E. C. OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY ON UNITY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

To the Membership of the Communist Party,  
Dear Comrades:-

The following documents, presented in their chronological order, will give you a general and precise idea of the status of the unity negotiations between the C. P. and the U. C. P., as well as the relationship of both Communist Parties to the Communist International.

From the report of our international delegates you will see that the Communist Party of America is completely vindicated in its struggle with the Centrist leaders of the former C. P. and the present U. C. P. Despite the lies, the misrepresentations and underhand intrigues of the U. C. P. to smash the Communist Party and have it expelled from the Communist International—THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA IS RECOGNIZED AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. ITS DELEGATE, COMRADE ANDREW, HAS BEEN PLACED ON THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE MANDATE FOR UNITY BETWEEN BOTH PARTIES HAS BEEN EXTENDED TO JANUARY 1st AND THE METHOD OF UNITY IS TO BE BY JOINT CONVENTION BASED UPON DUES ACTUALLY PAID FOR THE MONTHS OF JULY, AUGUST, SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER.

The U. C. P. lies and misrepresentations about the C. P. have been completely exposed. Their stupid and arrogant pose that they are the "majority" is now revealed in its true light. Their ridiculous attempt to dictate the basis of delegates at the unity convention (six to four to correspond to the representation given them at the Second World Congress of the Communist International) has been properly rebuked by the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

All the documents herein speak for themselves. It is only necessary to explain the dates and the manner which called them forth.

As soon as the C. E. C. of the C. P. accidentally came across the mandate for unity by October 10th, the Secretary called for a special meeting of the C. E. C. on October 19th. At this meeting a resolution was adopted complying unreservedly with the mandate. A Unity Committee was elected to prepare for a joint convention with a similar committee from the U. C. P. On the following day we received information that Comrade Andrew had arrived in Moscow and had come before the Executive Committee of the Communist International on September 22nd. The information given to us was that Comrade Andrew had succeeded only in postponing the date from October 10th to January 1st.

In the meantime our unity committee arranged a meeting with the unity committee of the U. C. P. A few days later the two committees met. The U. C. P. committee notified our committee that they were acting without instructions from their C. E. C., but they requested a discussion on the general points of unity involved, as set forth in our official letter to the C. E. C. of the U. C. P. dated October 20th. The four points in our proposal were gone over and a deadlock was reached on the question of the basis of representation at the unity convention. The U. C. P. unity committee made it clear that they were speaking unofficially, but that they represented the majority opinion of their C. E. C. in demanding the ratio of 6 to 4. Our committee told them that we considered this meeting unofficial and were prepared to arrange for another meeting at which the U. C. P. committee would come instructed from their C. E. C.

On November 2nd our C. E. C. met again and our unity committee made its report. The report was accepted and the committee was instructed to continue the negotiations on the basis of representation at the unity convention to be on dues-paying membership. Our Secretary thereupon went forth to notify the U. C. P. to elect and empower a committee to meet ours. He was told that two delegates recently arrived from Moscow wished to come before our C. E. C. as they had some message for us from the Communist International. Our Secretary then asked whether they had credentials from the Communist International. They answered that one had and the other had not. He came and reported this to our C. E. C. and that body immediately decided to hear the delegate with credentials.

Comrade Flynn, delegate of the U. C. P., arrived and presented a statement signed by Comrade Zinoviev and addressed to both parties as follows:

"Dear Comrades:-

You will receive all material from the Second Congress. We demand now, ultimately from you all, that an immediate full unity should be accomplished on the basis of the decisions adopted by the Congress. Further split cannot be tolerated and cannot be justified by anything. We wait from both sides an immediate formal reply. Fraternal Greetings, With Communist greetings.

(Signed) G. Zinoviev, Chairman, Ex. Comm. of the Communist International.

August 20th."

Comrade Flynn further reported on the

Congress which confirmed information already received. He had no specific instructions on the Federation question—details he said were left to the membership in this country. He said he arrived towards the close of the Congress. At the beginning, the C. P. and the U. C. P. had been given equal representation (five to five), but he had reported that a majority of C. P. had united with the C. L. P., forming U. C. P. with a membership of 10,000 to 12 thousand—leaving the C. P. with three or four thousand—and demanded that the C. P. delegates be unseated. The Congress decided against the U. C. P. and the C. P. delegates were given representation of 4 votes and the U. C. P. 6 votes on the basis of his report that the U. C. P. represented the larger party. He also reported that Frajna's case had been investigated and that he had been completely exonerated and Nuorteva ordered to cease all attacks under pain of severe measures being meted out to him. Flynn then reported that the other delegate, without credentials had a message for us and requested a hearing for him. This was granted and later the other delegate, Comrade Morgan, appeared. Morgan reported same as Flynn. Also agreed to make an appointment with the unity committees.

The Unity Committees met on November 3rd and the U. C. P. committee then read the following communication from their C. E. C. dated November 3rd and published below. This statement insisted upon the 6 to 4 representation and was written in a very arrogant tone. Our committee informed them that the C. P. would not recede from the basis of proportional representation based upon dues-paying membership and in case they refused would appeal our case to the Communist International.

The U. C. P. committee then promised to have an answer to this resolution by noon. (Nov. 4th)

The C. E. C. of the C. P. then reconvened the following morning to take up the report of the unity committee. In the meantime one of the C. E. C. members had received and brought with him to this meeting the letter and resolutions of the Communist International from our delegates Andrew and Frajna.

One contained an exoneration of Frajna on the charge of being "police agent" made by Nuorteva. The other contained the later decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International relative to unity and international matters and was dated September

## REPORTS FROM OUR DELEGATES.

TO THE COMMUNIST

Dear Comrades:-

The report of Comrade Frajna, previously sent you, pictured developments here concerning our Party, unity, etc., up to August 25. In this report we shall picture the new developments while making a complete summary of the whole situation.

In accord with the decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International for unity, the delegates of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party agreed to work as one delegation in the Congress, etc. But while the Congress was still in session, Flynn arrived as the delegate of the U. C. P., and broke the agreement. Upon the instructions from the Central Executive Committee of his party, Flynn contested the recognition of the Communist Party delegates on the ground that recognition would interfere with unity. The Credential Committee rejected the proposal, although it gave the U. C. P. six votes and the C. P. four votes (Flynn having declared that the U. C. P. had from 10,000 to 12,000 members, while the C. P. had not more than 1500, Frajna, being without information, had no means of contradicting this.)

Flynn thereupon brought the contest before the Congress. Frajna in answer emphasized that Flynn was acting in the worst factional spirit; to reject the Communist Party was to reject the most consistent American expression of Communism; that Flynn's proposal was not to promote unity but to break the C. P. Flynn, moreover, argued that the Communist Party had repudiated the Communist International, since a representative of the International had assisted in the unification; in answer, Frajna declared that this representative not only had no mandate to achieve unity, but had no political mandate whatever (this was subsequently confirmed by Comrade Bucharin). The Congress decided against Flynn, only Flynn, Reed and Blian voting in favor.

After the Congress, the Executive Committee adopted a resolution ordering the two American Communist parties to unite by October 10, under threat of expulsion from the International.

The U. C. P. delegates, having six votes, out of ten given to America, elected Reed as the American representative on the Executive Committee (one representative only being permitted).

The U. C. P. delegates, particularly Flynn and Reed, acted throughout in the worst factional spirit; Reed declared to Frajna that he did not want unity of party and party, but

30th. The latter is printed in this statement. The Frajna resolution is printed in a separate leaflet.

Our C. E. C. after hearing the contents of these communications immediately voted to adjourn to give the Unity Committee an opportunity to arrange a meeting with the U. C. P. and acquaint them with the important information.

The following day our committee met and we were handed their written answer to our last resolution. This answer is dated November 5th and speaks for itself. Two points, however, are especially worthy of answer: (1) They still claim to have twice as many members as the C. P. This claim is refuted by their own demand for arbitrary representation of 6 to 4 at the joint convention as well as by their refusal to accept proportional representation based upon membership figures. (2) Their claim that the Communist Party delegates at a convention are subject to ratification by the language federations is a deliberate lie intended to obscure the whole issue. Everybody knows that our electors and delegates to conventions are elected through the party organization as a whole and that the language federations have nothing whatsoever to do with the action of party delegates. The party delegates are responsible to the party as a whole and to no one else. This lie is intentionally made to lend color to the charge that the Communist Party is not a party but a loosely-formed federation of federations. The decisions of the convention and the party constitution are ample refutation of this charge.

As a whole this last answer of the U. C. P. is sufficient proof in itself that the U. C. P. does not really desire unity but wants to "smash the Communist Party".

Our committee then submitted a signed statement containing the six points adopted by the Executive Committee of the Communist International relative to its mandatory decision for unity. Upon their request they were shown the original statement signed by our delegates.

They received the information in silence and the meeting was concluded. Upon the request of our committee for another meeting they told our committee that they could not make arrangements at present but would notify us whenever they considered a meeting necessary. We have not heard from them as yet. The unity negotiations therefore rest at this point.

In the meantime, the C. E. C. has issued the call for a special convention in accordance with the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International and contained in the "Conditions for Affiliation". Should final agreement with the U. C. P. be reached this convention will become a joint convention.

Below, in the order of their receipt follow the documents relating to the unity negotiations with the U. C. P. and the report of our international delegates.

## REPORTS FROM OUR DELEGATES.

PARTY OF AMERICA.

unity by means of smashing the Communist Party; and he used fully his official position to that end.

Upon the arrival of Comrade Andrew, with information concerning the actual state of affairs in the United States, the situation changed.

We brought, by means of Andrew's report, the whole question of the American movement again before the Executive Committee. The Executive re-affirmed the mandatory decision for unity, but its actions rebuked the maneuvers of the U. C. P. politicians here to make a factional issue of unity.

Among other things, the Executive Committee decided:

1) To extend the date by which complete unity is to be achieved from October 10 to January 1, 1921.

2) That pending this complete unity of our movement and the election by the party of an American representative on the Executive Committee, each party shall have a representative on the Executive with the same vote.

3) That unity must (and this is mandatory) be achieved on the basis of all the decisions of the Second Congress of the International.

4) The representatives of both parties must give a pledge to abide by the decision for unity.

5) The two parties have equal rights, the unification to be by means of a Congress and party for party.

6) Representation in the Unity Congress is to be decided upon the basis of dues actually paid for during the months July, August, September and October.

Reed objected to having a representative of the Communist Party on the Executive Committee, maintaining that the United Party was entitled to the representative alone, since it had already accepted the decision for unity. This was again a factional attempt to make capital out of unity; but the attempt was rebuked by Zinoviev, who inserted in the resolution the clause that the representatives of both parties have equal rights (which was not in originally).

Comrades! The decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International are final, and binding upon the affiliated organizations. Whatever may be one's opinion, the Communist Party must loyally accept it, while maintaining its consistent expression of Communism.