

Close up the ranks and prepare for the coming unity congress.

This is not a perfunctory matter. It affects the whole future of our movement. The Party must prepare theses, proposals, etc. Since all decisions and programs of parties affiliated to the Communist International must be approved by the Executive Committee, we have the right to appeal to the Executive. In the event the Unity Congress adopts any decision or takes any steps contrary to our principles.

The authority of the international and the revolutionary requirements of the movement itself, if nothing else, will impose a consistent program upon the united party.

Moscow, September 31.

Signed: Louis C. Fraha,
Andrew.

P. S. According to a supplementary decision of the Executive Committee, the name of the completely unified party is to be Communist Party of America.

P. S. Representatives of the Com. movement on the Executive Com. of the Communist International at present are: Andrew—C. P. of A. and Reed—U. C. P. of A.

P. S. Third paragraph in this statement refers to Com. Ag. It was stated at the Exe. Com. of the Com. Intern. and confirmed by Bukharin, that his mandate was limited only to assistance in formation of the C. P. in America, no such Party being in existence at the time when he left Russia.

FROM THE C. E. C. OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY TO THE C. E. C. OF THE U. C. P.

Oct. 20, 1920.

Dear Comrades:-

Having on Oct. 14th accidentally come across a decision in the Sept. 14th "Izvestia", official organ of the Soviet Republic, relative to the unity of the Communist Party and the United Communist Party as follows:

"Both Communist parties—the U. C. P. and the C. P., are obligated to unite into one party on the basis of the decisions of the Second World Congress of the Communist International. This unity must be finally accomplished not later than in two months; that is, by the 10th of October, 1920. Those who do not subject themselves to this decision shall be expelled from the Third, Communist International."

In accordance with this decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International the C. E. C. of the C. P. has passed the following decision:

"Since the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Com. Intern. demanding immediate unity between the C. P. and the U. C. P., was received after the date set in the resolution for the final completion of unity; and

"Recognizing that the idea and the intent of the resolution must be carried out to the best of our ability and circumstances without further delay;

"We decided to take immediate steps for calling a joint convention with the U. C. P. within two months, the representation to be in proportion to membership determined upon a just and equal basis for both parties; and

"To notify the Executive Committee of the Communist International of our acknowledgement of their authority in the question, and of the steps we have taken to comply with their decision as soon as it reached us."

On the basis of this resolution the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party has passed the following motions in order to facilitate the process of uniting both parties at a joint convention:

1) A committee of three (Allen, Dobin and Leon) has been elected with power to make arrangements with a like committee representing your C. E. C.

2) That in the event of agreement a call for a joint convention shall be issued by the respective C. E. C.'s of both parties.

3) The basis for the joint call shall be as follows: a) the decisions of the Second Congress of the Com. Intern. b) The Conditions for Affiliation to the Com. Intern. c) Any decisions of the Executive Committee of the Com. Intern. pertaining to the Communist movement in this country.

4) The joint convention shall be called within two months.

5) The basis of elections to joint convention shall be as follows:
Representation is to be in proportion to membership determined upon a just and equal basis for both parties.

In view of the very limited time for the calling of the joint convention we expect a speedy reply.

Fraternally yours,
(Signature)—Exec. Sec.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

ANSWER OF THE U. C. P.

Nov. 3, 1920.

Comrades:-

The following resolution on the subject of Communist Unity in the United States was adopted by the C. E. C. of the U. C. P.:-

Communist unity is essential for the communist victory. The U. C. P. has always recognized this, and expressed this recognition in the following words in a unity resolution adopted at its convention:

"American capitalism is mobilizing all its forces to control the rising tide of working-class revolt, and has particularly directed its power of suppression against the communist movement.

"Under these circumstances, and in view

of the fundamental unity of principles, all the communist elements should be united in ONE party, and the U. C. P. therefore calls upon the group still outside the united party to join it."

We, the Central Executive Committee of the United Communist Party, mindful of our duty to unite the battle front of the revolutionary workers in the United States, welcomed the endeavors of Comrade Linde, who, in the name of the Executive Committee of the Third International, offered his services to bring about complete unity of communist forces. We helped him in every way possible. We deeply regretted that the hostility of the C. E. C. of the C. P. to the achievement of unity caused Comrade Linde's labors to fall of success. When this became apparent, we again reported to the Third International the situation relative to unity of the communist elements in the United States.

Meanwhile the second congress of the Third International had taken place, and the newly elected executive committee of that body in compliance with the instructions of the Congress, issued an imperative mandate for communist unity in the United States.

Since the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party has now indicated a willingness to reverse its previous position and to comply with the mandate of the Executive Committee of the Third International, we agree to a joint convention and appoint comrade Holt, Alden and McGee as our committee to act with a like committee of the Communist Party.

We empower them to make arrangements for a joint convention on the following conditions:

1) In conformity with the decisions of the second congress regarding centralized party organization, no autonomous groups or federations shall be allowed in the united party.

2) Only those members organized in the underground group form of organization shall be permitted to participate in the election of delegates to the joint convention.

3) The basis of representation at the joint convention shall be the same as the voting ratio established for the American delegates by the Second Congress of the Com. Intern.; namely, the ratio of six delegates for the U. C. P. to four for the C. P.

4) All the theses adopted by the second Congress, and the decisions of the Exe. Com. of the Com. Intern., shall constitute the basis of the deliberations at the joint convention.

5) In order to bring about unity by January 1st, the time limit finally set by the Exe. Com. of the Com. Intern., the convention must be held before that date.

With Communist Greetings,

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY.

(Signature)—Executive Secretary.

TO THE C. E. C. OF THE U. C. P. OF A.
Nov. 3, 1920.

Comrades:-

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America will not accept any other basis of representation at the Joint Convention than the number of dues paying members, and will appeal to the Executive Com. of the Communist International in case the United Communist Party does not agree to this at once.

Fraternally,
(Signature)—Exec. Sec.

LETTER OF UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY.

To the C. E. C., C. P. Nov. 5, 1920.

Comrades:-

The C. E. C. of the U. C. P., after careful consideration of the proposal of the C. E. C. of the C. P. relative to the execution of the unity mandate of the Exe. Com. of the Com. Intern., comes to the following conclusion:

1) Unity of the federation group of the old C. P. still outside of the U. C. P. with the U. C. P. is not the subject for negotiations or agreements with this group, but simply a question of the execution of the imperative mandate imposed upon this group by the authority of the Exe. Com. of the Com. Intern.

To the U. C. P., as the body through which the Com. Intern. functions in the United States, falls the task of executing this mandate.

In view of this fact, the C. E. C. of the U. C. P. considered the plan of an immediate merger without convention as the only proper form for carrying out the spirit and letter of the order of the Com. Intern. Only the inequities which might attend a merger without convention, because it would result in arbitrary forcing the liquidation of the C. P. and its federations, makes a convention advisable. But even adopting the convention plan as necessary, the C. E. C. of the U. C. P. insists upon carrying through the principle of no negotiations or agreements as a prerequisite to unity. The function of the convention in all matters relative to unity is merely to make the technical arrangements for unity and to facilitate the liquidation of the federated Communist Party.

2) After agreeing upon a convention, the C. E. C. of the U. C. P. considered the basis for representation for this convention. Two methods were possible. Proportional representation based upon dues paying membership or a fixed representation for each party.

The election of delegates by proportional representation would make a majority of C. P. delegates possible only through manipulation. We understand perfectly that such manipulations are not entirely foreign to the practices of the leadership of the federations.

Such manipulations would readily be facilitated by the form of organization of the C. P. federations. These federations count as members many elements that conform only nominally to the underground form of organization. Many of their members hold membership chiefly for social and nationalistic reasons. Such legal social membership cares more for the federations as social and nationalistic expressions than for the building of a centralized communist organization. Over such legal federation membership the C. E. C. of the C. P. has no control and yet the C. P. wishes to count them as bonafide communist members and base representation upon them.

The interests of the communist movement in America imperatively demand of the U. C. P. to guard even against the possibility of a manipulated convention majority—because: a) To permit the sectarian and dogmatic spirit of the leadership of the present federation group, known as the Communist Party, to predominate in the communist movement in the United States, would mean to condemn that movement to sterility. b) The very form of the organization of the C. P. takes the real power out of the hands of the C. E. C. of this party, and any convention delegates the C. P. membership might elect, and places this power in the hands of the various federations. The acts of such C. P. delegates would be subject to ratification or rejection by each federation separately. In view of this, an apparent majority of C. P. delegates in any convention would after the convention was over, simply resolve itself into an insignificant minority. Those whom these delegates nominally represented, would not be bound in any way to carry out the convention decisions.

3) The membership figures published by both parties for the months of July, Aug. and Sept., 1920, show that the U. C. P. has twice as many members as the C. P. The U. C. P., therefore, has no reason whatever to dread a convention on the basis for electing the delegates. The U. C. P. refuses to represent, on the ground of principle. The question is not whether the C. P. is numerically stronger or weaker than the U. C. P. The fact is that the C. P. does not represent a centralized party, but only federated factions, which must submit themselves to the U. C. P. since it is the only centralized expression in the United States of the Com. Intern.

Even though the ratio of 6 to 4, offered to the C. P. by the U. C. P. as the convention representation basis, gives the C. P. larger representation than its actual membership would entitle it to, we stand on that basis; in demanding it we do not consider the numerical strength or weakness of the C. P. federation organization, but only its relation to the com. movement.

Because of the foregoing reasons, we must insist upon all the conditions as laid down in the resolution communicated to you by us. We are ready to unite at any time upon the basis we presented.

The welfare of the communist movement in the United States requires that unity be consummated without further delay. The U. C. P. has already built a strong, centralized and well disciplined party. Its propaganda, agitation and educational work is being carried forward upon a scale never approximated in the history of the American communist movement. We can not be diverted from this constructive work in order to engage in useless negotiations with a faction whose sectarian leaders have talent only for mudslinging and controversy. Therefore, unless these terms are complied with, we will call upon the Communist International to take decisive steps to compel obedience to its mandate for unity and will demand the liquidation of the Communist Party federations and the unconditional affiliation of their groups with the United Communist Party.

Fraternally,

(Seal) CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.
Paul Holt, Executive Secretary.

Nov. 4, 1920.

TO THE C. E. C. OF THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

Comrades:-

In case you have not already been fully informed through your own representatives, we hasten to transmit to you the following decisions of the Exe. Com. of the Com. Intern., as reported to us by our representatives (F. and A.) in a letter signed by them, which reached us this morning.

(Then comes quotations of the 6 clauses from our delegates' report.)

Since the last clause specifically disposes of the point on which there was a deadlock between your sub-committee and ours, we confidently expect that you will accept the decision of the Exe. Com. of the Com. Intern. and that our committee will have another meeting immediately to make all the necessary arrangements for the Joint Convention.

(Signature)—Exec. Sec.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

In the circular sent out to our member, the order in which the letters should have appeared, are as printed in this issue. By an oversight the letter of the U. C. P. of Nov. 5th was placed last. In other words the U. C. P. letter of Nov. 5 was delivered to us before they had received our communication of Nov. 4th 1920. (Ed. Communist)