

The C. E. C. of the United Communist Party sent its emissaries to Moscow in order to discredit our party in the eyes of the Executive Committee of the C. I. On questions of principle the leaders of the U. C. P. could not attack us for we stood on solid ground on all questions of fundamental communist tactics and principles. Already, before the Second World Congress of the Communist International had convened, our party, delivered from its few centrist elements, took the correct stand in its attitude toward the trade and industrial unions, entirely giving up its old prejudices toward the A. F. of L. As we pointed out above, our former attitude toward participation in the reactionary unions, contradicted our attitude toward mass action. The Communist Party of America, at its Second Convention, erased from its program, the syndicalistic points as contradictory to the tenets of Marx and the experiences of the proletarian revolutionary movement.

To our great sorrow and regret, our delegates, Fraina and Stocklitsky, did not and could not represent our position in the Second Congress of the C. I. as they defended in our name a policy which the Communist Party of America had repudiated at its second convention, and upon which the Communist International declared war—the policy of splitting the A. F. of L. and kindred organizations. In this respect our delegates met with the well merited rebuke of Comrade Radek, who accused them of hypocrisy. That our party was to some extent discredited at the Second World Congress of the C. I. is not altogether our fault; our delegates were out of touch with the latest developments in our party and were elected by the September first convention; our program which was adopted at our second convention, before the position taken by Fraina and Stocklitsky on the question of participation in the reactionary trade unions, was not the position of the U. C. P. of A. which was misrepresented by our delegates. The Communist International, judging us by our delegates, who misrepresented us, saw no difference between the views of our delegates and the delegates of the U. C. P. and doubtless influenced the Communist International's decision to force immediate unity.

The outrageous and shameless lies, spread by the U. C. P. delegates in Moscow that the membership of our party was only about 1500, composed entirely of foreign language "groups", while the membership of the U. C. P. was over 10,000 and included all the "real" American communists influenced by Executive Com. or the Com. Int. and caused them to make their hasty decision, demanding the immediate and unconditional unity with the U. C. P.—for the Executive Committee of the Com. Intern. believing the lies of the U. C. P. delegates, considered us a small and unimportant sect, who had no good reason for separate existence, and was standing in the way of the unity of all communist forces in America.

With the arrival of our accredited delegate, Comrade Andrew, the whole situation rapidly changed. The Executive Committee of the Com. Intern. has recognized the fact that the Communist Party of America is not a small, intransigent, sect, but that on the contrary, is a strong virile, organization, maintaining itself without assistance from the C. I., carrying on a consistent and powerful communist propaganda in seven languages besides English,—the only consistent communist Party in America.

Before the arrival of Comrade Andrew the Communist Party was not represented on the Ex. Com. of the C. I. After his arrival they considered it necessary to appoint Comrade Andrew as our representative on the E. C. of the C. I. Thus our position became strong, due to the fact that we took the correct position on all questions of communist principles and tactics and because we were able to refute the miserable lies and expose the cheap clap-trap of the U. C. P. delegates.

Upon receiving the information that the Communist International sent us a mandate for the unity of both parties, we immediately complied with this decision and were ready to unite with the U. C. P. before we had received an official communication from Moscow to this effect. Our members are well posted on all the details of the negotia-

tions on unity between the two parties, and there is therefore no necessity to repeat all the arguments and documents. The C. E. C. has at all times during these negotiations kept our membership fully informed of every move and shall continue to do so.

Now we must untie the Gordian knot—to solve the following questions:—Why is unity not yet achieved according to the mandate of the Communist International and within the time limit (Jan. 1, 1921)?

The Communist Party of America does not thwart unity; it has no reason whatsoever to prevent unity. We have already pointed out that on all questions of Communist principles and tactics our party has taken a correct stand, fully in keeping with the decisions of the Com. Intern. Besides this, our party counts a much greater membership than the U. C. P. But even if our membership was actually smaller than the U. C. P. we would have no fear of uniting with the rank and file of the U. C. P. including their centrist leaders, for under the protection of the Communist International we would always have the right of appeal against any non-communist activities of the majority and on matters of principle and tactics. According to the Statutes of the Communist International its Executive Committee is empowered to demand of all parties affiliated with them, the expulsion of groups or individuals from its ranks. It must be obvious that under this provision there is no danger whatever to the communist movement in America in uniting with the centrist leaders of the U. C. P.

On account of the internal dissensions which would inevitable arise as a result of conflicting points of view between the centrist leaders of the U. C. P. and our party makes co-operation with these centrist leaders undesirable and would obstruct and hamper the constructive work of the party. As a minority within a real unified communist party the centrist leaders of the U. C. P. would have no standing, and they know it, that is why they so desperately oppose the conditions made mandatory upon both parties by the Communist International. They would be repudiated by the entire membership of a united party, including their own deluded followers. On the question of principles and tactics the position of the U. C. P. leaders is in contradiction to that adopted by the Second Congress of the C. I. At this Congress war was declared on the policy of attempting to split the old unions; the syndicalist policy of the U. C. P. was condemned and rejected. But perhaps the leaders of the U. C. P. have admitted their error and changed their anarcho-syndicalist-opportunist policies, after the Congress of the C. I.? In vain we look for some manifestation of this change in the official organs of the U. C. P. We have burned the midnight oil, looking with a spy glass through the journals of the U. C. P. to find some evidence of a change in the opportunist-syndicalist point of view of the U. C. P. but the crowing of the cock reminded us that the search was in vain. On the contrary, the more we read the literature of the U. C. P. after the Congress of the C. I., the more convincing it becomes that the U. C. P. leaders have not changed; that they are still the same old anarcho-opportunists and centrists as before.

The leaders of the U. C. P. had a good opportunity to show their real communist understanding when the question of the affiliation of the I. W. W. with the Communist International was before the membership of the I. W. W. in their recent referendum. The leaders of the U. C. P. openly, in their official organ, The Communist, came out against such affiliation, arguing that in case the I. W. W. decided to join the C. I. it would force the I. W. W. underground, and according to the opinion of the U. C. P. it is not advisable for an economic organization to become an illegal organization. In this case the leaders of the U. C. P. defied the decisions of the C. I. and against the will of the communists in the rank and file of the I. W. W. playing into the hands of the reactionary syndicalist leaders of the I. W. W. and thereby supporting the counter-revolutionary editor Sandgren, since repudiated by his own membership.

The centrist leaders of the U. C. P. criticized a leaflet issued by the Communist

Party on the occasion of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Car strike, in which it was pointed out that the workers could not emancipate themselves from wage slavery unless they overthrow the capitalist state and established the dictatorship of the proletariat and that in order to attain this aim the working class of America must prepare themselves for armed insurrection. In fact, all the facts go to prove that the leaders of the U. C. P. did not change their Anarcho-opportunist and centrist viewpoint.

From all this we cannot escape the conclusion that the chasm which separated the Communist Party of America from the United Communist Party still exists. Someone may ask why do the leaders of the U. C. P. remain in the C. I. if they do not agree with the principles and tactics of the Communist International? Why do they not leave it? The reply to this question is found in the theses and statutes of the Communist International. In the Theses "The Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International" Comrade Lenin quotes:

1) "A characteristic feature of the present moment in the development of the international communist movement, is the fact that in all the capitalist countries the best representatives of the revolutionary proletariat have completely understood the fundamental principles of the Communist International, namely, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of the Soviets; and with a loyal enthusiasm have placed themselves on the side of the Com. Intern. A still more important and great step forward is the unlimited sympathy with these principles manifested by the wider masses not only of the proletariat of the towns but also by the advanced portions of the agrarian workers.

"On the other hand two mistakes or weakness of the extraordinarily, rapidly increasing international communist movement have shown themselves. One, very serious and presenting a great direct danger for the success of the cause of the liberation of the proletariat, consists in the fact that part of the old leaders and parties of the Second International, partly half unconsciously yielding to the wishes and the pressure of the masses, partly consciously deceiving them in order to preserve their former role of agents and supporters of the bourgeoisie inside the labor movement, are declaring their conditional and even unconditional affiliation to the Third International; while remaining in reality in the whole practice of their party and political work, on the level of the Second International. Such a state of things is absolutely inadmissible, because it demoralizes the masses, hinders the development of a strong communist party, and lowers their respect for the Third International by threatening repetition of such betrayals as that of the Hungarian Social-Democrats, who had rapidly assumed the disguise of Communists. The second much less important mistake, which is for the most part a malady inherent to the party growth of the movement, is the tendency to be extremely "left", which leads to an erroneous evaluation of the role and duties of the party in respect to the class and to the mass, and the obligation of the revolutionary communists to work in the bourgeois parliaments and the reactionary

ms."

In the Theses on "The Conditions for Admission to the Communist International" Comrade Zinoviev writes:

"The Com. Intern. more and more frequently receives applications from parties and groups but a short time ago belonging to the Second Intern., but not yet really communists. The Second International is completely broken. Seeing the complete helplessness of the Second International, the intermediary groups and factions of the "centre" are trying to lean on the ever strengthening Communist International, hoping at the same time, however, to preserve a certain "autonomy" which would enable them to carry on their former opportunist or "centrist" policy. The Communist International has become the fashion.

"The desire of certain leading groups of the centre to join the Third International now, is an indirect confirmation of the majority of the conscious workers of the whole world, and that it is growing stronger every day.