Letter to "Comrade Stepan" in Moscow from Charles Dirba in New York, April 16, 1921.

Document in the Comintern Archive, RGASPI f. 515, op. 1, d. 46, l. 8.\

April 16, 1921.

Dear Comrade Stepan [=???]:—

I want to supplement my letter of the 12th as to the situation at the present moment.

Scott [Karlis "Charley" Janson] has received telegraphic authorization from both Yavki [Sen Katayama] and Louis [Fraina] to present the unity plan drawn up by the Agency on March the 5th [1921] as an ultimatum to both parties now. Stress the point that this authorization was practically forced upon Yavki [Katayama] and Thompson [Fraina] by the "accomplished fact" of Scott [Janson] having already presented the plan to both parties as an ultimatum.

Scott [Janson] says that the ultimatum has been submitted to the EC of the CI and that they are urging the EC to act upon it immediately and transmit their decision to the Agency by telegraph. Again, it is upon the "accomplished fact" of their having already put to us the ultimatum that they ask the EC of the CI to act. Still, we confidently expect that the EC will repudiate the unity "declarations" of the Agency as absolutely indefensible, inconsistent, and contrary to the principles and policies of the Communist International.

In the name of the Agency, Scott [Janson] does not insist upon our CEC accepting all the conditions, but in agreement with the UCP representative on the Joint Convention Committee, he insists upon including all of them in the Convention Call. Our representative, Comrade Baldwin [Oscar Tyverovsky], has refused to sign such a call, making a statement that he is willing to sign a call upon the basis of the Theses and Decisions of the 2nd Congress of the Communist International and the #1 Clause of the Agency's conditions, but not embodying all the other points. The CEC of our Party has approved

the stand of Comrade Baldwin [Tyverovsky], and has informed the Agency to that effect. Before deciding what to do now, Scott [Janson] is communicating with Yavki [Katayama] and Thompson [Fraina] by telegraph. But whatever their decision, our CEC is unanimous that we cannot recede from our position.

I was wrong when I wrote in my letter of the 12th that it is possible that we may be compelled to accept the whole ultimatum in words, having all the time in mind our present appeal, and expecting that the decision of the CI will repudiate the action of the American Agency before the Convention is held.

This is out of the question. It would be absolutely against the will of our membership. All the information that I have in this respect shows that our membership is very hard to reconcile even with the acceptance of equal representation and chairman of the Convention from the EC of the CI. They have plainly stated, and insist very strongly, that the CEC must not give in any further, must reject and stick to the rejection of all the other points of the Agency's ultimatum.

If the Agency should decide to reject our acceptance as unsatisfactory, it will be plainly maintaining their ultimatum in full as an obstacle and not as a means to unity. They overstepped their power by putting up conditions not necessary and not essential to unity, and now, maintaining them, they will be absolutely violating the instructions of the CI, giving them full power to unite both parties.

Fraternally yours,

C. Dobin [Charles Dirba], Exec. Sec., CP of A.

P.S. As a matter of record, the following are copies of telegrams passed between us and our representative in Reval:

From us to W.C.W. [?], Reval, April 9 [1921]: "Have A [= Andrew = Hourwich] draw for Stone [Shapiro] cable immediately whether Agency has power amalgamate both companies even on equal basis and conditions to joint stockholders meeting." Signed "Dobsery [= Dobin, Secretary = Charles Dirba]."

From Coberman [=???] to us, April 11 [1921]: "Contract closed. Contract one (proprt. repr. [proportional representation]) or if necessary contract three (equal repr.) must be signed immediately. Final

results with appointments must be wired here not later middle May. Otherwise both contracts will be cancelled. Wire at once." "Coberman [=???]."

From us to Coberman, April 12 [1921]: Cable received. Agency ordered amalgamation equal basis chairman joint stock meeting from main foreign office, also chairman united board and five conditions for charter and bylaws. We accepted under protest equal basis and chairman joint meeting but no more. Apparently satisfactory to Agency. Cable immediately whether Agency has full power and get repudiation conditions to joint meeting." "Joseph [Charles Dirba]."

From us to Coberman, April 13 [1921]: Agency not satisfied. Insist putting all conditions in joint call. Cable immediately disputing their powers." "Joseph [Charles Dirba]."

The UCP acceptance says: "The CEC of the UCP ... accepts in their entirety and as binding and not subject to change at the unity convention, the conditions for unity presented by the Am.Ag. in its communication of April 4, 1921."

Herewith Russian copy of our appeal. I gave you copy of our communications to the Agency of this date this morning.