
Minutes of the Central Executive Committee of the United Communist Party of America, November 2-5, 9-16 — 1920.

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November 2, 1920.

Meeting called to order by the Executive Secretary [Alfred Wagenknecht].

McGee [??] elected Chairman.

Motion carried: That the following order of business be adopted:

1. Report of the 2 returned International delegates.
2. The question of Unity with the CP.
3. Organization and Financial Report by Executive Secretary [Wagenknecht].
4. Committee reports.
5. Report of district activities and review.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.

Motion carried: That committees be elected as necessity for them develops.

Report of International Delegates.

Flynn [Edward Lindgren] and Morgan [Alexander Bilan] read reports. Reports accepted and ordered edited and published.

Question of Unity.

A lengthy debate was had subsequent to which a committee of three was elected to draft unity proposition to the CP.

Brown [Max Bedacht], McGee [??], and Flynn [Lindgren] elected the committee to draft unity proposition.

Adjourned to meet November 3 at 10 am.

November 3, 1920.

Alden [??] Chairman.

Report of committee to draft unity proposal to the CP.

Flynn [Lindgren] granted leave of absence of 2 hours on mission for CI.

Report of committee on unity proposal discussed, amended, adopted as amended.

Election of subcommittee to confer with unity committee of the CP declared in order.

McGee [??], Holt [Wagenknecht], and Alden [??] elected. Flynn [Lindgren], Victor [Louis Hendin], and Simon [??] alternates.

Motion carried: That we call for a meeting between the CP and UCP unity committees tonight and that Simon [??] make arrangements.

Two communications re: Mexico read, one coming from CP of Mexico.

Motion carried: That immediate connection be established with the CP of Mexico, section of CI.

Motion carried: That the next order of business be the election of a member of the Executive Committee of the CI.†

†- John Reed died in Moscow on Oct. 17, 1920, leaving the UCP without official representation. Eadmon MacAlpine served in temporary capacity.

Clemens [???] elected.

November 4, 1920.

Motion carried: That upon the arrival of Clemens [???] at seat of EC of CI, all credentials issued by the CLP or UCP be cancelled and that Clemens [???] be the only representative.

Flynn [Lindgren] elected chairman.

Report of subcommittee on unity.

Discussion.

Report of Executive Secretary.

Receipts and expenses for October reported. Balance on hand reported. Receipts for various funds and from various sources reported. Party activities, district activities reported.

Motion carried: That our reply to CP be edited and that final consideration lay over until copies are furnished the committee CEC.

After seriatim consideration, reply to CP was adopted unanimously.

Discussion.

Motion carried: That the International Secretary ["Clemens"] immediately draft a report to the CI which is to include all documentary evidence and argument regarding progress toward unity, that this statement be sent to the UCP membership and to our delegate to 2nd Congress,‡ the latter to present it to the Executive Committee of the CI. Also, that a special letter of instructions be sent to our remaining delegate to the 2nd Congress [MacAlpine] to inform him upon the present situation.

Adjourned.

Motion carried: That publication of the above document shall not take place until ordered by the committee.

Motion carried: That the Convention of the UCP be held not later than December 24th, for the purpose of ratifying the thesis and statutes of the CI.

Motion carried: That the Convention be one of 42 delegates, one from each district and the balance apportioned to each district in accordance to membership.

Motion carried: That a committee of 3 on constitution and a committee of 3 on program be elected, each committee to report back to the CEC not later than Tuesday morning session.

‡- With John Reed dead and Alexander Bilan and Edward Lindgren definitely back in the United States at this moment, the reference here appears to be to Eadmonn MacAlpine, the only other CLP/UCP representative to the 2nd Congress of the Comintern.

Committee on Constitution: Simon [???], Alden [???], Flynn [???].

Committee on Program: Clemens [???], McGee [???], Victor [Hendin].

Motion carried: That the time and place of the Convention be left in the hands of the Executive Secretary.†

Motion carried: That the District Organizers be called into conference with the CEC on Wednesday morning, Nov. 10th.

Motion carried: That Gorney [???] be named District Organizer in District 3 [Philadelphia], that until he arrives Becker [???] serve.

Motion carried: That Simon [???] interview Lehman [???] re editorship of German paper (O-O) [official organ].

Motion carried: That Holt [Wagenknecht] be appointed editor of official organ [*The Communist*] and that an Executive Secretary be elected in his place.

Motion carried: To adjourn until 10 am.

November 5, 1920.

Clemens [???] elected chairman.

Simon [???] reported that CP subcommittee had called for meeting with our subcommittee re unity.

Motion carried: That when we adjourn we adjourn at 12 noon, to permit unity subcommittee opportunity to meet, and the entire CEC reconvene at 3 pm.

Motion carried: That we decide to support defense of Mr. Charles [???] jointly with C [CPA?] but before doing so, require an accounting of monies collected by Mr. Charles [???] for his defense, and that Mr. Charles [???] must submit to such defense as the party orders.

Further debate upon report of the Executive Secretary [Wagenknecht].

Motion carried: That a committee be elected upon education and a subcommittee in shop agitation and organization.

Adjourned.

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At reconvening at 3 pm, subcommittee on unity reported result of its meeting with CP subcommittee.

Communication from CEC of CP read. Discussion.

Motion carried: That no action be taken nor decision reached at this session, but that further consideration of entire question be had in order to secure ripe opinions of all committeemen.

Motion carried: That further consideration of the unity question be deferred until Tuesday [Nov. 9].

Motion carried: To, if possible, communicate

†- The 2nd Convention of the UCP was held in Kingston, NY, apparently during January 1921.

with Stockholm immediately, so to secure latest decision of the EC of the CI on unity.

Dubner [Jakira], Morgan [Bilan], Flynn [Lindgren], and Simon [??] elected to carry out above motion.

Continuance of deliberation of election of a committee on shop committees and education continued. Decided to elect two committees of 3 each to report upon this work to the CEC.

Committee on Education: Zemlin [S.M. Krunitlav], Alden [??], Dubner [Jakira].

Committee of Shop Propaganda and Organization: Simon [??], McGee [??], Flynn [Lindgren].

Motion carried: That no member of the CEC be permitted to absent himself from any CEC session except by permission of the CEC.

Motion carried: That Stone [??] be informed that he is next alternate to take place of regular CEC member and to hold himself in readiness to attend next meeting.

Motion carried: To rescind action of CEC in electing Holt [Wagenknecht] editor of official organ.

Motion carried: That a committee of 3 be elected to act as the Editorial Committee; that until an Editor-in-Chief is elected by the CEC, Dugan [??] be employed and other members who are writers be invited to write for the official organ.

Editorial Committee: Simon [??], Ford [Israel Amter], Holt [Wagenknecht].

Motion carried: That Flynn [Lindgren] and Morgan [Bilan] be employed to visit the district organizations at once, to report to district, subdistrict, and other affiliations upon the acts of the 2nd Congress of the CI as well as upon progress in unity between the UCP and CP.

Review of committees elected at previous CEC meeting. These committees ordered to be ready to re-

port at early session.

Adjourned to meet Tuesday [Nov. 9] at 10 am.

November 9, 1920.

Salsoff [??] elected Chairman.

Reports of committees declared in order.

Constitution Committee Report.

Discussion, amendments.

Motion carried: That wages of Morgan [Bilan] begin with last week.

Adjourned.

November 10, 1920.

Clemens [??] elected chairman.

Resignation of Victor [Hendin] as CEC member and editor of Jewish LO [legal organ] read.

Motion carried: That resignation be held in abeyance until CEC has had opportunity to investigate activities of Victor [Hendin] as party employee.

Report of committee for editing *State and Revolution*, Yiddish edition. (Chapters missing, paragraphs missing, other errors.)

Motion carried: That the Yiddish edition of this pamphlet be destroyed.

Motion carried: That edition of *State and Revolution* in Yiddish be published at once, in correct and complete form.

Motion carried: That Victor [Hendin] be instructed to turn over to Executive Secretary [Wagenknecht], through CEC representative, all addresses and property of the Jewish LO [legal office], all money on hand, and render financial statement and report.

Motion carried: That printer be immediately notified that Victor [Hendin] is not employed by the party at present and that party will not be responsible for bills contracted by him from now on.

Report of Constitution Committee continued.

Motion carried to adjourn at 12, to reconvene at 1:30.

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**Joint Meeting of CEC and DOs
(Districts 1 to 7, inclusive).**

Motion carried: That question of unity be first discussed.

Reports of District Organizers heard in regard

to unity situation in the districts.

Reports of delegates to [Comintern] heard in regard to actions of [Comintern] in relation to American parties.

Discussion.

Motion carried: That every DO at once explain unity situation to DEC and SDOs and request them to pass the information along to the groups; that report of subcommittee in unity progress be published in leaflet form and rushed to affiliations; that this report be translated into Russian, Jewish, Polish, Slavonic; and other main languages for distribution.

Motion carried: That Clemens [??] be excused for committee work.

Motion carried: That Executive Secretary [Wagenknecht] prepare agenda for consideration of joint meeting of CEC and DOs.

Agenda for joint meeting:

- 1) Membership and proportion in each language; state of its activity.
- 2) Effectiveness of sale of all illegal organs.
- 3) Status of persecution.
- 4) Open work and meetings.
- 5) Labor Organs.
- 6) Defense committee activities.
- 7) Educational committee activity.
- 8) Volume of voluntary help; need of more employees.
- 9) Criticism of national office.
- 10) Shop committees and IWW.
- 11) Miscellaneous.

Report of district organizers heard. Questions asked of each.

Discussion.

Adjourned.

November 11, 1920.

McGee [??] elected Chairman.

Joint meeting with DOs continued.

**Report of Committee on Statement
of Unity Progress.**

Motion carried: That report be adopted and referred to a committee on style for editorial correction.

Committee: Watts [??], Salsoff [??], Clemens [??].

Motion carried: That Stone [??], next alternate for CEC, be seated.

Motion carried: That resignation of Victor [Hendin] lay over until conclusion of reports of DOs.

Motion carried: That Watts [??] secure assistance to get our next issue of Jewish LO [legal organ].

Motion carried: To adjourn at 10 pm to meet again at 10 am.

Conclusion of reports from DOs and reports of Polish and Finnish organizers heard.

Executive Session of the CEC called. Clemens [??] allowed stenographer. That question of unemployment be placed on agenda for the joint discussion meeting with DOs and that Executive Secretary [Wagenknecht] arrange agenda.

Adjourned.

November 12, 1920.

Clemens [??] elected Chairman.

Joint meeting with DOs continued.

Motion carried: That first order be the apportioning of time to various districts of 2 delegates to [Comintern] [Lindgren and Bilan].

Motion carried: That western trip of Flynn [Lindgren] be postponed until after the convention.

Report to DOs upon Victor [Hendin] case. Discussion.

Executive session of CEC called. Comrade appointed Pan-American Secretary by III [Comintern] appeared before CEC.

Motion carried: That whereas our delegates to III [2nd Comintern Congress] reported that Kay [??] has been elected secretary for the Pan-American Bureau of III [Profintern] by the Executive Committee of III [the Comintern] that therefore we extend our full support to Kay [??] and request him to begin his duties at once.

Motion carried: that as long as the Pan-American Bureau is in a provisional state and until definite instructions come from III [Comintern], that this bureau be established in NYC, expenses of same to be paid out of the treasury of the party.

Motion carried: That Victor [Hendin] be suspended from membership pending investigation; that such investigation be instituted at once and Victor [Hendin] be called before the CEC in his defense; that Victor [Hendin] appear before CEC on Nov. 14 [1920] at 4 pm. CEC representative named to notify defendant.

Joint meeting of CEC and DOs continues.

Agenda: 1) Official organs. 2) Labor organs. 3) Leaflets. 4) Pamphlets. 5) Shop committees. 6) Educational work. 7) Defense Committees. 8) Organiz-

ers. 9) IWW. 10) Young People's Leagues. 11) SRMRC [Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee?]. 12) Athletic Clubs. 13) Unemployment. 14) Lettish [Latvian] independent groups. 15) Discipline. 16) Agrarian question.

Agenda adopted.

Motion carried: That editors of papers who have foreign or domestic addresses to which they want their paper sent shall forward such addresses to the NO [National Office], and that NO be instructed to attend to mailing of same.

Motion carried: That no papers shall be distributed in city in which they are printed until three days after publication.

After separate consideration of all official organs and passing of various motions regarding their frequency of publication and size, the following motion was eventually adopted:

Motion carried: That English, German, Russia, South Slavic, and Hungarian official organs be issued twice a month in 12 page size, similar to English organ [8.5 x 11 inch format, plus wide margins]; That Jewish [Yiddish], Polish, Estonian, Finnish, Lithuanian, Italian, Lettish [Latvian] organs be issued once a month, 12 pages in size, similar to English organ; that price of organs be 10¢ a copy; that first issues of official organs, same price and size, be issued in Spanish, Bulgarian, Armenian, and Bohemian [Czech].

Motion carried: That joint meeting between CEC and DOs be continued without motion or decision upon questions discussed.

Labor organs considered.

Motion carried: That next order of business be SRMRC and Lettish [Latvian] independent groups.

Motion carried: That DOs present at meeting be released no later than tomorrow at 2 pm.

Motion carried: That Polish organizer be released at once.

Medical relief — Discussion.

Lettish [Latvian] independent groups — Discussion.

Adjourned.

November 13, 1920.

Alden [??] elected Chairman.

Continued joint meeting with DOs.

Shop organization; Educational work; Athletic clubs; Unemployed question; IWW; Discipline.

Joint session Adjourned.

Victor [Hendin] before the CEC for investigation.

Motion: That whereas the CEC believes that Victor [Hendin] acted hastily and without due cause in resigning from the CEC and as editor, therefore, upon his request, we agree to permit him to withdraw his resignation.

Amendment: That Victor [Hendin] be suspended for six months.

Amendment lost, vote 4 to 5. Motion carried.

Motion carried: That when we adjourn, we adjourn to reconvene at 2 pm tomorrow.

November 14, 1920.

Salstoff [??] elected Chairman.

Motion carried: That matters of greatest importance be considered by committee for balance of meeting, that minor matters be left for consideration to the Local Quorum.

Unity.

Motion carried: That recent communications from the CEC of the CP in regard to unity be acknowledged, to notify CP that we must depend upon our own sources of information [about their membership], and that we stand by our position in regard to joint unity convention and basis of representation. That our Unity Committee meet with that of CP to deliver this action of the CEC.

Motion carried: That *ABC of Communism* [by Bukharin and Preobrazhensky] be issued at once.

Motion carried: That Salstoff [??] be a committee of 1 to arrange for the immediate translation of *ABC of Communism* into English.

Motion carried: That we reconsider previous motion making official organs 12 pages in size and 10¢ in price.

Motion carried: That all official organs, when possible technically, be of same size as the English organ, 8 pages, price 5 cents.

Labor Organ [*The Toiler*].†

Motion carried: That manager, editor, and Executive Secretary [Wagenknecht] of English LO compute present cost per copy of English CO, report on average income for this paper, secure estimates of production in other cities, report to the CEC.

Motion carried: That the English LO be cut

†- It is interesting that in 1920 the UCP was calling the sundry publications of its legal press "Labor Organs." The same initials "LO" would eventually come to stand for "Legal Organ," as opposed to the underground "OO" or "Official Organ."

and stitched [stapled].

Motion carried: That English LO be distributed on news stands.

Motion carried: That the policy of the III [Comintern] LO be that of advocating workers' control in production and one based upon the labor thesis adopted by III [Comintern].

Motion carried: That we instruct every district to purchase subscription cards for LO in proportion to 1/10 its membership.

Motion carried: That each issue of III [Comintern] LO contain a page of labor union news.

Motion carried: That present deficit of English LO [*The Toiler*] be paid and that we call upon the managers of all LO to devise means of reducing deficit, that CEC promises support of the party in this so as to make LO self-supporting.

Reading of address [statement] of III [Comintern] to the SP of A.

Motion carried: That this address be printed in leaflet form, 100,000 in English, 5,000 in German, 5,000 in Russian, 25,000 in Jewish [Yiddish], 10,000 in Finnish. That it be printed in all our organs.

Motion carried: That previous action be rescinded and that unity report be printed in all organs of the party and 5,000 in leaflet form in English.

Motion carried: That a leaflet on unemployment be issued at once.

Motion carried: That the leaflet on unemployment be translated and 10,000 be printed in South Slavic [Croatian] language.

Motion carried: That all general propaganda leaflets shall be printed in the different languages and in amounts as ordered by the DOs, provided such orders total 5,000.

Pamphlets.

Left to Local Quorum [NY resident members of the CEC].

[Motion carried:] That 5,000 Bukharin's "Program" [*The Communist Program*] be printed in German. That copy of [Lenin's] *State and Revolution* be procured.

Motion carried: That minutes of the South Slavic conference be published, 1500 in number, and that a price of 10¢ a copy be asked for them.

Motion carried: That Local Quorum get out a pamphlet in each main language.

Motion carried: That an attempt be made to secure possession of pamphlet *From Science to Action*, which have been printed in Ukrainian and English and are stored.

Shop Committee Report.

Motion carried: That entire report of committee and the question of shop committee organization be referred to the next CEC meeting.

Education Work.

Committee report. Discussion.

Medical Relief.

Motion carried: That a subcommittee of 2 be elected before which the UCP members of the SRMRC [Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee?] shall appear in order to give them party instructions in relation to their duties, the subcommittee to report before adjournment of the CEC.

Committee: Flynn [Lindgren] and Simon [???].

Lettish [Latvian] Independent Groups.

Motion carried: That we do not agree to permit Lettish [Latvian] independent groups separate representation at unity convention, should such conven-

tion be held.

Motion carried: That we do send a fraternal delegate to the Lettish [Latvian] conference of independent branches. Morgan [Bilan] elected.

Motion carried: That policy of CEC toward Lettish [Latvian] independent branches be: That we invite them to join the UCP as groups, providing they accept our program and constitution and the 21 Points for affiliation of the III [Comintern]; that thereupon, in all respects, they be considered good standing affiliations upon payments of one months' dues per member [i.e. probationary period and initiation fee waived].

Adjourned.

November 15, 1920.

Stone [??] elected Chairman.

IWW.

Motion carried: That a subcommittee be elected, this committee to secure information about the strength of the IWW and strength of party members in this organization, to report possibility of organizing party strength in the IWW for the purpose of educating IWW membership in the principles of communism.

Committee: McGee [??], Alden [??], Simon [??], Stone [??].

Motion carried: That the group of party members in [Chicago] who are IWW members prepare a small pamphlet, the contents of which should deal with such mater as would educate the IWW membership to an understanding of communism.

Report of Education Committee continued.
Considered seriatim.

Motion carried: That the report of committee be adopted as a whole.

Motion carried: That a committee be elected to carry out program of educational committee.

Alden [??], Salsoff [??], Stone [??], McGee [??] the committee.

Motion carried: That new receipt blanks for use in districts be secured and old ones destroyed.

Adjourned.

November 16, 1920.

Flynn [Lindgren] elected chairman.

Report of SRMRC [Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee?] heard.

Motion carried: That Secretary [Wagenknecht] amend draft of instructions to party members upon the SRMRC.

Committee on Unity.

Statement read, reports as edited.

Report adopted as a whole subsequent to minor amendments.

Report of subcommittee to meet Unity Committee of CP reported. No further progress.

Report of committee on South Slavic legal paper heard.

Motion carried: That Zemlin [S.M. Krunislav], Alden [???], and Smith [Noah London] be a committee to supervise the contents and continued control of the South Slavic legal organ, control of legal field workers, and publication of literature.

Motion carried: That question of Young People's Leagues be referred to Local Quorum.

Motion carried: That the book store committee report to the next CEC meeting.

Motion carried: That the Executive Secretary [Wagenknecht] be instructed to inform DO to complete registration (industrial), to continue and perfect organization of shop and union caucuses of party members, and that further report and instructions regarding shop committee organization will be sent to DOs soon.

Organizers.

Motion carried: That action of CEC in appointing Gorney [???] organizer in No. 3 [Philadelphia] be

rescinded and that Siegel [???] be made DO for that district.

Motion carried: That Italian organizer be employed temporarily and on part salary in No. 3 [Philadelphia].

Motion carried: That No. 7 [Chicago] be allowed to employ Sub-District Organizer.

Motion carried: That an assistant be allowed in No. 5 [Cleveland] on half time.

Motion carried: That a SDO be employed in No. 2 [New York] to take the place of SDO engaged by National Office.

Motion carried: That Stone [???] be placed in charge of educational work, his duties to be to realize educational program adopted by the CEC.

Instructions to members on SRMRC read and adopted.

Motion carried: That Salsoff [???] be the representative of the CEC on the SRMRC.

Motion carried: That we do not change our stand in regard to the Estonian legal paper [*Uus Ilm*], that request for payment of bills to this paper be denied.

Motion carried: That the Local Quorum arrange for an ownership holding company for the Estonian legal paper [*Uus Ilm*].

Motion carried: That a Treasurer for the party be elected and that the Executive Secretary, the auditor, and the Treasurer be made the subcommittee for the safekeeping of funds.

Simon [???] elected Treasurer.

Motion carried: That matter of remittance which did not reach the CEC be left to the Local Quorum to investigate.

Communication regarding Fisher [Belsky].

Motion carried: That Chicago investigation committee in Fisher [Belsky] case be instructed to report within a week.

Communication from CP regarding official documents from III [Comintern].

Motion carried: That a copy of official documents received be sent to CP after an additional copy has been secured.

Communication from CP regarding bonds due some of its members.

Motion carried: That this matter be turned over to the NDC [National Defense Council], that repayment...

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