
The United Communist Party: A Bureau of Investigation Report

by Emil A. Solanka

Document in DoJ/BoI Investigative Files, NARA M-1085, reel 928, file 202600-391-90.

Report Made at: St. Louis, MO
Date When Made: 12/6/20
Period for Which Made: 12/6/20
Report Made by: Emil A. Solanka

Title and Character of Case:

United Communist Party

Facts Developed:

At St. Louis, Mo.

The following communication was received by Special Agent in Charge [J.J.] McLAUGHLIN and referred to employee:

Chicago, Illinois
November 29, 1920.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 23rd, re Radical Situation Saint Louis District, received. Adverting to the last two paragraphs thereof, pertaining to the United Communist Party of America, I note that you say estimates of membership are based on information received from a local District Organizer of the Central Executive Committee of the Party. Since the organization of the United Communist Party we have been exerting every effort to obtain the personnel of the Executive Committee, its meeting places, and methods of operation.

Undoubtedly the Employee in your office mentioned in your letter, who has had the opportunity of perusing the mail of the St. Louis District Organizer, can furnish us with this information from your office record.

I would also like to have a complete resumé of all available information in your office on the United Communist Party of America.

Yours very truly,

Edward J. Brennan,
Division Superintendent.

Complying with above request the following report is respectfully submitted:

The St. Louis Office has been unable to ascertain the identity of members of the Central Executive Committee of the UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY because of the fact that the parties constituting same operate under assumed names.

Employee, some time ago,, secured a copy of a lengthy communication dated August 8th, 1920, purporting to be from PAUL HOLT [Alfred Wagenknecht], Executive Secretary of this Party, to local District Organizers and stating that the present Central Executive Committee is composed as follows:

PAUL HOLT [Wagenknecht] — Executive Secretary
J.S. HASKINS [I.E. Ferguson] — International Secretary
and Assistant Editor
KARL ROSE [C.E. Ruthenberg] — Editor
BURTON CLEMENS [=???] — Assistant Editor
TOM ALDEN [Ludwig Katterfeld] — Technical Director
L. SIMON [German or Hungarian Federationist]
JOSEPH McGEE [=???]
ED VICTOR [Louis Hendin]
S.C. SALSOFF [Russian Federationist]
M.A. TEMPLE [=???]

Without doubt, all the above are assumed names.

Information gathered by employee from confidential sources would seem to indicate that the following persons constitute a part of the Central Executive Committee:

ISAAC E. FERGUSON, alias G.E. HASKINS, alias
CAXTON — International Secretary and Associate
Editor.
CHARLES E. RUTHENBERG, alias PAUL HOLT,
Executive
Secretary and National Delegate.
JAMES P. CANNON, alias BURTON CLEMENS (?), alias

DAWSON — Associate Editor, in charge of
The Toiler.

MAX BEDACHT — Associate Editor, in charge of
Der Kommunist, the German official organ of the
Party.

ALEXANDER BILAN, alias DUBNER — Russian
Organizer.

The following is a resumé of information concerning the UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY on file in this office.

Employee's weekly report on "Radical Activities" for 6/5/20 states that a split has occurred in the local LITHUANIAN and SOUTH SLAVIC BRANCHES of the COMMUNIST PARTY. Also that the local organizer, SIGMUND S'RENCO, reported to the membership that the National Convention of the COMMUNIST PARTY was then in session in Chicago; however, that no delegate had been sent from St. Louis.

Employee's report for 6/11/20 on "Communist Activities" states that a meeting of the St. Louis Branch Organizers was attended by one JAMES P. CANNON, former editor of *The Workers World* at Kansas City, Mo., and District Secretary of the COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY, who made the announcement that he would succeed FISHER [Leonid Belsky] of Chicago as the organizer for the St. Louis District. Further, that a National Convention, attended by 25 Communist Labor delegates, 32 Communist delegates, and 1 from the Third (Moscow) International, was held at Chicago, and that the COMMUNIST and COMMUNIST LABOR PARTIES united and adopted the name UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY.†

Employee's report for 6/15/20 shows that a meeting of the Branch Organizers for the St. Louis Sub-District was held at St. Louis on June 15th [1920], attended by the following persons:

JAMES P. CANNON, District Organizer,
SIGMUND S'RENCO,
JACOB SEREBRENIK of the Jewish Branch,
JOSEPH DOVIET of the Lithuanian Branch,
MIKE MESSMER of the English Branch,
JOSEPH NORVELL and ANTON JURKOVICH of
the South Slavic Branch,
JOSEPH MARTINOVICH, City Organizer,
PETER BONITO, South Slavic representative

from Belleville, Illinois.

FREDERICK J. NEBGEN from Belleville, Illinois,
and two delegates from East St. Louis, Illinois.

Further, that CANNON read a report on the National Convention, alleged to have been held at Chicago [Bridgman], and stated "in regard to mass action there can be no question as to whether the Communist Party is a legal organization or an illegal organization because we advocate the overthrow of the government through armed uprising and therefore, we have to continue as an underground organization until we wring the power from the capitalist class." Also that JOSEPH NORVELL and ANTON JURKO-VICH were elected delegates to attend District #5 Convention to be held in Kansas City in the near future; that JOSEPH MARTINOVICH was appointed Sub-District Organizer and JOSEPH NORVELL, Section Organizer.

Employee's report for 6/26/20 states that information was received that the UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY was formed at a joint national convention held from May 27th to June 3rd [1920] at Chicago, Illinois. Also that MARTINOVICH was active in the coal fields of Southern Illinois in organization work.

A report dated 7/17/20 states that information was received that CANNON is designated as DAWSON in the convention publication (June 12th [1920] issue of *The Communist*.)

The report for 7/12/20 states that there are indications that branches of the above Party were formed at Christopher, Ziegler, West Frankfort, Illinois, through the activity of MARTINOVICH. Also that CANNON made frequent visits to St. Louis on Party business. Also that literature issued by the UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY was being received and distributed locally.

Another report of the same date on the UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY states that on July 17th [1920], a meeting was held at St. Louis and was attended by CANNON, MARTINOVICH, NORVELL, JURKOVICH, ROSE WALD, 2803 Victor Street, JOHN BRAUN, 4204 Osceola Street, and SERBEY

†- The Joint Unity Convention in question was actually held May 26-31, 1920, at the Wolfskeel Resort on the shore of Lake Michigan, near Bridgman, MI. This location was about 90 minutes away from Chicago. This gathering is not to be confused with the ill-fated August 1922 Bridgman Convention, which was sensationally raided by law enforcement authorities.

ZDANIEVICH, 1019 Selby Place; that CANNON, alias DAWSON, stated that the UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY, for the purpose of extending its field of activity, would shortly begin the publication of *THE TOILER*, which is being published at 3207 Clark Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio, by the COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY; that this paper would supercede *VOICE OF LABOR*; that it would be a "legal" paper, under the direct control of the UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY. Also that the National Office was making efforts to raise a \$50,000 fund. Further, that ANTON JURKOVICH was appointed subscription agent for *THE TOILER* in this District.

A report for 7/18/20 shows that the meeting was held at the home of ROSE WALD on July 18th [1920], attended besides the parties named above, also by STEVE JURMAN, 619 S 20th Street, Belleville, Illinois, WILLIAM LUGGE, Belleville, Illinois, and organizers from East St. Louis, Collinsville, and Liberty Mines (Belleville, Illinois); that it was decided at this meeting to hold a Sub-District convention at the home of JURMAN on August 8th [1920].

Employee's report for 7/20/20 on the UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY states that on July 20th [1920], a meeting of the local German Branch, held in the home of HENRY TENGLER, 1826 S 10th Street, was attended by:

CANNON,
J. DURAN, 1715 S 7th Street,
NICK BAUMAN, 1800 S 11th Street,
FRANK TOHR, 1811 S 10th Street,
STEVE WITKAY, 1813 S 12th Street,
J. TADICH, 1713 S 7th Street,
JOHN GRUNDHAUSER, 1225 Victor Street,
JOHN STIPSITZ, 2718 S 10th Street,
JOHN KOLB, 1817 S 10th Street,
— MUELBAUER.

A report for 7/23/20 states that at a meeting of COMMUNISTS in St. Louis, July 23rd [1920], CANNON reported that an English Section Group had been organized and Belleville, Illinois, composed of coal miners, who were prominent in the so-called "wildcat" strike of last year. Also that MARTINOVICH was in Southern Illinois, engaged on organization work; that SERGEY ZDANIEVICH reported that he had 10 prospective members among the Ukrainians of St. Louis, and requested literature in the Ukrainian language. ANTON JURKOVICH delivered some mail

to CANNON, which he received for him at 1222 S 14th Street. It was not ascertained what name was used for the address. Also that CANNON stated that the editor of *DER KOMMUNIST* was MAX BEDACHT, alias BRAUN of San Francisco.

Employee's report for 7/31/20 on "Radical Activities" states that the headquarters of District #8 of this party [UCP] had been established in St. Louis by CANNON, the District Organizer, who had been in the city throughout the entire week, actively engaged on organizational matters. Also that at a meeting of several Branch Organizers, CANNON requested these organizers to enlist the aid of some printing shop for the work of the Party in the event that it would become necessary for the Central Executive Committee to move its present headquarters. He failed, however, to say where the headquarters were but intimated that the heads of the Party desired to have a printing establishment in every large city, ready to secretly publish their literature.

Employee's report for 8/14/20 on "Radical Activities" states that there appeared to be considerable lull in the activities of the local membership of the UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY, due probably to the conviction at Chicago of the leading members of the former COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY; that CANNON stated that the situation as respects the standing of the UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY was "very grave." Further, that he and MARTINOVICH were leaving the city.

Employee's report for 8/28/20 states that MARTINOVICH was reported as seen going to Milwaukee, his home town, and that he would be succeeded at St. Louis as Sub-District Organizer by ANTON JURKOVICH.

On August 23rd [1920] employee procured a copy of "a summary of District Organizers' reports" dated August 8th, 1920. Also a copy of UCP Bulletin #1, which are deemed of sufficient importance to incorporate herein in full:

(Not for publication. We are sending you a number of copies of this report. Pass them on to you affiliation.)

SUMMARY OF DISTRICT ORGANIZER REPORTS.

August 8, 1920.

DISTRICT 1 [BOSTON]: (7/17/20) Six Jewish groups

organized at 5 points. Former Russian groups of CP with us 85%. Another Russian branch of 50 just joined. Eighteen Lettish [Latvian] groups organized and desire national conference. Polish branches with us as far as this region is concerned. Defense committee ready for its duties. Hundreds of small bundles of our papers sent to sympathizers (7/25/20). Jewish and Russian District Conference held. All Russian organizations in this district will soon be in our party. Five more Russian groups have just joined. Four more Russian groups coming our way in another city. Dues collection from all very slow because of absence of members. Expects to make collection from all before 1st of month [Aug. 1920], however. District Convention to be held soon. CP Lettish [Latvian] federation has turned nationalistic, petitioning the capitalist government of Latvia for safe passage for federation delegates through Latvia.

DISTRICT 2 [NEW YORK]: Series of picnics arranged from which we expect to net \$5,000. Need defence stamps. Speakers class functioning. Defense committees functioning. Organizers out in sub-districts doing good work. Can use 50,000 leaflets. Expect to use 5,000 each of labor organ [*The Toiler*]. Publicity for defense taken care of. Russian District Conference held. Membership control card issued. More dues stamps needed. Response to call for \$50,000 organization fund coming in.

DISTRICT 3 [PHILADELPHIA]: District Committee functioning. At last meeting representatives from English, Russian, German, Lettish [Latvian], and Polish branches present. Estonians absent. Recommended that language groups be allowed national propaganda committee to link the activities of the district propaganda committees. Request of CEC that details of Fraina hearing be published. Groups urged to busy themselves raising money for \$50,000 organization fund. (District Organizer [=???) resigned. One of the general organizers placed in charge.)

DISTRICT 4 [PITTSBURGH]: General organizer for South Slavic [Croatian/Slovenian] branches at work in this district.

DISTRICT 5 [CLEVELAND]: Hungarians organizing. General organizer busy in 3 sub-districts. Work progressing among Polish branches. Germans solidly with us, already having remitted second \$100 for dues. English recruiting groups being organized. Russian branch favors joining us. Lettish [Latvian] branch wide awake, conducting study class. Work among Finnish organization is on. General organizer just reorganized sub-district 3 with about 200 members. Expects remittance of \$400 from this direction. District Organizer [=???) to go to southern part of district [Southern States] soon. Request that eastern part of the state [Ohio], now in District 4, be returned to District 5.

DISTRICT 6 [DETROIT]: Organizer just returned from trip into district with good results. Plans another trip into neighboring state. One branch has already responded with \$235 for the \$50,000 organization fund. Strength in metropolis of district [Detroit] growing day by day. In sub-district 2 and 3 we secured in 4 cities English, Russian, Polish, Ukrainian, and Lithuanian affiliations. CP has centered its activity in big city [Detroit]. We are going against them.

DISTRICT 7 [CHICAGO]: Italian branch organized. Recommend that CEC present standard for shop organization. Twenty former CLP members on trial convicted. All out on bail. In need of defense funds. District Organizer [Raymond Baker] made trip into sub-districts and several sub-district organizers working without pay. Organization in metropolis [Chicago] in good condition.

DISTRICT 8 [KANSAS CITY, MO]: Need member who can speak both Russian and English for work among Russians. Want Italian organizer at once. Defense picnic held, \$150 realized. Study class for advanced students in operation. District Organizer [Jim Cannon] visiting sub-districts. South Slavic [Croatian/Slovenian] general organizer in the field. Three new branches organized. Good spirit being shown, members responding to general activity being shown. Sub-District Convention on the way.

DISTRICT 9 [DENVER]: Jewish branch just affiliated. Expect Russian to follow suit. English groups are not as active as they should be. (General organizer will visit this district soon.)

DISTRICT 10 [SAN FRANCISCO]: Estonians waiting to hear from federation officials before affiliating. Working with Jewish, Russian, and South Slavic [Croatian/Slovenian] organizations. German groups holding their own. English groups need waking up.

DISTRICT 11 [PORTLAND/SEATTLE]: General organizer busy in this district and District Organizer [=???) also in the field. Good results expected. English groups will show more activity from now on. South Slavic [Croatian/Slovenian], Finnish, and other language organizations being visited.

Financial.

Reports for Week of 7/24/20:

	<i>received</i>	<i>expended</i>	<i>balance</i>
DIST. 1 [Boston]	\$ 93.25	\$ 106.17	(\$ 12.92)
DIST. 2 [New York]	576.48	414.40	162.00
DIST. 3 [Philadelphia]	----	----	140.32
DIST. 4 [Pittsburgh]	68.40	98.83	(30.43)
DIST. 5 [Cleveland]	81.50	58.50	23.00
DIST. 6 [Detroit]	115.65	155.48	(39.83)
DIST. 7 [Chicago]	139.26	133.08	6.17
DIST. 8 [Kansas City]	78.29	68.25	10.04
DIST. 9 [Denver]	34.10	27.35	6.75
DIST. 10 [San Fran.]	299.75	82.50	147.25
DIST. 11 [Portland]	No report		

(D10 includes \$100 from National Office.)

Answers to Questionnaire.

DISTRICT 1 [BOSTON]: Consists of 4 sub-districts, 5 sections, 15 branches, 50 groups. Membership to be estimated by dues payments. Two Sub-District Organizers at work without pay. One defense committee functioning. Call for \$50,000 organization fund issued. Study class work not begun.

Aug. 14, 1920.

DISTRICT 2 [NEW YORK]: No report.

DISTRICT 3 [PHILADELPHIA]: Consists of 5 sub-districts, 55 groups, 500 members. No defense committee functioning as yet. Study class work begun. Call for \$50,000 organization fund issued.

DISTRICT 4 [PITTSBURGH]: Consists of 5 sub-districts, 5 branches, 48 groups, 525 members. Defense committee not yet organized. Call for organization fund not yet issued. Educational work not yet begun.

DISTRICT 5 [CLEVELAND]: Consists of 4 sub-districts, between 1,000 and 1,500 members. Two defense committees organized. Educational work under way. Call for organization fund issued.

DISTRICT 6 [DETROIT]: Consists of 3 sub-districts, 10 sections, 19 branches, 44 groups, 352 members. One defense committee organized. Call for organization fund issued. Study class work under way.

DISTRICT 7 [CHICAGO]: Consists of 4 sub-districts. No report sent upon membership. Three defense committees functioning. Call for \$50,000 organizational fund issued. Educational work organized.

DISTRICT 8 [KANSAS CITY]: Consists of 2 sub-districts, 9 sections, 38 branches, 50 groups, 400 members. Two defense committees functioning. Call for organization fund issued. Educational work taken care of.

DISTRICT 9 [DENVER]: Consists of 7 groups. No defense committee. Call for organizational fund not yet issued. No educational work under way.

DISTRICT 10 [SAN FRANCISCO]: No report as yet.

DISTRICT 11 [PORTLAND]: No report as yet.

NOTE: These answers to the questionnaire constitute only a partial report. Another questionnaire will be issued upon which more complete reports are expected.

ALWAYS KEEP IN MIND: Dues payments — organization fund — activity — defense work — study classes — recruiting groups — sufficient literature distribution.

ATTENTION: The above report is not for general distribution, not even to the membership, but is to be read at affiliation meetings.

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UCP BULLETIN No. 1

**ONE COPY TO EVERY GROUP ORGANIZER —
TO BE READ AT NEXT MEETING.**

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE UCP.

Comrades:—

Your CEC has just had a meeting. Here's an account of its decisions and actions.

Information of this character will no longer be published in the Official Organ [*The Communist*], but will be sent you in Bulletins like this. After reading to the group members, destroy the Bulletin.

VERY special information will not even be published in Bulletins, but conveyed verbally through organizers. Unless you attend EVERY group meeting you may miss something important. Moral: BE THERE.

Still more important is it for your organizers and committeemen to attend all committee meetings. If any refuse to do this, fire them, and put comrades on the job who'll attend to business.

Here are several specific matters for your action:—

Soviet Russia Resolution. The last page of this Bulletin contains a resolution for support of Soviet Russia. Bring it before your unions.

Raise Defense Funds. The Party has accepted proposition from the National Defense Committee. Dispose of as many Defense stamps as you can to outsiders. Push collection of Defense Fund among non-members in every way you can think of, so that regular receipts can be used for organization work. Forward all funds collected BY MEMBERS through the regular Party channels, whether from stamps or lists.

\$50,000 Organization Fund. The tremendous campaign mapped out by your CEC is based on expectation that you will raise the \$50,000 Fund necessary to carry it through. Remember that EVERY group should raise \$50, or \$5 per member, by September 1st [1920].

Intensive Propaganda. There are in this country at least 100,00 Left Wing Socialists and IWWs whom it is perfectly safe for you to approach with Communist message. Your CEC can not do this. Neither can your organizers. This is a task that You Yourself must do.

For this purpose every member is requested to take 5 copies of each issue of the Official Organ in English or some other language. If possible pay for them in advance. Then sell or give them away. The Party can not afford to distribute this free, except 1 copy to every member. But by this plan you can start a vast propaganda campaign at once. Surely there is not a single member who can not do this: Pick out 5 people to whom it is safe for you to talk. Keep after them with each issue until they are ready for membership in the UCP.

Reports and Orders. Your group organizer must make financial reports at least twice a month. Ours can be "a party of action" only if YOU act. See to it that he has something to report from you each time. Tell him exactly how many copies of each language organ to order for you on the requisition blank that he has for this purpose. Only if your group does

this systematically can your District Organizer make proper orders and reports to the National Office.

Kicks. If papers you order do not reach you, please KICK to the higher party units until they come through. If we do not hear you holler we take it for granted that all papers and literature reach you OK.

Remember, Comrades: Our Communist Movement is just what YOU make it. Up and AT IT.

Yours in Revolt,

The CEC of the UCP.

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Decisions of CEC at Recent Meeting.

The business was transacted under the following order:

1. Reading of letter from Third International and action thereon.
2. Discussion of form of Industrial Organization.
3. Agitation work of the Party.
4. Communications.
5. Reports of Party Officials and Group Conferences.
6. Review of Districts and their activities.
7. Official Organs. Literature.
8. Labor Organ [*The Toiler*]. Public work.
9. Finances.
10. Unfinished and new Business and Miscellaneous.

Eight members of the Committee were present. It was decided to call Dubner [Abram Jakira] and Zemlin [S.M. Krunislav] as first alternates to the next meeting of the CEC to officiate until the return of 2 absent members.

1. A letter from the International regarding Unity was read. After general discussion motion carried that our reply shall include a statement severely criticizing the current anti-Communism of the IWW officials; the advocacy of industrial unionism in general; and the organization of shop committees and industrial councils.

(This letter from the Third International and the answer of the CEC will appear in the next issue of the Official Organ [*The Communist*].)

Motion carried that International Secretary [I.E. Ferguson] send this Unity letter of the International and the UCP reply to all old CP Federations and the CP Executive Secretary [Charles Dirba]. (The UCP members everywhere should bring these documents to the attention of the CP members.)

2. A detailed program of action for the guidance of Party members in the work of shop committee and industrial council organization was adopted. (This will appear in the next issue of the Official Organ [*The Communist*] and should be studied carefully by every member.)

3. It was decided to issue a leaflet for general distribution once every 2 weeks for a while.

One leaflet is to deal popularly with the shop organiza-

tion question.

The editorial board was instructed to feature support of Soviet Russia in the Party leaflets.

4. COMMUNICATIONS were read as follows:

From alternate CEC member Dubner [Jakira] protesting action of CEC in not seating alternates this session and requesting to be seated at once. Motion to reconsider previous action of the CEC was lost.

From the CP asking for return of money and records turned over to the UCP by Damon [Ruthenberg]. Decided not to answer.

From the UCP delegates to the Third International Congress [2nd: Petrograd, July 19 & Moscow, July 23-Aug. 7, 1920], notifying the Party that they had arrived safely at ----- [Petrograd] July 16th [1920].

From editor [Alex Bittelman] of former Jewish paper [*Der Funken*] giving financial statement and asking for payment of deficit of \$696.55. Decided to pay only the amount the CEC had promised, \$200, and to notify the editor that publication of the supplement to *The C—* [Communist] was not ordered by CEC and can not therefore be paid for by it. Also that the book plates that he lists as assets are the property of the former Jewish Federation and must not be sold by any individual until so ordered.

From Ukrainian group, asking immediate publications of Official Organ in that language. Decided to publish first issue of Ukrainian organ without engaging paid editor.

From SD1, District 2 [New York City], criticizing English Official Organ. Decided receipt of criticism be acknowledged and serious consideration given.

From former Estonian Federation regarding paper [Uus Ilm]. Filed.

From Legal Director [I.E. Ferguson?] about control of Labor Organ [*The Toiler*]. A definite plan was adopted to assure Party control over the Labor Organ.

From District 5 [Cleveland], about defense lists. Decided to inform all districts that all defense contribution lists and defense stamps sent out through district offices be accounted for through Party channels.

From District 5 [Cleveland], regarding activities of language organizers. Decided that all organizers when entering a district shall place themselves under the direction of the District Organizer.

From Attorney [I.E. Ferguson?] regarding prisoners at Dannemora. Decided to publish his report in the Official Organ, and that CEC send call to all defense committees to agitate against severe punishments at Dannemora.

Bills presented from Ukrainian-Russian Branch of District 2 [New York]. Decided to pay only loans made direct to National Office or assumed by National Office.

Motion carried that District 2 [New York] pay loans made in its district to present UCP members, employing special means to raise the funds.

From District 1 [Boston] regarding 3,000 copies of *Proletarian Revolution*. Decided to secure the books at as low a figure as possible.

From District 7 [Chicago] regarding lower wages for employees.

From District 1 [Boston] about lower wages and useless organizers.

The CEC unanimously decided upon the following answer:

It is true that the Party has put a large force of organizers to work. But these replace a still larger number of Federation and State officials that existed in the former organizations. No one that sees the great opportunities for successful organization work today will think that we have too many. The demand for organizers is far greater than our ability to supply. If we had twice as many competent Party workers, and sufficient funds to put them in the field, we could double our Party's activities. The CEC deems it a supreme duty as nearly as possible to harness the talents of every available comrade for the service of our Cause.

It would of course be surprising if among the large number of Party employees there should never appear any shirker. The CEC has adopted a system that will result in his speedy elimination from the Party payroll, should such a one appear. The membership may rest assured that ALL comrades that are retained in the Party's service give the organization full value in work.

The wage for these full-time Party workers had to be governed somewhat by the cost of living. Last year [1919] both the CP and the CLP paid \$45 per week to married men. Since then the cost of living for families has gone up far more than the increase of \$5 made by the CEC of the UCP. The standard that we have set is lower than the pay of skilled workers in the trades. Most of the comrades employed by the Party could receive higher wages in other lines of work.

Comrades should also realize that many little economies practiced by workers in private employment are impossible for Party employees today. It costs much more for an organizer to exist under the conditions under which we now work than it did when we could carry on our organization work in the open.

After due consideration of the entire subject the CEC decided that it would be unfair to its employees to reduce their wages.

From District 7 [Chicago] asking what the CEC would do in case of a tie vote upon the Committee. Decided that according to parliamentary usage a tie vote loses the motion.

From District 3 [Philadelphia] favoring National Propaganda Committees for the language groups. Decided to answer that this could not be permitted, the UCP Convention [Bridgman, MI: May 26-31, 1920] having

specifically voted down a motion for it.

From District 3 [Philadelphia] regarding Fraina trial. Decided that after investigation by its own committee the CEC of the UCP endorses the findings of the former CP and will publish them in its Official Organ.

From District 4 [Pittsburgh] asking change of organizer. Decided to comply.

From District 5 [Cleveland] about division of district. Arrangements made.

From District 9 [Denver] proposing establishment of book store. Decided that Secretary ascertain the probable cost of such a venture.

From District 1 [Boston] asking whether District Organizer has to make financial report to his district. Decided that District Committees audit District Organizers' accounts and that financial reports be made to both, District Committee and National Office.

From District 1 [Boston], about charging former CP and CLP members initiation fee if they did not pay July [1920] dues. Decided that they need not pay initiation fee unless more than 3 months in arrears. Only back dues need to be paid by former members of the CP and CLP until 3 months in arrears, when they shall be dropped from membership and subject to initiation fee the same as other new members. Decided to recommend every member to purchase an organization stamp monthly.

From Secretary of Deportees Defense Committee [=???] regarding charges made against him in District 2 [New York]. Decided to refer grievance to District 2.

From Districts 6 [Detroit] and 7 [Chicago] about publishing Party business in Official Organ. Motion adopted that financial statements, reports of CEC meeting, and similar Party organization matter be multigraphed in sufficient numbers to supply each group with one copy to be read to the members at group meetings instead of being published.

From District 7 [Chicago] regarding control and registration cards. Motion carried to adopt both as printed for general use.

From District 7 [Chicago] recommending free distribution of Official organ, and suggesting changes. Decided that CEC deems these inadvisable.

From Canada, asking for Third International program in English and Russian. International Secretary [Ferguson?] instructed to comply with request.

From Mexico, about conditions. International Secretary [Ferguson?] to answer.

5. REPORTS were made by the Editor [Ruthenberg], the Secretary [Wagenknecht], the Technical Director [Ludwig Katterfeld], and the Defense Director [Edgar Owens].

It was decided to purchase multigraph. Also investigate other methods for publishing papers and leaflets economically and safely.

Motion carried to retain I.E. Ferguson as legal counsel for the UCP. He is also to handle the CLP and CP cases in Chicago as well as cases of 9 comrades at Youngstown [Ohio].

Exhaustive plans were adopted for raising of defense funds, giving publicity to the persecutions, etc. It was decided to accept the help of the National Defense Committee.

It was decided to ask the New York Defense Committee to ascertain the needs of Gitlow, Larkin, and Winitsky and supply their relief.

Motion carried that in case married comrades of the Party are imprisoned, the wife shall be paid \$10 per week, and an additional \$2 per week for each child, for maintenance.

A report was heard regarding the Russian Conference. The delegates need money for homeward trip; the Russian comrades want an organizer steady in the field since there is still much organization work to be done, and there are not enough competent local organizers to do it; they elected Dubner [Jakira] as organizer; they also elected a National Propaganda Committee, but no editor; they recommend publication of bi-weekly Official Organ and monthly theoretical magazine.

The CEC voted to pay \$450 to help meet the expenses of the delegates to the Russian Conference, with recommendation to the Russian groups to raise the balance through the sale of organization stamps in their districts.

Motion carried that comrades elected on the Russian National Propaganda Committee by the Conference be notified immediately to disband as a national propaganda committee and not to establish any communication with the Russian affiliations of the party.

That Russian groups be notified not to recognize the Propaganda Committee.

That violation of this decision of the CEC will result in expulsion.

Motion carried that Dubner [Abram Jakira] convey the position of the CEC to the Russian National Propaganda Committee and instruct a delegation from that committee to appear before the CEC.

When a Committee of 2 from the National Propaganda Committee had presented its case to the CEC, after a full discussion, the CEC voted 6 to 2 against the creation of national propaganda committees for language groups, and unanimously for discipline in case this decision is violated.

The Russian Organizer elected by the Russian Conference [Jakira] was confirmed, and instructed to organize an editorial committee to assist him in issuing the

Russian Official Organ.

6. REVIEW OF DISTRICTS. A detailed examination of the activities of the districts and the work accomplished by the different organizers was made. The District Organizers in 7 [Chicago: Raymond Baker] and 8 [Kansas City: Jim Cannon] were assigned to other work and new organizers appointed. Some necessary changes and appointments were also made in Districts 3 [Philadelphia], 4 [Pittsburgh], 5 [Cleveland], and 11 [Portland-Seattle].

The work of the field organizers was also reviewed, including the English, Russian, Finnish, Lithuanian, South Slavic [Croatian], Jewish [Yiddish], and Polish organizers, and plans were outlined for the future.

Motion was adopted that all field organizers, whether working in English or in any other language, shall be under the direct supervision of the Executive Secretary and are to do such work as he may assign to them. When working in a district they shall work in full cooperation with the District Organizer, and make weekly reports of their daily activities in duplicate to the District Organizer and to the Executive Secretary.

It was decided to place an Italian organizer in the field as soon as possible. (Any comrade that knows a competent Italian organizer available for immediate service should notify the Executive Secretary [Wagenknecht] at once through the regular Party channel.)

Motion carried that for the present all District Organizers shall conduct the German and Hungarian organization work themselves.

7. OFFICIAL PARTY ORGANS. Motion carried that the CEC call upon every member to pay in advance and sell at least 5 copies of each issue of the Official Organ in his language. The following will be published:

English — 1st and 15th of each month.

German — once a month.

Russian — 1st and 15th of each month.

South Slavic [Croatian] — once a month.

Polish — twice a month.

Finnish — once a month.

Hungarian — twice a month.

Jewish, Estonian, Lithuanian — occasional.

Letish [Latvian], Swedish, Ukrainian, Spanish, and Italian translations now being prepared and papers will soon be published.

The Class Struggle: September-October number to be issued. Decided that every member of the editorial board must read and pass every article that is to appear in *The Class Struggle*.

State and Revolution by Lenin to be published at once.

8. LABOR ORGAN [*The Toiler*]. Policy was determined and plans outlined. Decided that names of editors shall not appear in the paper.

Motion carried that District Organizers must pay for each issue within 2 weeks, or no further copies can be sent.

Arrangements were made for the publication of a special Jewish organ. An editor was elected, as well as a Control Committee to cooperate with him and assure Party control of the venture.

Publication of a pamphlet to be sold openly was decided upon.

9. FINANCES. Motion carried to instruct all organizers to impress upon the membership the importance of the call for a \$50,000 Organization Fund, and to send a letter to each group, asking it to make this a special order of business at next group meeting.

Every member is also to be urged to sell as many defense stamps as possible to non-members, and to take one organization stamp each month for himself.

10. MISCELLANEOUS. Motion carried that International Secretary [Ferguson?] send monthly report and articles upon American industrial strife to the Western Bureau of the Third International as asked for.

Voted to appropriate \$125 for subscriptions to labor papers and other necessary periodicals to be sent to the International Bureau.

Motion carried that the Secretary make investigation of amounts due comrades who loaned money to former CLP Russian Federation and that he pay these amounts as he is able.

Simon [Max Bedacht?] and Clemens [=???] were made a committee to study plans for Junior League organization to report at next CEC meeting.

Decided to pay \$250 balance to Chicago Defense when funds are available.

Motion carried that District Organizers be instructed to ask Lettish [Latvian] groups whether they desire a National Conference.

Motion carried that Clemens [=???] be made a Committee to investigate agrarian question and report as early as practicable.

For purposes understood by all members, and because of reorganizational needs, your CEC is now composed as follows:

Paul Holt [Wagenknecht], Executive Secretary.
J.S. Haskins [=???], International Secretary and Assistant Editor.
Karl Rose [C.E. Ruthenberg], Editor.
Burton Clemens [=???], Assistant Editor.
Tom Alden [Ludwig Katterfeld], Technical Director.

L. Simon [Max Bedacht?]; James McGee [Edward Lindgren?]; Ed Victor [Louis Hendin]; S.C. Salsoff [=???]; M.A. Templien [=???].

Paul Holt [Alfred Wagenknecht],
Executive Secretary.

Employee also secured a copy of the following letter, sent to ANTON JURKOVICH, alias A.J. KOHN, by J.P. CANNON:

Cleveland, Ohio,
Aug. 25, 1920.

Dear Comrade:

We have no organizer to send into the district at present and you will have to do the best you can. You can act as District Organizer for the time being and as soon as possible a man will be sent. Write to the NO [National Office] and find out what they are doing.

Just got your letter telling about the trouble you had. It was lucky they didn't come a few days sooner when Martin [Abern] and I were in the house. For the present send all your mail for the National Office to me at the address I gave you. Put it away in a safe place so it can't be found. I wanted to know how the finances of the Sub-District Convention were provided and wish you would let me know all about it.

The Lithuanian organizer is busy in the East and I do not know how soon he can come. Impress on all the comrades the absolute necessity of holding the regular group and section committee meetings. This is the only way to hold the organization together and make it grow strong.

Good luck to you and all the loyal comrades. Make a regular report at least every 2 weeks showing amounts collected and expended and balance left on hand. Keep whatever money you have on hand until further notice.

J.P. Cannon.

A copy was made of the financial report dated 8/29/20 and sent by mail to A.J. KOHN (ANTON JURKOVICH) by IVAN VUK, Box 138, Buckner, Illinois, stating that

7 dues stamps were sold to Group #1, Branch 1, Section 4 (\$5.25).

70 dues stamps sold to Groups 1-2-3-4-5, Branch 3 of Section 4 (\$32.50).

12 dues stamps were sold to Group 1, Branch 4, Section 4 (\$9.00).

12 dues stamps were sold to Branch 6, Section 4 (\$9.00).

A communication addressed to A.J. KOHN (ANTON JURKOVICH), dated 8/29/20 from E.L. TROYAN, Sub-District Organizer at Kansas City, stat-

ing that packages of literature should be sent to TOM BROWN, 1404 Grand Avenue, Kansas City, Missouri, and letters to MISS MYRTLE MONDAY, 419 W 10th Street, Kansas City, Missouri. This communication was undoubtedly the first report from Sub-District 2 (Kansas City) of District 8 [ST. LOUIS], showing collections as follows:

Dues Stamps	\$ 22.50
Admission Stamps	1.00
Defense Funds	5.00
Official Organ	5.00
Donations	23.00
TOTAL	\$ 53.00
Office Expenses	\$ 14.50
Branches — Cash on hand	\$ 39.45

Orders for literature were also placed with JURKOVICH by GEORGE KARLOVICH, Box 796, Ziegler, Illinois.

On October 9th [1920], employee procured copies of the following communications addressed to A.J. KOHN (as stated previously, ANTON JURKOVICH, now the District Organizer at St. Louis.)

Oct. 6, 1920.

DO8 [ST. LOUIS]:—

At the recent meeting of the GEC it was decided to place District 8 [St. Louis] under the jurisdiction of District 7 [Chicago]. Either the District Organizer or the Sub-District Organizer of District 7 [Chicago] will visit you shortly and you may get a letter from him. As to what plans you come to with him regarding reorganization work in Dist. 8 [St. Louis] will be decided when you finally consult each other. Until that time continue your work and your commendable activities.

Fraternally,

Paul Holt [Alfred Wagenknecht],
Executive Secretary.

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Oct. 6, 1920.

Questionnaire.

Please answer the following questions at once and return to National Office. It is intended to issue the bulletin in the Russian, South Slavic [Croatian], and Polish lan-guages.

To do this we must know how many groups in each of these languages there are in your district.

Therefore answer:

How many Russian Groups in your district?

How many Polish Groups in your district?

How many Slavic [Croatian] Groups in your district?

How many Polish members are affiliated with the party in your district?

Give your district number.

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Oct. 5, 1920.

DO8 [ST. LOUIS]:—

I am returning herewith your letter giving the total number of the membership in your District. Evidently you misunderstood our request for this information. It is desired that you give the total number of groups of the several nationalities in your District.

Fraternally,

Paul Holt [Alfred Wagenknecht],
Executive Secretary.

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Sept. 20, 1920.

NO [National Office]:

As per your request I wish to give the following information concerning Dist. 8 [St. Louis]:

Total dues paying members (September)	419
English	52
German	16
Russian	6
South Slavic [Croatian/Slovenian]	220
Polish	26
Finnish	5
Italian	44
Hungarian	30
Lithuanian	20

Fraternally,

A.J. Kohn [Anton Jurkovich],
DO8.

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Oct. 4, 1920.

District Organizer:

It will be understood that when papers or other literature like the enclosures reaches your mail address, that this means that such literature has been sent to your bundle address.

The National Office is greatly in need of copies of No. 2 of the Russian official organ [*Kommunist*]. District Organizers having copies of this number on hand are asked to at once notify the National Office. A bundle address will then be sent to which papers may be shipped.

Fraternally,

Paul Holt [Alfred Wagenknecht],
Executive Secretary.

For the last several weeks scant information has been secured concerning the operations, national or local, of the UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY because of the fact that no informants are used and employee's identity is known to the various radicals in St. Louis and vicinity.

Edited by Tim Davenport.

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