
Minutes of the Special 2nd Convention of the United Communist Party of America: Kingston, NY — Dec. 24, 1920 to Jan. 2, 1921.

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Agenda for Convention.

1. Call to order by the Executive Secretary [Alfred Wagenknecht].
2. Election of temporary chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, and 2 assistants.
3. Election of temporary tellers.
4. Election of Credentials Committee.

(recess)

5. Report of Credentials Committee.
6. Seating of delegates by roll call.
7. Election of chairman and vice-chairman of the day.
8. Election of secretary and 2 assistants of the convention.
9. Election of 2 tellers for the convention.
- 9a. Adoption of agenda and rules.
10. Report of CEC on unity.
11. General report of Central Executive Committee.
- 11a. Report of international delegate to follow report of CEC.
12. Election of standing committees: Program, Constitution, and Resolutions.
13. Action on CEC report.
14. Action on standing committees' reports.
15. Election of party officials and alternates for each.
 - a. International Secretary and alternates.
 - b. International delegates and alternates.
 - c. Members of the Central Executive Committee and alternates.

Rules.

1. Chairman and vice-chairman shall be elected each day.
2. No one shall speak twice on the same question except by a majority consent.
3. Speeches shall be limited to 10 minutes except by a majority consent.
4. Standing committees shall consist of 5 members each for the Program and Constitution and 9 members for the Resolutions, and they shall present their report in writing.
5. A plurality vote shall be applied to the committees of the convention but not to officers, who shall be elected by a majority of the convention.
6. Members of the committee shall be elected by a show of hands; officers shall be elected by a secret ballot.
7. Roberts' Rules of Order shall govern the procedure of the convention. All questions shall be decided by a majority vote; roll call may be obtained upon the request of 5 members.
8. Sessions shall begin at 9 am and end at 10 pm.
9. No delegate shall act on more than one committee.
10. No one shall leave the convention without the permission of the convention.

PRELIMINARY SESSION**Friday [Dec. 24, 1920].**

Chairman and secretary elected.

Motion carried that the CEC shall have the right to participate in the convention, be elected to committees, vote in committees, to initiate and second motions, but not to vote in convention.

Motion carried that the delegates who attended the Third International [2nd Congress: July 19-Aug. 7, 1920] shall have the same rights as members of the CEC.

Credentials Committee was then elected.

Report of Credentials Committee:

<i>District</i>	<i>Members</i>	<i>Delegates</i>
1 [Boston]	530	4
2 [New York]	1104	8
3 [Philadelphia]	406	3
4/5 [Cleveland]	1256	9
6 [Detroit]	378	3
7/8 [Chicago]	1833	12
10 [San Francisco]	139	1
11 [Seattle]	85	1
12 [Minneapolis]	70	1
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	5801	42

8 delegates CEC, 1 YPCL, 1 Third International.

FIRST SESSION — Morning**Saturday [Dec. 25, 1920].**

Chairman and vice-chairman elected, and a permanent secretary and 2 assistants.

Chairman read the agenda and rules, which were taken up seriatim and adopted as a whole with additions.

Two tellers were then elected.

Grounds Committee's report accepted.
Executive Secretary [Wagenknecht] reported on the question of Unity.

Afternoon session.

Continuation of report of the CEC on unity. Discussion followed.

Motion carried that the rules be suspended and the Chairman be permitted to keep a list of members desiring to have the floor.

Motion carried to extend the Executive Secretary's time to 5 minutes.

Motion unanimously carried by roll call that we send a committee to the CEC of the CP with the demand that if the CP convention is not in session, they call their CP convention delegation together at once, and that we invite the CP delegation to meet our convention delegation in joint unity convention on a basis of equal representation with not more than 25 delegates present on either side.

Motion carried that committee consist of 3 members. Committee elected [Wagenknecht, L.E. Katterfeld, Edward Lindgren].

SECOND SESSION — Morning**Sunday [Dec. 26, 1920].**

Chairman and vice-chairman elected.

Roll call showed everyone present but the members of the committee who were on their way to the CEC of the CP [in New York City].

Minutes read and adopted with corrections.

Special motion carried that nothing official be taken from this body. Ruling of the chair that this does not apply to officials and the reporter for the underground press.

A letter from one of the comrades in prison read on the unity question.

Suggestion made that the Resolutions Committee take up the question of sending greetings to the political prisoners.

Report of the CEC followed, reporting first on the general activities and policies carried on by the CEC, followed by a report of the Executive Secretary [Wagenknecht] on the technical side of the activities of the CEC, and later a report on the educational program.

The two comrades who were present at the 2nd [Comintern] Congress [Alexander Bilan and Edward Lindgren] then reported.

Motion carried that questions may be asked on the report of International relations, but not on the theses.

Motion carried that reports of International Delegates [Bilan and Lindgren] be accepted.

Report of delegate from the Young People's Communist League [Oliver Carlson?].

Motion carried that the Resolutions Committee take this report into consideration.

Motion carried to proceed with the election of committees.

Motion carried to prolong meeting until the committees are elected.

Program, Constitution, and Resolutions Committees were then elected.

Motion carried that the convention adjourn when the committees go to work, until any one committee is ready to report.

Adjourned 10:45 [pm].

THIRD SESSION — Morning Monday [Dec. 27, 1920].

Chairman and vice-chairman elected, roll called.

Minutes read and adopted with corrections.

Moved and seconded too accept the report of the CEC.

Amendment seconded that, realizing the difficulties encountered by the CEC in the pursuance of the work under the adverse conditions of the preliminary party organization, we accept the report of the CEC, however we do not wish our acceptance to be construed as complete endorsement of the report, as we consider that in many cases, not excusable by the above mentioned adverse conditions, the CEC has failed in the correct performance of its important task. CEC granted privilege of rebuttal to amendment before discussion.

Amendment carried by a roll call vote of 26 to 14.

Motion carried to adjourn for not more than an hour.

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Motion carried to reconsider the amendment.

The original motion to accept the report was then placed before the house and an amendment made as follows: "That realizing the difficulties encountered by the CEC in the pursuance of the work under the adverse conditions of preliminary party organization, we accept the report of the CEC."

Amendment defeated by a roll call vote of 3 in favor, 22 against, 7 not voting, 8 refused, and 2 absent.

Amendment to the Amendment made that the original amendment be taken up again. This was defeated by a roll call vote of 14 in favor, 24 against, and 2 not voting, 2 being absent.

Original motion to accept report of the CEC was then voted upon with the following results: 24 in favor, 2 against, 4 not voting, and 10 refusing to vote.

Motion carried to adjourn, 11:30 [pm].

**FOURTH SESSION — Morning
Tuesday [Dec. 28, 1920].**

Chairman and vice-chairman elected, roll called.

Minutes read and adopted.

Motion carried to adjourn the convention in order that the committees may get to work.

Afternoon session.

The Unity Committee having returned, a report was made.

Motion carried to elect a committee of 5 to frame an answer to the CP.

Evening session.

The committee to frame the answer to the CP reported.

Report accepted.

Meeting adjourned.

**FIFTH SESSION — Morning
Wednesday [Dec. 29, 1920].**

Chairman and vice-chairman elected, roll called.

Motion carried to adjourn till committees are ready to report.

Afternoon session.

Constitutional Committee reported.

Motion carried to take up same seriatim.

Article 1, Section 1: Accepted as read.

Article 1, Section 2: Accepted as read, with the change of name to the "United Communist Party."

Article 1, Section 3: Accepted as read.

Article 2, Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5: Accepted as read.

Article 2, Section 6: Adopted with the insertion "without the consent of the CEC" after "no member of the Party shall."

Article 2, Section 7: *Subsidiary motion carried* to strike out same, and refer to Resolutions Committee.

Article 3, Sections 1, 2, 3, 4: Adopted as read.

Article 4, Section 1: Adopted as read.

Article 4, Section 2: Adopted with the insertion, "and shall live in the city in which the National headquarters is located, or in adjacent cities," after "all CEC members shall be employed by the Party"; and to strike out the last sentence, namely, "under no circumstances shall a member of the CEC act as District Organizer."

Article 4, Section 3: *Amendment carried* to defer this until we take up Article 5.

Article 4, Section 4: Amendment carried to adopt with the addition of the department of the Young Communist League.

Article 4, Section 5: Adopted as read.

Article 4, Section 6: Adopted as read with the insertion omitted in the copy, namely, "The District Executive Committee shall supervise the work of the District Organizer; it shall also appoint sub-district organizers subject to the approval of the sub-district committee, after "more than 9 members" and before "Every 3 months etc."

Article 4, Sections 7 and 8: Adopted as read.

Article 5, Sections 1, 2, 3, and 4: Adopted as read.

Meeting adjourned 11:15 [pm].

**SIXTH SESSION
Thursday [Dec. 30, 1920].**

Chairman and vice-chairman elected, roll called.

Minutes of the 4th and 5th sessions read and adopted.

Continuation of the Constitutional Committee's report.

Article 5, Section 2: Adopted with the correction "communist" instead of "revolutionary."

Article 5, Sections 3 and 4: Adopted as read.

Article 6, Sections 1 and 2: Adopted as read.

Article 6, Section 3: Adopted with the addition, "that delegates are obligated to present instructions as recommendations to the convention."

Article 6, Section 4: **Motion carried** to strike out "the work of the district and sub-district is strictly limited to administration.

Article 6, Sections 5, 6, 7, and 8: Adopted as read.

Article 6, Section 9: Referred to Resolutions Committee.

Article 7, Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7: Adopted as read.

Article 7, Section 8: **Motion carried** to strike out "by every member" in first sentence, and "succeeding" in second sentence.

Article 8, Section 1: **Motion carried** to strike out last sentence.

Article 8, Sections 2, 3, 4, 5: Adopted as read.

Article 8, Section 6: **Motion carried** to insert "regular" before "convention."

Article 8, Section 7: **Motion carried** to insert "as well as Party Press with Agenda and Problems to be put before the convention" after "for discussion."

Article 9, Section 1: Adopted as read.

Motion carried to add to Article 4, Section 3, sub-division (c): "All editors of official party organs shall form a general editorial board. The CEC shall invite this board to the sessions at which the policy of the party press and literature is discussed.

Motion carried that the wages of the officials be decided by the convention.

Article 10 on Communist Industrial Units submitted for approval of the convention, taken up seriatim.

Article 10, Section 1: **Motion carried** to strike

out first word "all," "according to the sub-division of the existing labor organization" after "(Caucuses)" and add "within the locals of the union to which they belong."

Article 10, Section 2: Adopted as read. Also Sections 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7.

Article 10, Section 8: **Motion carried** to change first sentence to "Party shop units functioning under the direction" etc.

Article 10, Section 9: Adopted as read.

Motion of procedure carried that 5 minutes be allowed for an explanation of the above.

Motion carried to accept the Constitution as a whole with corrections.

Motion carried to adjourn until Resolutions Committee is ready to report.

Afternoon Session.

Resolutions Committee reported.

Resolution #1: Accepted as a basis and referred to the CEC for style.

Resolution #2: **Motion carried** that a special resolution be drawn up by the CEC and the one submitted tabled.

Resolution #3: Accepted as a basis and referred to the CEC for style.

Resolution #4: Accepted as read.

Resolution #6: Motion carried that this resolution act as a guide for the CEC in working out a plan.

Resolution #5: **Motion carried** to table the same and instruct CEC to work out a plan of action.

Resolution #7: **Motion carried** to accept. Discussion reopened. **Motion carried** to rescind action until a full session of the convention.

SEVENTH SESSION Friday [Dec. 31, 1920].

Chairman and vice-chairman elected, roll

called.

Minutes adopted as read.

Report of Unity Committee accepted.

Motion of procedure carried to take up the question of the Finnish Resolution.

Motion carried to hear the minority and majority report of the CEC on this question.

Motion carried in place of the resolution submitted as follows:

1. If the Finnish Federation remains in the SP, our members must immediately withdraw from the Federation.

2. If the Finnish Federation splits away from the SP, the UCP members within the Federation shall remain in the Federation branches for the purpose of conducting communist propaganda and organizing the Finnish Communists into UCP groups and transferring the control of the Finnish publicity organs to our members.

3. In doing this work they shall not build the Federation, but shall propagandize the idea of abolishing the Finnish Federation as a national organization. When this work has been carried to the point where it promises success, the Federation shall be abolished.

Motion made and seconded that we disapprove of the CEC, which in violation of the Party constitution allowed members of the Party to be at the same time members of the SPA. It is not the task of the UCP to capture the SP or any other political parties. We request the CEC at the present time to recall all the members of the UCP from the SPA.

Motion carried to table the above.

Motion carried that in tabling the above motion the convention does not thereby mean to say that the policy of the Party is that members can at the same time be members of the SP.

Resolution #12: Referred back to the Resolutions Committee for correction.

Resolution #13: Accepted as read.

Resolution #14: Accepted with the last part of the first sentence stricken out beginning with "attempting to avoid" etc.

Resolution #15: Adopted as read.

Resolution #16: Adopted with the addition "The policy of legal language organs shall be the same as policy of legal English organs."

Motion carried to hear editor [Jim Cannon] of labor organ [*The Toiler*].

Resolution #17: Referred back to Resolutions Committee.

Resolution #18: Substitute carried as follows: "The UCP has endeavored to gain control of the Medical Relief bit owing to the form of organization, the appointment of local committees by the National Office which has been beyond control — this has been impossible. The Medical Relief work for Soviet Russia is in the hands of dishonest and reactionary persons who have discredited the organization. The UCP, therefore, will combat the Medical Relief, refusing it every support and exposing it. All members of the Party who are working within it shall withdraw at once."

Report of Resolutions Committee on 11 leaflets (b) on the situation of the day generally, leaflets pertaining to local affairs to be issued by the CEC but where the case is pressing, the District Committee shall issue such leaflets upon the approval of the District Organizer. Such leaflets shall be issued in the name of the respective district organizations, and copy of each shall be immediately forwarded to the CEC.

Resolutions Committee reported on Resolution #17 as follows, which was accepted. Insertion after "party for the defense" of "those accepted as communist."

Resolution #19: Referred to CEC as a basis and for further action.

Resolution #20: Referred to CEC as a basis and for further action.

Resolution #21: Referred to CEC as a basis and for further action.

Motion carried that the CEC appoint one party member to act as temporary Secretary for the YCL until its first convention; that the Secretary act with a special committee appointed by the CEC of the Party in carrying out the work assigned to him.

That plans be made for the calling of a national convention to definitely organize the YCL of America, time and place to be determined by the Party committee and the temporary Secretary of the Young People's Organizations.

That a national organizer for the Young Communist League be appointed by the CEC immediately.

Motion carried that the wages of Party workers be \$40 for single and \$50 for married.

Motion carried to adjourn at 4:30 to reconvene after supper.

(Failed to reconvene.) [New Year's Eve.]

EIGHTH SESSION **Saturday [Jan. 1, 1921].**

Chairman and vice-chairman elected.

Expense statements given out and Financial Committee elected.

Motion carried that the Executive Secretary be instructed to at once work out the representative proportion of representation according to districts. These to be chosen by district delegations for presentation to convention for approval (on question of electing delegates to Unity Convention).

Motion carried that those members of the CEC who do not handle the finances shall act as the auditing committee.

Afternoon Session.

Motion carried that we first hear the report of the district leaders. Report followed.

Motion carried that every delegate to Unity Convention be bound as a caucus by this body.

Motion carried that the matter of alternates be left in the hands of the CEC and Unity delegates.

Motion carried that this election be held valid until March 15th [1921].

The following resolution was carried:

"If, in the opinion of the District Committee, a member is essential to the welfare and development of the district, his transfer from the district shall be discouraged. If a member essential to Party work in America insists upon emigrating, he shall be refused a certificate of transfer."

Motion carried to hear delegate [Karlis "Charley" Janson?] on conditions in Canada.

Meeting adjourned.

NINTH SESSION **Sunday [Jan. 2, 1921].**

Chairman and vice-chairman elected.

Communication from the CP read and filed.
Minutes adopted as read.

Motion carried that the matter of organizing in Canada be referred to the CEC for speedy action.

Motion carried that the Program Committee report, reading chapter by chapter, and when objections are raised to have those specific parts read and acted upon.

First chapter, Paragraph 1, 2, 3, and 4: Adopted as read.

Paragraph 5: **Motion carried** to substitute "political" in place of "socially" in the last sentence.

Paragraph 6: Adopted as read.

Paragraph 7: **Motion carried** to strike out "mutual" in the first sentence and everything after "workers' side" in the second sentence, and substitute the following: "increase the wage for which they are forced to sell their labor-power."

Motion carried to strike out paragraphs 8 and 9 and substitute the following:

"Owing to the existence of the capitalist system, a small group of Imperialist governments had the

opportunity, for 4 long years, to compel the workers of various countries to cut each other's throats. The Bourgeois war has cast the entire world into a state of extreme destitution and starvation. Unless the capitalist system is overthrown, the repetition of such a criminal war is not only possible but meritable. The war has mechanically destroyed economic ties the world over. The development of which was one of the most important conquests of capitalism.

"Meanwhile the ruination of mankind is going on. The growing burden of the destructive forces of imperialism and increasing exploitation are gradually drawing the workers closer to an understanding of social forces and a revolutionary determination to overthrow the whole capitalist system instead of betting their standard of life within the limits of the present system. To develop and direct this struggle for the seizure of the instruments of production and exchange, by means of the overthrow of the capitalist state and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship through the Soviets, the complete abolishment of classes, and the realization of socialism — the first step of Communist society — is the responsible task of the United Communist Party."

Paragraph 10: Accepted as read.

Chapter 2, Paragraph 1: Accepted with the editorial suggestion to insert "capitalist" before "state" in every case.

Paragraphs 2, 3, 4, 5: Adopted as read.

Paragraph 6: Adopted with the insertion "under the guidance of the UCP" after the second sentence.

Chapter 3, Paragraph 1: Adopted as read.

Paragraph 2: Adopted as amended.

Paragraph 3: Adopted as amended.

Chapter 4 — Parliamentarism.

Motion carried to read the program paragraph by paragraph.

Paragraph 1: *Motion carried* to strike out "only" in next to last sentence, and in last sentence "honest."

Paragraph 2: *Motion carried* to strike out "only" in first sentence.

Paragraph 3: Adopted as read.

Paragraph 4: *Motion carried* to strike out

"hostile" at the end of the first sentence and insert "as follows."

Paragraphs 5, 6, and 7: Accepted as read.

Chapter 5, Paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 4, 5: Adopted as read.

Paragraph 6: Adopted with the editorial suggestion to write up "The White Guard did smash Hungary."

Paragraph 7: Adopted as read.

Paragraph 8: Adopted as amended. Suggestion to editorial committee to strike out "even" in first sentence.

Chapter 6, Paragraph 1, 2, 3, 4, 5: Adopted as read.

Paragraph 7: Inserted after paragraph 5 and adopted as read.

Paragraph 8: Adopted as read.

Paragraph 9: Motion carried to strike out "Among these" at the beginning of the last sentence, and insert "in all military units" after "propaganda" in last sentence.

Paragraph 10: Adopted as read.

Paragraph 11: Adopted with the addition "Hundreds of" at the beginning.

Paragraph 12: Adopted with the insertion of "great mass of" after "illusions of the" and "naive" before "ideas."

Paragraph 13: Adopted as read.

Paragraph 14: Accepted with the second sentence entirely stricken out, and with the instruction to the Editorial Committee to insert "state militia" where regular army is mentioned.

Chapter 8, Paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7: Adopted as read.

Paragraph 8: Adopted with the correction in the first sentence, substituting "offer it" in place of "gain us."

Chapter 9, Paragraph 1: Adopted as read.

Paragraph 2: Adopted with the word "compels" in place of "forces" in the last sentence.

Paragraph 3: Adopted with the insertion "of the cities" after "workers" in last sentence.

Paragraphs 4 and 5: Adopted as read but com-

bined in one.

Paragraph 6: Adopted as read.

Paragraph 7: Adopted with the editorial suggestion to find some other expression than "wage working," which is used in the first sentence.

Paragraphs 8, 9, 10, 11: Adopted as read.

Paragraphs 12, 13, 14, 15, 16: Adopted as read and referred to the Editorial Committee.

Chapter 10, Paragraph 1: Adopted as read.

Paragraph 2: Adopted with the exception of the last 2 sentences beginning with "when grudgingly" and ending with "class struggle," which was referred to the Editorial Committee.

Paragraphs 3 and 4: Adopted as read.

Paragraph 5: Adopted with the exception that "churches" in the next to last sentence is placed after "clubs" and the insertion after it "which among negroes are in fact nothing but forums and social clubs."

Paragraph 6: Adopted as amended.

Chapter 11, Paragraph 1: Adopted as read.

Paragraph 2: Adopted with the clause "where sufficient whiskey can be obtained" stricken out and the word "often" inserted after "wills."

Paragraph 3: Adopted with the word "manifest" in place of "have" in the first sentence.

Paragraph 4: Adopted as read.

Paragraph 5: Adopted with the exception of substituting "the" in place of "our" in the last sentence and suggestion to the Editorial Committee to insert "revolutionary" for "action" in the last sentence.

Paragraph 6: Adopted with the correction "The Workers' Revolution," which had been omitted.

Paragraph 7: Adopted with "policy" substituting the last word "theory."

Paragraphs 8 and 9: *Motion carried* to adopt substitute in its place.

Paragraph 10: *Motion carried* to adopt substitute in its place.

Paragraphs 11 and 12: Adopted as read.

Paragraph 13: In place of the first two sentences, the following was substituted: "A militant union preamble will not suffice as a substitute for membership," the rest adopted as read.

Paragraphs 14, 15, 16: Adopted as read.

Paragraph 17: Second, third, and fourth sentenc-

es stricken out, beginning with "Those Communist groups" and ending with "Leadership of the Union." The rest adopted as read.

Paragraphs 18 and 19: Adopted as read.

Paragraph 20: Adopted with the insertion of omissions and suggestion to the Editorial Committee to change the phrase "superior mass violence" in the last sentence.

Paragraph 21 (taken from the Theses): Adopted as read.

Motion carried to accept Program as a whole with corrections, etc.

[Election of Officers.]

Motion carried to proceed with the election of officers and alternates.

Nominations were made and only 7 accepted.

Motion carried to throw the floor open for nomination once more.

Motion seconded to adjourn for half an hour. Motion defeated.

Additional nominations were then made and a vote was taken by secret ballot, as per rules.

Motion carried to elect special tellers. Four tellers elected.

Nine members were elected. Two verbally stated their resignation. *Motion carried* not to accept the same.

Nominations were then made for alternates. Vote was also taken by secret ballot. The alternates being voted for in the order in which they were to be placed, i.e. first, second, third, etc. The tellers could not agree who received the third place and left it for the body to decide; and also one member who received less than a majority vote.

Motion carried as to who should receive third place, and that the other member stand as the ninth alternate.

Motion carried that the CEC select a Style Committee.

Motion carried to permit 3 delegates to leave

Financial Statement for NOVEMBER 1920.

<i>BALANCE NOVEMBER 1 [1920]</i>	<i>\$ 9,840.17</i>	<i>Expenses. †</i>	
		District Wages	\$ 2443.93
		Rail Road Fare	847.55
<i>Receipts.</i>		Expense Allowance	228.75
Dues Stamps	3221.30	Office Expenses	349.17
Initiation Stamps	277.00	Miscellaneous	145.80
Organization Stamps	365.20	Administration Wages	1320.00
<i>Donations:</i>		National Officials' Expense Allowance	572.75
Defense Stamps	702.65	Field Organizer RR Fare and National Officials' Travelling Expenses	1046.83
Defense Coll[ections]	887.89	National Office Expenses	163.13
\$50,000 Fund	2992.32	<i>[Press & Propaganda]</i>	
Special Donations	5022.42	Editorial Wages	765.00
<i>[Press & Propaganda]</i>		Propaganda Literature	210.00
Official Organ	1294.69	Literature #2 [Workers League?]	1401.00
Literature #2 [Workers League?]	348.98	Official Organ	976.17
E.L.O. [English Labor Organ (<i>Toiler</i>)]	2013.58	E.L.O. [English Labor Organ (<i>Toiler</i>)]	2691.23
Russian Literature Fund	378.00	J.L.O. [Jewish Labor Organ]	173.78
Miscellaneous	1085.58	150 Advance Sub. E.L.O.	150.48
		Delivery Expenses	1039.99
<i>Total Receipts</i>	----- <i>\$18,589.61</i>	Defense Expense	42.00
		International Relations [cable bills?]	789.40
		Relief	42.00
		Russian School	100.00
		Miscellaneous	237.01

		<i>Total Expenses</i>	<i>\$15,735.98</i>
		 <i>BALANCE ON HAND DEC. 1 [1920]</i>	 <i>\$12,693.80</i>

†- Summing the wage bills — national, local, and editorial — for Nov. 1920 produces a total of \$4528. Assuming 4 weekly paydays in the month and an average party salary of \$45 per week, this implies a payroll of 25.2 full-time individuals.

Distribution by Districts for Statistical Purposes
(in Even Dollars)

<i>District #</i>	<i>Dues Stamps</i>	<i>Init. Stamps</i>	<i>Organ. Stamps</i>	<i>Defense Income</i>	<i>Off. Org.</i>	<i>Lit.</i>	<i>\$50,000 Fund</i>	<i>ABC of Com.</i>	<i>TOTAL INCOME</i>	<i>TOTAL EXPENSE</i>
1 [Boston]	334	13	1	0	88	19	109	48	612	250
2 [New York]	564	47	1	625	297	70	491	53	2148	583
3 [Philadelphia]	238	26	39	42	49	12	93	6	505	505
4/5 [Cleveland]	643	56	129	200	252	30	437	0	1747	1109
6 [Detroit]	219	23	19	0	157	58	136	50	664	173
7/8 [Chicago]	1128	77	139	642	392	122	1337	221	4058	1117
9 [Denver]	6	6	6	16	2	4	5	13	52	52
10 [San Francisco]	52	10	17	19	17	0	0	377	482	105
11 [Seattle]	37	17	4	80	38	32	0	0	188	126
TOTAL	3221	277	365	1590	1294	348	2993	378	10466	4015

NOTE: Read at meeting, and then destroy.

Paul Holt [Alfred Wagenknecht],
Executive Secretary.

Edited with a footnote by Tim Davenport.

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