
Minutes of the Founding Convention of the Communist Labor Party of America, Aug. 31 — Sept. 5, 1919.

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The First Session of the Emergency National Convention Called by the Newly Elected NEC. [Evening, Aug. 31, 1919]

Convened by Chairman [Thomas] Crimmins at 6:30 pm.

Decided to rent the larger hall in this building.

Adjourned to the larger hall where the roster of delegates was read, showing 82 delegates representing 21 states.

[Edgar] Owens of Illinois elected Chairman by acclamation.

[Marguerite] Prevey of Ohio elected Vice Chairman by acclamation.

[Lawrence] Zitt of Ohio elected Secretary by acclamation.

[E.B.] Austin of Kentucky elected Assistant Secretary by acclamation.

[William Bross] Lloyd of Illinois elected Sergeant at Arms by acclamation.

Decided to adopt the order of business submitted by the NEC.

Decided to employ a stenographer to record the proceeding of this convention.

Motion was passed to elect a Credentials Committee. [Joseph] Coldwell, [Jack] Carney, [Charles] Baker, [J.] McSlarrow, and [L.K.] England were chosen and instructed to retire immediately and report at the earliest opportunity.

A motion was passed to hear the report of the NEC and the National Executive Secretary pro tem, but to defer action until after the report of the Credentials Committee.

Marguerite Prevey reported for the NEC on Party activities since its election and its selection of

Wagenknecht as National Executive Secretary pro tem. She stated that the NEC met for the purpose of assuring the holding of the Emergency Convention; ousted [Adolph] Germer and substituted [Alfred] Wagenknecht; canvassed referendum returns and declared the following elected to the new National Executive Committee: [Louis] Fraina, [Nicholas] Hourwich, [Edward] Lindgren, [C.E.] Ruthenberg, [Fred] Harwood, Prevey, Lloyd, [Dennis] Batt, [John] Keracher, [Patrick] Nagle, [Dan] Hogan, [Mary] Millis, [Ludwig] Katterfeld, and [Harry] Wicks.

Also that the NEC reinstated the Russian, Lithuanian, South Slavic, Ukrainian, Lettish, Hungarian, and Polish Federations and Michigan and Massachusetts.

Action was deferred.

Decided to consider communications but defer action.

1. From State Secretary [Walter] Dillon of New Mexico, assuring us of all that state's adherence to the principles and declarations of the Third International.

2. Greetings from the YPSL of New York State.

3. Telegram from Secretary, San Jose, California, urging support of Left Wing Program.

4. National Left Wing Council sending greetings.

All ordered into the records.

Comrade Prevey reported in detail on the Debs case and the fight for his release, together with other class war prisoners. It was decided to go on record as assuming responsibility for further action along this line and that telegrams be sent to Debs and others offering assurances of the continuation of our support.

Letter from Indiana locals urging delegates to support Left Wing program and Elkhart endorsing the soviet form of government. Ordered into the record.

A member of the Executive Committee of the Italian Federation announced that his organization was wholeheartedly with us and would affiliate with the new organization at the first opportunity.

The Credentials Committee reported (report attached hereto) in detail, showing that 87 delegates were in attendance and entitled to seats in the convention. It was moved and carried that additional delegates to the regular quota announced by the old organization should be seated as fraternal delegates without vote. Comrade [H.E.] Greenwood of Illinois was seated as regular delegate.

The body decided to make the temporary organization permanent for the session. Comrade Prevey was granted by general consent the privilege to offer resolutions on Debs and all class war prisoners and to Mrs. Debs assuring her of our sympathy, support, and hopeful activities. Resolutions were adopted and ordered wired.

The report of the NEC was received and approved.

The report of the National Executive Secretary pro tem was received and approved.

Under consideration of the Party situation, Comrade Ruthenberg offered the following resolution:

“Resolved. That we hereby declare the Socialist Party to be the Party of Communist Socialism in the United States, and that we extend an invitation to all revolutionary working class groups to join in the development of this party of proletarian communism, and

That we elect a special committee of five to confer with a similar committee from the Organization Committee of the Communist Party, the National Left Wing Council, or the Communist Party Convention, regarding the immediate amalgamation of these bodies with our party to form the Communist Party of the United States.”

An amendment to the amendment was offered by Comrade Katterfeld reading as follows:

“The membership of the Socialist Party in a recent referendum voted overwhelmingly in favor of affiliation with the Communist International, thereby indicating its approval of the principles of Communist Socialism. This Convention believes, therefore, that it has a clear mandate from the membership to transform the Socialist Party into a party of Communist Socialism. Therefore, be it

Resolved: That this convention elect a committee of five to confer with the Organizing Committee of the Communist Convention and National Left Wing Council for the purpose of determining a basis for amalgamation of the two bodies.”

An amendment was offered to declare ourselves the Communist Convention of America, and send invitations to other revolutionary groups and to the so-called Communist Party, to form a party of revolutionary socialism. Motion for previous question was lost.

Later a motion for the previous question was carried. A motion to vote by roll call was carried.

A vote on the Katterfeld amendment was 54 yeas and 22 nays. A motion to proceed with the election of the committee of five was carried. Comrades Katterfeld, Wagenknecht, Lore, Greenhalgh, and Bauer were elected by ballot.

Motion carried that the committee elected meet with the Organizing Committee of the Communist Party tomorrow morning and report back at 10 am.

A motion to adjourn was carried.

Respectfully submitted,

Lawrence A. Zitt,
Secretary.

E.B. Austin, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary.

Second Session. Morning, Sept. 1, 1919.

Convened at 10:45 am by Chairman Prevey. Comrade Charles Baker of Ohio was chosen Chairman of the Day by acclamation, and John Zimmerman of Indiana was elected Vice Chairman by acclamation.

A motion to elect a committee to arrange the financing of delegates and the convention was carried. The following comrades were elected: [John C.] Taylor, [N.A.] Richardson, Prevey, Lloyd, and Wagenknecht. A motion carried instructing this committee to confer with the NEC with reference to finances.

A motion carried that the resolution offered by the Machinists Union owning this building in re. the presence of police during sessions of the Germer Emergency Convention be recorded in our minutes.

**To the Delegates of the
National Socialist Convention.**

Dear Comrades and Friends:

On behalf of the Die and Tool Makers' Lodge No. 113, International Association of Chicago, we protest against the harboring and use of police in this hall. This hall is the property, as well as the sanctuary, of a progressive and militant labor organization, based upon the class struggle. We do not permit our members to work under police protection; we can not conceive how we can let any meeting in this hall be carried on under police protection, when we as an organization condemn it and oppose it. While we are not represented in your convention as individual members or representative of an organization, we nevertheless are with you in spirit. For all these reasons we can not let the police remain as your protectors, or perhaps your uninvited guests, without submitting our deepest protest. We call upon you to take steps to remove the police or make such arrangements as will satisfy us that you are not responsible for the presence of the police.

We are not asking this to put hardship on you, but for the best interest of the socialist party and the labor movement in general.

Yours for International Solidarity,

EXECUTIVE BOARD
Die & Tool Makers Lodge No. 113

L.P. Vance,
Carl Harig,
G.T. Franckel,
Paul Pokara.

A telegram received from Richmond, California extending greetings to the Left Wing Convention and requesting that no compromise be made was ordered into the record.

A telegram received from the YPSL of Anderson, Indiana demanding that all delegates to the National Emergency Convention be seated, took the same course.

The minutes of the sessions of August 31st were read and approved after correction in re. New York State YPSL.

A motion was passed that M.K. Friedman of South Bend, Indiana be seated as a regular delegate.

A motion requesting Comrade Friedman to give information concerning the proceedings of the National Emergency Convention of yesterday was lost.

The Finance Committee announced the receipt of a collection from the audience amounting to \$91.14.

A motion carried to adjourn for one half hour, providing that we reconvene earlier if the Conferring

Committee returns.

Convention was reconvened at 12:30 pm. The Conferring Committee reported, presenting a communication from the Organization Committee of the Communist Party (attached hereto) and the Committee recommended that we proceed with the regular order of business until such time as the permanent organization of the Communist Party occurs.

Motion carried that every delegate participating in this convention by that act confirms his decision to retain his seat in this convention until a definite decision is reached on the final report of the Conferring Committee. Roll call vote showed following result: Yea, 65. Nay, 9.

Session adjourned until 3:30 pm.

Respectfully submitted,

Lawrence A. Zitt,
Secretary.

E.B. Austin, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary.

**Third Session.
Afternoon, Sept. 1, 1919.**

Convention reconvened at 3:50 pm. It was decided to proceed with the election of committees. Elections resulted as follows:

Committee on International Relations: [Ludwig] Lore, Bolding, [Max] Bedacht, Lloyd, and [Juel] Christiansen.

Committee on Resolutions: Crimmins, Prevey, [Clara] Broms, [Edwin] Firth, and [E.D.] Wilcox.

Committee on Constitution: Wagenknecht, [James] Dolsen, Owens, Austin, and [Henry] Petzold.

Committee on Platform: It was decided to suspend the rules and combine the Labor Committee with the Platform Committee. Reed, Richardson, Carney, [Kate] Greenhalgh, and England.

Committee on Organization, Education, and Propaganda: Coldwell, Katterfeld, E.B. Smith, [Louis] Boudin, and Greenwood.

Committee on Ways and Means: Owens, [Emil]

Von Allman, Richardson, Baker, and [Louis] Wolf.

Committee on Socialist Press and Publicity: John Reed, Gertrude Harmon, Jack Carney, L. Lore, and E.B. Smith.

Committee on Class War Prisoners: Prevey, Lloyd, [Arne] Swabeck, [Karl] Sandburg.

The Committee on Finance elected at morning session reported having received \$91.14 in a collection at the morning session and \$30.68 at the afternoon session. Report received.

A motion to suspend the rules so as to amend the order of business that the setting of time for adjournment and convening shall be the first order of business passed.

A motion to adjourn until 10:00 am Tuesday morning was ruled out of order by the Chairman.

It was decided to defer the choice of candidates for nomination as President and Vice President until after the report of the Committee on Platform and Labor shall have been received and acted upon.

A motion to adjourn until 10:00 am Tuesday morning was passed.

Lawrence A. Zitt,
Secretary.

E.B. Austin, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary.

Fourth Session.

Morning, Sept. 2, 1919.

Convened at 11:00 am by Chairman Baker. Comrade Coldwell of Rhode Island was elected Chairman for the day and Comrade [Kasper] Bauer of California was chosen Vice Chairman.

A communication from Comrade C.E. Ruthenberg, announcing his withdrawal from our convention was read and filed.

The Credentials Committee reported favorably upon the credentials of W.W. Cox, as a fraternal delegate from the Workers International Industrial Union, and B.H. Lauderdale, representing Texas. Action concurred in.

Roll call showed that there were 68 delegates present. It was moved to adjourn at 1 pm to reconvene at 2 pm. Carried.

Comrade Owens offered his resignation from the Committee on Ways and Means. Accepted and Comrade Taylor chosen to fill vacancy.

The Credentials Committee recommended seating Henry Tichenor of Missouri. Approved.

While waiting for the report of the Platform Committee, the California delegation read their statement to the Germer Convention. Ordered into the record, together with the fact that the Germer Convention ignored the statement by proceeding with regular business.

It was decided to reconsider the action of yesterday combining the Committees on Platform and Labor. Motion to divide the committee was passed. Body decided to rename the Committee on Platform as the Committee on Program. Motion passed to elect a Committee on Platform. Comrades [Tom] Clifford, [O.J.] Brown, Bedacht, Sandberg, Lore, Jackman, and Baker were elected, and instructed to return a terse, clear, and revolutionary statement of our principles and nothing more.

The Committee on Labor and on Program were combined by regular action. Motion to adjourn was passed.

Fifth Session.

Afternoon, Sept. 2, 1919.

Convened at 2 pm by the Chairman. Announcement that Comrade J.M. Brooks of Jack Wade, Alaska had contributed \$5.00 to our treasury.

Comrades [Beatrice] Sedgewick and Lindgren were appointed to take up a collection and returned with \$42.91. It was decided to adjourn at 5:30 pm and reconvene at 10 am Wednesday morning.

E.S. Smith of Warren, Ohio was seated as delegate in place of Dennison, who was compelled to return home.

Greetings from Branch 92, Workmen's Circle of Chicago were read and ordered into the record.

The Committee on Press and Publicity offered majority and minority reports; both reports were re-

ferred back to the committee for further consideration.

Contribution of \$10.00 from Local No. 3 of Butte, Montana, was announced and letter ordered into the record.

The Ways and Means Committee rendered a partial report which was adopted except the proposal to elect a new committee to handle the funds.

The Resolutions Committee reported offering:

Res. No. 2: in re. adopting the recognized emblem of the Communist parties of the world as the emblem of THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF AMERICA. Resolution was approved and emblem adopted.

Res. No. 3: In re. electing a committee of five to consist of delegates connected with the agricultural industry to draft a program stating the aims of the revolutionary agricultural proletariat. Motion to adopt was passed and the committee elected. Lauderdale of Texas, McSarrow, Katterfeld, Hyde, and Harmon were elected to the committee.

Ways and Means Committee reported the receipt of a contribution of \$35.00 from Comrade Smith of Warren, Ohio.

The question of engaging IWW Hall, 119 Throop Street S, at \$10.00 per day was considered and it was decided to rent the same.

It was moved and passed that we extend a vote of thanks to the Machinists' Union for their courtesies and consideration during our stay here. Passed by unanimous vote.

The Committee on Class War Prisoners offered its report, which was adopted by regular action.

The Press and Publicity Committee reported, considered and passed upon seriatim as follows:

1st Par. in re. publishing a weekly newspaper was passed.

2nd Par. in re. editorial policy being kept in control of the party was passed.

3rd Par. in re. publishing a monthly educational journal, adopted.

4th Par. in re. joint conference of editors and party paper directors was adopted.

5th Par. in re. publishing a monthly propaganda paper. Motion to adopt amended to read "semi-monthly." Amended motion adopted.

6th Par. in re. establishing a labor press association. Adopted.

7th Par. in re. issuance of monthly, bi-monthly, or quarterly leaflets, was adopted. Motion to adopt the whole report was passed.

Moved to furnish the Constitution Committee with a copy of this report as adopted by the convention. Passed.

A motion to reconsider the action to rent the IWW hall was lost.

A collection of \$42.91 for striking cigarmakers was taken.

Adjourned to reconvene at 10 am.

Lawrence A. Zitt,
Secretary.

E.B. Austin, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary.

Report of the Committee on Ways and Means.

This committee considers it to be their duty to raise funds to defray the immediate expense of this convention, but does not think it has the power to make expenditures of funds.

The Left Wing of Cook Country has arranged two mass meetings, which will be held tonight, Tuesday, September 2nd, at West End Auditorium and Old Style Inn, with speakers of prominence in the Left Wing movement. At these meetings your committee expects to raise several hundred dollars which will go into the treasury of this convention. One hundred and twenty-one dollars have been thus far received from delegates present.

Bills are now in the hands of this committee which must be met. Many other bills will come in from day to day. Since we here must devise a means of meeting the expense of delegates who were denied seats in the Germer Convention, we thereby call upon every state delegation to furnish this Committee as soon as possible with the following information: 1st. How much money can this convention expect from your state? 2nd. Is your state in a position to defray the expenses of the delegates? 3rd. Did your state send in the money raise through the sale of Emergency Convention Stamps? 4th. How much money can this con-

vention expect from the sale of convention stamps?

Charles Baker,
Chairman.

L.F. Wolf,
Secretary.

Sixth Session.
Morning, Sept. 3, 1919.

Convened at 10:40 am by the Chairman. Bauer of California was chosen Chairman for the Day and Zimmerman of Indiana Vice Chairman.

It was decided to adjourn at 1:00 pm and reconvene at 2:00 pm. The minutes of sessions held on September 2nd were approved.

The Chairman ruled that delegates bolting from other conventions and wishing to be seated in the CLP Convention must be regularly considered.

Greetings from Scandinavian comrades of Duluth assuring us of their continuous support were received and entered into the record.

The convention decided to instruct the Committee on Press and Publicity to secure reports of the proceedings of all Socialist Conventions being held in Chicago and furnish copies for the delegates.

A motion was passed to reverse the order and hear the report of the Platform Committee prior to that of the Program and Labor Committee.

An action to adopt the report in toto was amended to defer consideration until copies can be furnished all the delegates. Amendment passed.

A motion was passed that the report of the Committee on Program and Labor be considered seriatim. The Chairman ruled that the only matter before the body was the report of the Platform Committee.

A motion to adopt the same was amended to consider seriatim. Passed.

1. Adopted as submitted by the Committee.

2. Amended to read (Capitalist Imperialism) instead of (State Imperialism). Amendment adopted.

3. Amended to change the word (full) to (all) and insert (is taken) just before the words (the Working Class). Adopted as amended. Session adjourned.

Seventh Session.
Afternoon, Sept. 3, 1919.

Reconvened at 2:00 pm by the Chairman. It was decided to adjourn at 6:00 pm.

The Credentials Committee reported favorable on the credentials of Fannie Crowell of Arkansas, Minnie Rivkin of Ohio, and A.D. Swarjessi of Illinois. These delegates were seated.

Convention resumed consideration of the Platform Committee report.

4. Amended to substitute for the paragraph submitted the following: (The Communist Labor Party proposes the organization of the Workers into a class, the overthrow of the Capitalist Rule and the conquest of political powers by the Workers. The Workers, organized as a ruling class, shall, through their Government, make and enforce the laws; they shall own and control land, factories, mills, mines, transportation systems, and financial institutions. All Power to the Workers.) Adopted as amended.

5. Paragraph ordered eliminated.

6. Paragraph ordered eliminated.

7. Adopted as read.

8. A motion to adopt was amended to insert the words "on the political field." An amendment to the amendment was offered reading: "To this end, we ask the Workers to unite with the Communist Labor Party for the conquest of political power to establish a Government adapted to the Socialist transformation."

A motion to grant Comrade [Morris] Zucker the floor to read a statement of two King's Country delegates to the Communist Convention was passed, Zitt of Ohio voting no.

A motion to table the statement was lost and a motion was carried to file the communication and grant the request of these two delegates to be reseated.

Resumed consideration of paragraph 8 of the Platform Committee report. By general consent of the body, a substitute for the whole was offered, reading: "To this end we ask the Workers to unite with the Communist Labor Party and to make it their political expression in their struggle for the control of the powers of Government." The substitute lost, 28 yea and 41 nay. The amendment carried 46 yea, 22 nay. Motion to adjourn was carried.

Eighth Session.
Evening, Sept. 3, 1919.

Reconvened at 7:40 pm and decided to adjourn at 11:00 pm and to reconvene at 10:00 am, Thursday, September 4th.

The resignation of E.B. Smith from the Press and Publicity Committee was accepted and Comrade Swabeck chosen to fill the vacancy.

Resumed consideration of the Platform Committee report.

9. Amended to strike out the words "and thus unite their political and economic power" and substitute "in the IWW, the one big union." Amendment to the amendment to insert "and work together with the Communist Labor Party for the destruction of the Capitalist State, etc." Both amendments were tabled and an amendment offered to strike out "we also urge the Workers to organize" and substitute "we also pledge our support to the Workers in organizing themselves on the Industrial Field." A motion to table until after hearing the report of the Labor Committee was passed.

Comrade Zimmerman being absent, Comrade Gitlow was elected as Vice Chairman and a motion was passed inviting Comrade William D. Haywood to address the Convention Thursday afternoon at 3 o'clock on the subject of "Class War Prisoners."

The Committee on Program and Labor submitted its report. It was decided to consider it seriatim.

The declaration was adopted as read.

Part Two:

1. Adopted as read.

2. Amended to insert the word "effectively" just before "oppose the will, etc."

3. Adopted as read.

4. Amended to eliminate the words "The break with Germany." A motion referring this paragraph back to the Committee for redrafting was adopted.

5. Adopted after rejecting an amendment to strike out "Michigan and Wisconsin and other states."

6. An amendment offered and rejected and section carried as submitted.

7. Adopted as read.

8. Referred back to the Committee.

Part Three:

1. Amended by substituting the word "Control" for "Ascendancy."

Sections 2 and 3 adopted as read.

4. Amended by striking out the first sentence and beginning with "Economy."

5. Amended by substituting the word "Communist" for "Socialist" and "Emancipation" for "Salvation."

Program:

First four sections adopted as read.

5. Amended by substituting for the whole paragraph the following: "Locals shall organize shop branches to conduct the Communist propaganda and organization in the shops and factories and to encourage them to organize in one big union."

This amendment was adopted.

Paragraphs 6, 7, 8, and 9 were adopted as read, Comrade Coldwell of Rhode Island voting "no" on the last.

Paragraphs 10 and 11 adopted as read.

The Special Conferring Committee reported submitting a communication from the Communist Convention and their answer. The action of the Committee was approved and the Committee continued.

Adjournment was taken.

Lawrence A. Zitt,
Secretary.

E.B. Austin, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary.

Ninth Session.
Morning, Sept. 4, 1919.

Convened at 10:35 am by Chairman Bauer. Decided to adjourn at 1:00 pm.

The Credentials Committee reported that Caleb Harrison should be seated in place of Comrade Cox, who left the city. So ordered.

Coldwell's resignation from the Organization, Education, and Propaganda Committee was accepted and Harmon, Clifford, and Firth chosen to fill the vacancies.

Prevey was elected Chairman for the day and Gitlow Vice-Chairman.

The Ways and Means Committee was instructed

to make a report before the end of this session. Minutes of yesterday's session approved.

Resumed the consideration of the Program Committee's report.

Sec. 8. (as redrafted by Committee): "The political action of the working class means action taken by the workers to impose their class will upon the capitalist state." Adopted.

A motion to reconsider paragraph of Part One was lost. A motion to reconsider paragraph 5 of section entitled "Program" was passed. It was decided to include the original paragraph as submitted by the Committee and combine it with that adopted by the Convention.

The Program as amended was adopted as a whole.

The Convention considered the report on Labor, seriatim.

Part One:

1. Amended to strike out the word "help."
2. Amended to strike out the words "in the ranks of the IWW."

3. Adopted as read.

4. Adopted as read.

Paragraphs 1, 2, and 3 were adopted as read.

4. Amended to insert the words "the officials of" before the words "the unions."

The whole of the section sub-titled "Recommendations" was adopted as read and the report as amended was adopted as a whole.

Session adjourned at one o'clock after instructing a committee composed of McSarrow and Richardson to invite W.D. Haywood to address the Convention at 3:00 pm.

Tenth Session.

Afternoon, Sept. 4, 1919.

Reconvened at 2:00 pm. Sang the "International."

A contribution to the Convention of 10 dollars was received from the first Russian Communist Branch of Chicago and their request for the first charter was referred to the NEC to be elected.

It was decided to adjourn at 7:00 pm.

The Platform Committee reported on Paragraph 9, previously referred back. After rejecting a proffered amendment, the paragraph was stricken out and the Platform as previously amended was adopted as a whole.

A communication from Harrison George, No. 13158 Leavenworth, political prisoner, was read. It was decided to send this comrade our greetings and that copies of his letter be furnished all the delegates.

A communication from Com. W.D. Haywood was received stating that it was impossible for him to address the Convention. Secretary instructed to reply.

It was decided to elect a Labor Committee of seven. Carney, Sprunk, Bauer, England, Gitlow, Swabeck, and Richardson were chosen, after ruling by the Chairman that convention rule covering the size of committees applied only to convention committees and not to permanent committees.

The Committee on Unity (Special Conferring) was instructed to draft a statement addressed to the delegates of the Communist Convention and to distribute them to the delegates.

The report of the Committee on International Relations was read, considered seriatim, and adopted as a whole.

The report of the Committee on Agriculture was read and adopted. Greetings from the Executive Committee of the Bronx Left Wing, urging unity was read and ordered into the record.

A communication from Com. J. van Benthewsen anent definition of "Communism" was filed.

Comrade Sopher, substituting for W.D. Haywood, addressed the Convention on Class War Prisoners. The address was greatly appreciated by the delegates.

It was decided to reconsider the report of the Committee on Agriculture. Report was referred back to the Committee.

The report of the Constitution Committee was read and considered seriatim.

Article I, Section 1. Previously cared for by the convention.

Article II, Sections 2 and 3. Adopted as read and Section 4 stricken out.

Article III, Section 1. It was decided to refer the whole Article back to Committee.

Article IV, Section 1 (a). Adopted as read. (b)

Amended to read "five-sevenths." (c) Adopted as read. (d) Stricken out. (e) Adopted as read. (f) and (g) Cared for elsewhere. (h) and (i) Stricken out. (j) Cared for in Article V. (k) Stricken out and Section 2 stricken out.

Sections 3 to 9 adopted as read and Section 10 stricken out.

Adjourned.

**Eleventh Session.
Evening, Sept. 4, 1919.**

Reconvened at 7:00 pm. It was decided to adjourn at 10 pm and reconvene at 9:00 am Friday morning.

Statement in re. proposed intervention in Mexico was read and adopted.

It was decided to invite the delegates of the Communist Convention to meet with us in informal session regardless of the standing of delegates at 1:00 pm Friday afternoon. A committee of three was elected to proceed immediately to the Communist Convention and convey the invitation. Reid of Rhode Island, Swabeck, and England were selected.

Session adjourned.

Lawrence A. Zitt,
Secretary.

E.B. Austin, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary.

**Twelfth Session.
Morning, Sept. 5, 1919.**

Convened at 10:00 am. Dolsen of California elected Chairman and Bauer of the same state Vice-Chairman.

Decided to adjourn at 12:00 noon.

Committee on Constitution reported in detail.

Article 1, Section 1. Adopted as submitted by the Committee.

Article 2. First three sections adopted as read. Old Section 4 stricken out. Section 5 concerning the

pledge amended in the fourth line by striking out the words "itself into a political party" and substituting the words "politically and industrially." Adopted as amended.

Article 3, Section 1. Amended by changing the word "affairs" to read "policies." Section 2 amended to read thus: "The National Executive Committee shall be composed of five members." Section 3 (a) to read as follows: "The call for the regular election of members of the National Executive Committee shall be issued on the first day of December of each year." Section 3 (b): "The traveling expenses of members of the NEC in attending meetings of the Committee and a per diem not exceeding \$6.00 shall be allowed out of the National Treasury." Section 4 of old constitution stricken out.

Article 4, Section 1 (a), (b), and (c) adopted as read; (d) stricken out; (e) adopted as read; (f), (g), (h), (i), (j), (k) stricken out. Section 2 ordered stricken out. Sections 3 and 4 adopted as read. Section 5 stricken out. Sections 6, 7, 8, and 9 adopted as read. Section 10 stricken out.

Article 5, Section 1. Adopted as read.

Motion made and passed that we elect our new National Executive Committee immediately after the report of the Special Conferring Committee.

Paragraphs (f), (g), and (j) of Article 4 were ordered incorporated in Article 5.

Article 6 stricken out.

At this point business was suspended to hear the report of the Conferring Committee. Report received and Committee discharged.

It was decided to elect a committee of three to draft an historical statement on the whole matter of unity. Wagenknecht, Swabeck, Coldwell, Richardson, and John Reed were nominated and constituted the committee. A resolution by Comrade Katterfeld extending a standing invitation to the Communist Convention to meet with us for purposes of unity was adopted.

Nominations for National Executive Committee were made as follows: Owens, Bilan, Katterfeld, Crimmins, Prevey, Bauer, Bedacht, McSlarrow, Sandberg, Carney, Lindgren, England, Lore. Moved and passed that candidates should rise and state their occupation. Vote by ballot was taken. It then was decided that the names of the ten highest candidates be

resubmitted to the Convention and those receiving a majority of the votes cast be declared elected. The Tellers reported Comrades Bilan, Carney, and Katterfeld had received a majority. The Chair declared these three elected and a motion to proceed to vote upon the four receiving the next highest vote and the two receiving a majority be considered elected was passed. Comrades Bedacht and Lindgren declared elected as members of the National Executive Committee.

Session adjourned to reconvene at 3:30 pm.

Thirteenth Session. Afternoon, Sept. 5, 1919.

Decided to adjourn 6:30 pm and to reconvene again at 8:00.

Communication from the Executive Committee of Local Bronx, of New York Left Wing on Unity was ordered into the record. Telegram to the same effect from the 57th District of New York, endorsing action of Zucker and Lindgren was ordered into the record.

By general consent of the Convention, it was decided to reconsider paragraph 6 of Part 1 of the program. Motion to strike out the word "direct" was passed. Tellers reported that Comrades Owens and England were elected alternate members of the NEC. Comrade Crimmins chosen Vice-Chairman to fill vacancy.

The Committee on Resolutions reported having offering a resolution on the definition of direct action and political action. Same was referred back for redrafting.

Ways and Means Committee reported having received a total of \$464.67. Report accepted and recommendations concurred in.

Resumed consideration of the Constitution.

Article 7, Section 1. Substitute Section by Committee was adopted. Sections 2 and 3 adopted as read. The whole of Article 8 was stricken out.

Article 9, Section 1. Amended to read: "National Convention of the Party shall be held yearly, etc." Section 2 adopted as read. Section 3 amended to read: "Regular Conventions shall be called for May 1st." Section 4 amended to strike out the last section cover-

ing period of time of Party membership. Adopted as amended.

Article 9, Section 5. Amended to read "\$3.50 per day" in place of "\$2.50." Section 6 (c) amended to strike out the words "to ascertain the number of uncontested delegates and they shall permanently organize the Convention," and to substitute "of all the uncontested delegates."

Article 10, Section 4. Substitute the word "Secretary" for "Committee" at the end of the paragraph. Section 2 amended to read: "No state or territory may be organized unless it has an aggregate membership of not less than 200, etc." and again to amend "one hundred and fifty per month" to read "two hundred per month." Amendment carried. Section 6. Substitute section as offered by the Committee was adopted.

At this point a special committee to draft a historical statement on Unity submitted its report. Adopted and ordered into the records.

Article 10. Adopted as read by Committee.

Article 11. Adopted as read by the Committee.

Article 12, Sections 1, 2, and 3. Adopted as read. Section 4 stricken out and substitute section adopted as follows: "Each foreign language Branch shall purchase dues stamps from the City or County Committee where such organizations exist, or otherwise from the State Office. Such purchase of dues stamps shall be receipted for upon a special form provided by the National Office. These receipts shall then be sent to the respective translator secretaries, who, upon presentation of same to the National Executive Secretary shall receive 15¢ for each stamp thus receipted for." Adopted as read.

It was decided to empower the National Executive Committee to suspend the operation of this section until Jan. 1st, 1920. Section 5 (a) adopted as read. Section 5 (b), second paragraph ordered stricken out. Section 7, strike out the first half of the section. Sections 8 and 9 adopted as read.

Articles 13 and 14, adopted as read.

Article 15 was amended by adding a new section, to be known as Section 3, to read as follows: "Any person formerly a member of the Socialist Party of America, who was at the time of the National Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party in 1919 in good standing in that organization, and who had signed the regular application pledge to the Communist La-

bor Party shall be considered a member in good standing of the Communist Labor Party and shall not be required to pay the One Dollar Initiation Fee, as required in Article 10, Sec. 7, Par. c." Adopted as read.

ENACTING CLAUSE

This Constitution shall be in effect immediately upon its adoption by this Convention. It shall be enforced by a temporary NEC composed of five members, to be elected by this Convention. They shall function as the NEC until regularly succeeded by the NEC elected February-March 1920.

Committee on Resolutions reported a resolution defining Direct Action and Political Action. Adopted as offered.

Adjourned to meet at 8:00 pm.

Fourteenth Session. Evening, Sept. 5, 1919.

Reconvened by singing the "Red Flag" and "International."

It was decided to elect a special committee of five on Labor. England, Richardson, Baker, Swabeck, and Gitlow were chosen the Committee.

Committee on Organization, Education, and Propaganda offered its report. It was decided to consider it seriatim.

First paragraph was adopted as read. Part 1 was stricken out, having been cared for by the Press and Publicity Committee. Part 2, on establishing a Pub-

lishing House, was adopted as read. Sections dealing with Lyceum Bureau were approved as read and the report adopted as a whole.

Supplementary recommendation, paragraphs 1 and 2 stricken out, having been cared for by other Committees. Paragraph 3 adopted as read. Paragraph 4 amended by striking out the words "The 1920 Presidential election" and substituting therefor "Class War Prisoners are liberated." Adopted as a whole as amended.

A motion was passed instructing the National Executive Committee to engage a competent editor.

It was decided that Comrades Reed and Wagenknecht be elected Temporary International Delegates and that they act as International Secretaries until our 1920 Convention.

By regular action it was decided to discharge all Convention Committees which have fulfilled their duties and all others were instructed to report to the National Executive Committee.

The National Executive Committee was instructed to formulate plans for a Pan-American Conference.

Adjourned at 10:45 by singing Revolutionary Songs and omit cheer for Soviet Russia and all class war prisoners.

Lawrence A. Zitt,
Secretary.

E.B. Austin, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary.

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