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# Bureau of Investigation Confidential Surveillance Report of the Unity Convention of the Communist Party of America: Woodstock, NY — May 15-28, 1921.

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*Report Made by:* H.J. Lenon.

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## UNITY CONVENTION OF COMMUNIST PARTIES, Woodstock, Ulster County, New York, Radical Matter.

*Facts Developed:*

AT PITTSBURGH, PA.

The following was received from a strictly confidential source:— †

“On May 15th [1921] the delegates assembled at Kingston, New York, and proceeded by automobile to the Overlook Mountain House on top of Overlook Mountain at Woodstock, Ulster County, New York.

By Monday afternoon [May 16, 1921], a complete delegation of 30 men from the United Communist Party and 30 men from the Communist Party had all arrived, and each Party began its Party caucuses. In addition to those present was the representative of the American Agency of the Communist International,

whose name is Charles E. Scott [Karlis E. Janson] and whose name in the United Communist Party is Charles E. Stewart.

Caucuses were held until Wednesday afternoon [May 18, 1921], when at 3:00 pm both parties assembled in joint session with a man named Swift, whose name is Dr. [Jacob] Hartman, and who is lecturing for the medical relief of Soviet Russia, acting as impartial chairman.

The United Communist Party had elected at its Party Caucuses Nelson [Jay Lovestone] of New York, Baker [Will Weinstone] of New York, and Duffy [Alfred Wagenknecht] of the Central Executive Committee as its steering committee. At the first session, Resolution, Liquidation, Constitution, and Program Committees were elected from both sides to work together upon their orders of business.

At the next session on Tuesday [May 17, 1921], the New York delegation submitted a resolution, which was voted down, and the members of the steering committee were replaced by Elk [Ludwig Katterfeld] and Duffy [Wagenknecht] of New York, and Fox [=???]. Several lengthy speeches were made by members of the New York delegation in defense of their resolution, but were not considered favorably by their Party.

The next 2 days were taken up with going over the new program which was [plucked?] from the these and statutes of the Third International as both Parties objected to the wording of the platform, saying it

†- Examination of the microfilmed files of the Bureau of Investigation for 1921 makes it clear that the Bureau had a top level informant in the apparatus of the Pittsburgh District of the United Communist Party. Internal documents issued for very small audiences leaked in a steady stream to the Pittsburgh office of the BoI; secret information from a Pittsburgh informant had brought the Bureau onto the tail of Edward Lindgren, shadowing him on the train back to New York City and thereby (inadvertently) taking down UCP headquarters on April 29, 1921. It now seems absolutely certain that this individual was the UCP member from Pittsburgh attending this convention under the pseudonym “Ryan” — the identity of whom remains to be determined.

sounded like being to much from either side.

After that, the committees submitted their reports at the joint session and after lengthy discussion of both sides, a program was finally adopted that was suitable, some extracts being taken from the program of both Parties, but in wording and in sense, practically the same as the previous ones.

At the next sessions in the next couple of days, the Constitution Committee submitted its report, and after lengthy discussions, changes were made in the constitution, to the effect that the policy the former Communist Party had was altered to demand the election of District Committees, Sub-District Committees, and Organizers, in place of being appointed as formerly.

Further alterations were in the matter of Language Federations, as the Communist Party program demanded the Language Federations to retain all finances and the right to discipline its members. The United Communist Party took the stand that the Language Federations were objectionable to the Communist Party and succeeded in having the discipline of these organizations under direct control of the Central Executive Committee; also all finances must be turned in to the Central Executive Committee of the United [*sic.*] Communist Party, and they in turn will finance the Language Federations.

The purpose of the Language Federations is to carry on Communist propoganda in a legal way under the guise of National Societies. The matter of discipline in the Language Federations is strictly under orders from the Central Executive Committee. The article of discipline in the constitution remained practically unchanged and was accepted.

A lengthy dispute arose on the number of members the Central Executive Committee should consist of, the Communist Party demanding 9 members and the United Communist Party demanding 10. A deadlock was reached on this, with the result that elections were held by each side to elect 4. The Communist Party elected Henry [George Ashkenuzi], Sullivan [Alfred S. Edwards], Moore [John Ballam], and Riley [Joseph Stilson] and the United Communist Party elected Nelson [Lovestone], Monroe [Abram Jakira], Elk [Katterfeld], and Collins [Joseph Zack Kornfeder], and alternates for the Communist Party <illeg.> [=???], and Cook [James Cannon] for the United Communist

Party. At the suggestion of Scott [Janson], Cook [Cannon] and <illeg.> [=???] were finally elected as members of the Central Executive Committee, which now consists of 10 members.

At this point in the joint session, a radiogram was received from Moscow stating that the delegates from both Parties would not be received at the World Congress [of the Comintern] until both Parties were united. International delegates were then elected, which consisted of Baldwin [Oscar Tyverovsky] from the former Communist Party and Davidson (Bob Minor) to attend the World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, to be held July 1st at Moscow.

Resolutions were submitted by the Resolution Committee sending greetings to the Third International, the Canadian Communist Party, and the Communist Parties of all countries from this session, stating that the two Communist Parties in this country were now united, wishing all Communist Parties future success.

Mandates were issued by both sides to 3 men of each side, who now reside in Moscow, to represent them as delegates at the World Congress.

A lengthy resolution was submitted by Collins [Zack], dealing with the negro problem in the United States, telling of the vital importance of this problem and that 13 million negroes in this country were in the labor movement and the need of forming Communist nuclei among them.

At this point Scott [Janson] of the American Agency announced that he had been especially instructed by radiogram from Moscow of form of methods of appeal and approach to the negroes, as Moscow deems it very important that negroes be enlightened with the message of Communism immediately.

Another resolution was submitted by Collins [Zack], dealing with the Hungarians and the need of forming Communist nuclei among the farmers, etc. Action will be taken on this immediately, Scott [Janson] announced.

An Auditing Committee was elected to audit the books of the former Central Executive Committees and to report on all liabilities of the two Communist Parties.

It was announced by the Central Executive Committee of the United Communist Party in their finance report that Moscow had sent them a special donation

of \$135,000, but to date only \$50,000 had been received in this country — the Communist Party getting \$25,000 of this sum and the United Communist Party receiving the other \$25,000. \$10,000 of the money received by the United Communist Party was given to the defense of the IWW members in Chicago. Of the sum that the Communist Party received, they have already spent \$19,000.

The cost of the convention held on Overlook Mountain will be more than \$13,000 — \$5,000 of this sum being received as special assessment from the membership of both Parties at 50¢ per member. It was voted at the joint session to assess the members each 50¢ to cover the cost of the convention. It was announced in confidence by Scott [Janson] of the American Agency that if the control of the Federated Press is secured by the Communists, and that as soon as William Z. Foster returns from Moscow, this will be an important factor in forming Communist nuclei in this country.

The Communist Party of America owns 11 printing plants and 21 newspapers and the United Communist Party owns 1 large printing plant, netting them \$20,000 yearly, aside from paying the cost of their own literature. There are 40 newspapers in various languages owned and controlled by both Communist Parties in this country.

The final session was started at 8:30 am, Friday the 27th and at 9:15 pm Saturday [May 28, 1921] the two parties were united, they remaining in session continuously.

After the [singing] of “The Internationale,” the joint session adjourned and Party caucuses were held by Party officials for future activity. (District Organizers also took part).

Three automobiles left Kingston on Sunday morning, May 15th, carrying delegates to the Unity Convention of the Communist Party of America and the United Communist Party, held for the purpose of uniting both parties into one Communist Party in America, as ordered by the 3rd International at Moscow.

They carried the delegates to the outskirts of the village of Woodstock at the base of Overlook Mountain and then the delegates proceeded on foot to the summit of Overlook Mountain at the Overlook Hotel, where the convention was held.

All along the road the Communists had guards stationed and also a guard remained with the Marshall in the village of Woodstock and other guards were scattered about the country as farm hands, etc. Additional guards were in the vicinity of Ft. Montgomery, NY, at all railroad depots in Tannersville, Saugerties, Kingston, and New York City, taking precautions against any attempt to raid the convention.

The delegates were placed two in each room and at very frequent intervals were searched as they passed through the halls, etc., of the building and daily the rooms were raided by a committee, looking for any miscellaneous scraps of paper, etc., that would be incriminating in case of a raid of any kind from the authorities.

It was announced by Scott [Janson] of the American Agency that he was certain that the Department of Justice was not making any arrests at this time and nothing should be feared as the police, sheriff, etc. of the vicinity would be unable to get a force of sufficient strength to do them any harm, and if any attempt should be made to make any arrests, they would be immediately informed by their guards, who were scattered all through the mountains. The only possible way that any harm could befall the convention was by at least two troops of cavalry to attempt to dislodge them and any troop moving in this location would be known to us before they would be near the place.

The meetings were held in the hotel sometimes and at other times in the adjoining woods around the place. Party caucuses and joint conventions were also in session during the day and evening, starting at 8:00 am and lasting sometimes until 3:00 am. The steering committee forbid anybody to go further than 200 feet from the hotel unless going to a meeting place in a body in the woods. It would be impossible for anyone to leave the premises without being noticed as it would be at least an hour and a half before he could reach the base of the mountain, and as all delegates were placed 2 in a room, they would be immediately missed.

The Superintendent of the Hotel and a Miss Brown, who was in charge, knew the nature of the convention and it was stated by members of the Central Executive Committee that Miss Brown is a member of that Party and that supplies were brought to the hotel in a wagon drawn by guards of the hotel. At night these guards would signal by flashlight to each other

from various mountain tops that everything was OK.

The names of the delegates that attended the Unity Convention of the United Communist Party of America, which was held together with the Communist Party of America for the purpose of affecting unity between the two parties, at the order of the Third International of Moscow, directed by the official American Agency of the Communist International, who is Charles E. Scott [Karlis Janson], are given below.

### Delegates for the United Communist Party.

*District #1 (Boston and vicinity)* — Long [=???], Bronk [???], and Smith [=???].

*District #2 (New York and vicinity)* — Nelson [Jay Lovestone], Ames [? woman], Jerome [=???], Baker [Will Weinstone], and Gorney [Joseph Kowalski].

*District #3 (Philadelphia and vicinity)* — Clay [=???], and Monroe [=???].

*District #4 (Pittsburgh and vicinity)* — Ryan [=???].†

*District #5 (Cleveland and vicinity)* — Schiller [=???], Wendel [=???], Dengler [Walter Brustor], and Cook [James P. Cannon].

*District #6 (Detroit and vicinity)* — Wilson [=???] and Cox [=???].

*District #7 (Chicago and vicinity)* — Burke [Charles Krumbein], Fox [=???], Mitchell [=???], Lansing [Arne Swabeck], Rice [=???], and Evans [=???].

*District #8 (St. Louis, Kansas City, and vicinity)* — Baurer [???] and Page [T.R. Sullivan].

*District #9 (Minneapolis, Duluth, and vicinity)* — Ward [???] and Jasberg [???].

*District #10, 11, and 12 (Pacific Coast)* — represented by the CEC, who were Duffy [Alfred Wagenknecht] and Elk [Ludwig Katterfeld].

*District #13* — was Canada and there is now a Canadian Communist Party; it was not represented.

*District #14 (Upper New York State)* — Marxon [=???].

Fraternal delegates who are members of the Central Executive Committee are Collins [Joseph Zack Kornfeder], Mills [Alexander Bilan], Flynn [Edward Lindgren], Ford [Israel Amter], Duboff [Ab-

ram Jakira], and Davidson [Robert Minor].

### Delegates for the Communist Party of America.

Henry [George Ashkenuzi], Moore [John Balam], Morris [J. Wilenkin], Nichols [=???], Heller [=???], Bryant [=???], Nostosh [=???], Davis [=???], Sullivan [A.S. Edwards], Baldwin [Oscar Tyverovsky], and Riley [Joseph Stilson]. There were 30 in all, but some of these delegates were mostly Russians and Lettish [Latvians], and did not speak on the floor, and were not called by name so it was impossible to learn their convention names and where they came from. Fraternal delegates were Leon [=???] and Riley [Stilson].

### [Descriptions.]

### [Non-Party Participants.]

The Impartial Chairman for the convention was named *Swift*. He is Dr. [Jacob] Hartman, who is lecturing for the purpose of raising funds for the relief of Soviet Russia, to buy medical supplies. He is about 43 years old, blue eyes, weighs about 190 pounds, 5'8" tall, fair hair, and has a pleasing personality. He wears small eyeglasses.

The representative for the Communist International is *Charles E. Scott [Karlis Janson]*, whose name in the United Communist Party is Stewart, and who is a personal friend of Lenin.‡ He is a Lett [Latvian], about 40 years old [39], married, weighs about 175 lbs., is about 5'10" tall, blue eyes, and has a nervous look when talking, as he shifts his head about, looks up in the air, and his eyes roam around. He wears a grey suit with a grey cap.

### [Delegates of the United Communist Party.]

*Delegate Long [=???]*, of District #1 [Boston], lives in Boston, is a Hungarian, 25 years old, 5'6" tall, ruddy complexion, blue eyes, hair is clipped close on the head, wears a light grey suit, with a dark felt hat.

†- Actually, the Pittsburgh District had been merged into the Cleveland District on a temporary basis; "Ryan" was formally a Sub-District Organizer of District 5, not the DO of District 4.

‡- This is not as fanciful as it sounds, the Latvian Janson was a member of the RSDRP from 1904 and was a delegate to the 1907 London Convention of the RSDRP. He emigrated to the United States in 1908, settling in Roxbury, MA.

*Delegate Bronk* [=???] is the [ex-UCP] District Organizer in Boston, is a Lett [Latvian] about 35 years old, blue eyes, light hair, large head, weighs about 165 pounds, and is about 5'8" tall. He wears grey clothing, with a brown felt hat.

*Delegate Smith* [=???] is also a Lett [Latvian] from Boston, is about 40 years old, 6' tall, weighs about 190 pounds, has blue eyes, light hair, and wears a brown suit with a black derby hat.

*Delegate Nelson* [*Jay Lovestone*] from New York City is known under the party name of "Beacon" and is a Russian about 25 years old [23], weighs about 140 lbs. [?], 6'2" tall, blue eyes, light hair, with a small moustache and a callow complexion. He is employed as a drug clerk in New York. He wears a grey suit with a dark felt hat. He is a very active worker for the Communists and took a very active part at the Convention.

*Delegate Ames* [=???] is known under the Party name of Sparks in New York, and she is the [ex-UCP] Sub-District Organizer there. She is a Russian about 31 years old, dark complexion, dark hair and eyes, and is about 5' tall and weighs about 140 pounds. She has lived in New York City for some time.

*Delegate Jerome* [=???] is a Jew from New York City, and is very active in the work there, and at the convention. He is about 29 years old, weighs about 140 pounds, dark hair and eyes, with a long pointed nose. His voice is very low and he has a very nervous expression on his face when he talks. He wears dark clothing.

*Delegate Baker* [*Will Weinstone*] is a Jew from New York City, very active in the Communist work there, and also very active at the convention. He is about 29 years old [23], 5'10" tall, weighs about 150 pounds, has dark hair and black eyes, face is covered with pimples, and wears dark clothing with a dark felt hat.

*Delegate Gorney* [*Joseph Kowalski*] is also from New York City and is a Russian [Pole] about 30 years old [30], has light hair and blue eyes, with a ruddy complexion. He is about 5'8" tall and weighs about 185 pounds. He wears a blue suit and a dark felt hat.

Delegate Clay [=???] is the [ex-UCP] District Organizer for District #3 [Philadelphia] and he resides

in Philadelphia. Is married, is a Jew about <illeg.> years old, and weighs about 100 pounds, wears large glasses, and has dark eyes and hair. He wears a green cap, with a light suit.

*Delegate Monroe* [=???], a Jew from Philadelphia, is about 30 years old, and is about 5'1" tall and weighs about 150 pounds. He has dark hair and eyes, wears a green suit and a brown felt hat. He has an exceptionally large head for his size.

*Delegate Ryan* [=???] is from Pittsburgh, is about 39 [?] years old, tall, and wears a green suit and cap. †

*Delegate Schiller* [*Paul* —] is from Cleveland, and is the District Organizer for #5 District [Cleveland], and his name is Paul <illeg.>, also "Stock." He is a Lett [Latvian] about 29 [?] years old, 5'10" tall, weighs about 145 pounds, has grey eyes, dark hair, wears a blue coat, large glasses, and is quite nervous. He is very active in the Communist work. Wears a light cap.

*Delegate Wendel* [=???] is from Cleveland and is about 23 [?] years old, weighs about 145 pounds, 5'7" tall, wears glasses, and is an American.

*Delegate Dengler* [*Walter Bruster*] is called "Milner" in the Party and is Educational Director for #5 District [Cleveland] and is a Lett [Latvian] about 35 [?] years old and weighs about 185 pounds. He is about 5'10" tall and wears a blue suit and a brown felt hat.

*Delegate Cook* [*James Cannon*] is from #5 District [Cleveland] and is J. Cannon, who was speaking throughout the country under the auspices of the National Defense Committee. He has left the convention several days before it adjourned to attend his trial in Kansas City, where he is placed under anti-Sedition charges. He is and was a former member of the CEC.

*Delegate Wilson* [=???] is from Detroit, and is an American about 50 years old, is about 5'7" tall, weighs about 200 pounds, ruddy complexion, with a brown felt hat, and a dark grey suit. He was nicknamed "the Country Gentleman" from his appearance. In 1918 he was mobbed at Grand Lodge, Mich. for his seditious activities.

*Delegate Cox* [=???] is also from Detroit, and is a Slav and is about 6' tall, weighs about 195 pounds, has blue eyes and light hair, wears a grey suit and a black derby hat. He has lived in Pittsburgh about 3

†- Note that this is the shortest of any description of a former UCP member — "Ryan" is writing about himself in the third person.

years ago.†

*Delegate Burke [Charles Krumbein]* is the District Organizer in Chicago and he resides in the neighborhood of Clark St. and North Ave. in Chicago. He is an American about 32 years old [32], 5'10" tall, weighs about 170 pounds, and wears dark clothing and a dark cap.

*Delegate Fox [=???*] is also from Chicago and is known there under the Party name of Fields. He is a Jew about 30 years old, weighs about 185 pounds, and is 6' tall. He wears a brown suit and a brown cap. He has an extremely large nose. He has dark hair and eyes.

*Delegate Mitchell [=???*] is a Jew from Chicago and is a brother to Adams [=???], who was expelled from the CEC some time ago. He is about 25 years old, 5'7" tall, and weighs about 150 pounds. He has dark hair and eyes and wears dark clothing.

*Delegate Lansing [Arne Swabeck]* is from Chicago and is a Dane about 35 years old [30], weighs about 150 pounds, and is about 5'7" tall. He has light hair and blue eyes, and wears a dark grey suit. He is considered a suitable editor for some Party papers in the future. He resides in the Northwest section of the city.

*Delegate Rice [=???*] is a Slav from Milwaukee and has a barber shop there. He is out on bond, pending deportation proceedings, and expects to make his way back here through Port Huron, Canada, after being deported. He is about 29 years old, dark hair and eyes, and wears a dark suit.

*Delegate Evans [=???*] is also from Milwaukee, and is a Slav, with dark hair and eyes, with an exceptionally large nose. He wears a black felt hat and a dark suit. He is also known under the name of <illeg.>. He is about 27 years old, and about 5'8" tall, weighing about 155 [?] pounds.

*Delegate Baurer [=???*] is a Russian about 37 years old, weighs about 150 pounds, and is about 5'6" tall. He is the [ex-UCP] District Organizer in St. Louis. His family resides in Chicago. He wears dark clothes and has dark hair and eyes.

*Delegate Page [Thomas R. Sullivan]* is from Kansas City, Mo., and is the [ex-UCP] Sub-District Organizer there. He has recently served a 2 year term at Leavenworth for his activities in that city. He is an

American, about 30 years old [29 or 30], and is about 5'11" tall and weighs about 145 pounds. He has dark hair and eyes and a sallow complexion.

*Delegate Ward [=???*] is from Minneapolis and is a Hungarian, about 30 years old, weighs about 150 pounds, has light hair and blue eyes and is about 5'7" tall. He wears dark clothing. He had to leave the convention a week before its finish due to being called to face his deportation proceedings in Minneapolis.

*Comrade Jasberg [=???*] is a Slav from Minneapolis, has blue eyes and light hair, weight about 180 [?] pounds and is about 5'10" tall. He wears brown clothing and a brown felt hat. He has been active in the lumber camps in the past.

*Duffy [Alfred Wagenknecht]*, who is a member of the CEC, is of German descent and is about 45 years old [39], married, and drives his car #35088 NY. He is about 5'10" tall, weighs about 165 pounds, wears glasses and a striped blue suit and a dark cap. He is very active in the movement.

*Elk [Ludwig Katterfeld]*, who is a member of the CEC, is also known as Bell and as Alden and is of Russian [German] descent. He is about 38 years old [39], married, and about 5'10" tall. He weighs about 180 [?] pounds, has dark hair and brown eyes, and speaks with a sharp voice. He wears light clothing and a light cap.

*Delegate Marxon [=???*] is a Russian about 29 years old, and is about 5'7" tall, weighs about 150 pounds, wears dark clothing, has dark hair and brown eyes and a sallow complexion. He is the [ex-UCP] District Organizer for upper New York.

*Collins [Joseph Zack Kornfeder]* of the CEC is a Slav [Austrian], but looks like a Jew, and is known as Jackson. He is very active in the movement. He is about 30 years old [24], weighs about 170 pounds and is about 5'7" tall. He has dark hair and brown eyes, large head, wears a light cap and a blue suit.

*Mills [Alexander Bilan]* is known as Morgan in the Party and is a Russian [Lithuanian] who was International Delegate previously, who together with Flynn [Edward Lindgren] represented the Communists from this country in Russia. He is 34 years old [34], has light hair and blue eyes, is about 5'11" tall and weighs about 170 pounds.

†- "Ryan" inadvertently lets slip that he is well abreast of Pittsburgh "scene trivia."

*Flynn is Edward Lindgren* of Brooklyn and was a member of the CEC until the present Unity Convention.

*Ford [Israel Amter]* was one of the two arrested at the house on Bleeker Street in New York City† and is the tallest of the two, with dark hair and brown eyes. He is about 38 years old [40] and is the author of the "May Day of Revolution" leaflets issued by the UCP on May Day [1921].

*Duboff [Abram Jakira]* is the other one arrested in that house and is a Russian about 35 years old [31], partly bald head and stammers. All three of these men — Flynn [Lindgren], Ford [Amter], and Duboff [Jakira] are members of the CEC.

*Davidson [Bob Minor]* is the International Delegate elected from the UCP and his name is Robert Minor. He is about 42 years old [36], 6' tall, and weighs about 170 pounds. He has partly bald head, and defective hearing, and speaks slowly with a deep voice. He is very active both legally and illegally for the Communists.

### Delegates for the Communist Party.

*Delegate Henry [George Ashkenuzi]* is a Russian about 29 years old, weighs about 145 pounds, and is about 5'<illeg.>" tall. He has a large nose and dark hair and eyes, and wears a dark suit and a dark cap. Is a member of the [ex-old CPA] CEC.

*Delegate Moore [John Ballam]* is of Jewish descent and resides in Boston and his name is John Ballam. He is married, has grey hair, is about 40 years old [38], sallow complexion, 5'7" tall and weighs about 145 pounds. He is a member of the [ex-old CPA] CEC.

*Delegate Morris [J. Wilenkin]* is a Russian about 50 years old, with grey hair, dark eyes, and a dark suit and hat. He is about 5'5[?]" tall and weighs about 145 pounds.

*Delegate Nichols [=??]* is also a Russian [Ukrainian], about 40 years old, part bald head, dark moustache, brown eyes and dark hair, and weighs about 155 pounds and is about 5'8" tall. He wears dark clothing.

*Delegate Heller [=??]* is about 30 years old, weighs about 165[?] pounds, and is a Slav with blue eyes and dark hair. He is about 5'10" tall. He wears a grey suit and a dark hat.

*Delegate Bryant [=??]* is a Russia, about 30 years old, weighs about 170 pounds, and is about 5'7[?]" tall. He has blue eyes, wears dark clothing and a blue hat.

*Delegate [J.] Davis [=??]* is the wife of Delegate Sullivan [A.S. Edwards] and is a Hungarian about 40 years old. She has light hair, blue eyes, and wears brown clothing.

*Delegate Sullivan [Alfred S. Edwards]* is a Hungarian [Latvian] about 40 years old, partly bald, and has blue eyes and light hair. He is about 5'10" tall and weighs about 180 pounds. He wears dark clothing.

*Delegate Nostosh [=??]* is a Russian about 35 years old, hair clipped close to head, blue eyes, 5'8" tall, and weighs about 160 pounds. He wears a brown suit and a blue felt hat.

*Delegate Baldwin [Oscar Tyverovsky]* is a member of the CEC of the United Parties and very active. He is also International Delegate to Moscow and together with Minor will leave very shortly. He is a Russia about 29 years old, dark hair and black eyes, dark complexion, 5'9" tall and weighs about 145 pounds. He resides in Newark and Jersey City. He wears dark clothing and a dark cap.

*Delegate Riley [Joseph Stilson]* is a Ukrainian [Lithuanian] and arrived here from Moscow on May 13th. He formerly acted as translator for a foreign paper in Chicago.‡ He is about 30 years old [29], 5'9" tall, and weighs about 145 pounds. He wears glasses and has blue eyes and a sallow complexion. He wears a blue cap and a dark blue suit. He is a member of the CEC.

*Delegate Leon [=??]* is a Lett [Lithuanian] and is about 33 years old, weighs about 185 pounds, is 5'10" tall, has blue eyes and fair hair, wears glasses and a light suit with a dark vest and a dark cap. He was a member of the former CEC.

†- That is, United Communist Party Headquarters, located in the apartment rented by Helen Ware, located at 170 Bleeker Street. The apartment was raided by local and federal authorities on April 29, 1921. The Bureau of Investigation never seems to have comprehended at any time — before or after — that this was the UCP's underground center.

‡- This is a somewhat garbled rendering of a biographical detail — Stilson was the Lithuanian Translator-Secretary for the Socialist Party of America, based in Chicago, from 1918 until the 1919 split.

The new CEC for the United Party [consists] of Nelson [Lovestone], Monroe [=???], Elk [Katterfeld], Collins [Zack], Henry [Ashkenuzi], Sullivan [Edwards], Moore [Ballam], Riley [Stilson], with Cook [Cannon] and Dobin [Charles Dirba] as alternates.†

*Dobin [Dirba]* is a Lett about 45 years old [34], 6’ tall and weighs about 180 pounds. He wears glasses and a blue suit with a brown felt hat.

A Franklin car driven by a member of the Communist Party was driven to the meeting place and remained there for several days. Its number is 18800 [?] NJ.

A New York taxicab used in transporting delegates to the meeting place, and driven by its Communist owner, was car #6295 New York City taxicab license.

†- This is not quite right and it is difficult to understand why this pivotal detail was missed by the careful “Ryan.” We know from archival documents that the first CEC of the unified CPA consisted of 10 voting members: George Ashkenuzi, John Ballam, Charles Dirba, Joseph Stilson, and J. Wilenkin (from the old CPA); with James Cannon, Abram Jakira, Ludwig Katterfeld, Joseph Zack Kornfeder, and Jay Lovestone (from the former UCP). The first alternate for the UCP side was Will Weinstone. A.S. Edwards (“Sullivan”) was the first Boston District Organizer. “Monroe” is tentatively believed to have been Morris Kushinsky, who was the first Philadelphia District Organizer.

*Edited with footnotes by Tim Davenport.*

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