
Minutes of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America: New York — Feb. 10, 13, 14, 15, 19, 22, 1922.

Document in the Comintern Archive, f. 515, op. 1, d. 94, ll. 2-11. Pages of original missing.

First Session — Feb. 10th [1922].

Election of Chairman: Griffith [Joseph Zack Kornfeder] elected.

Present: Griffith [Zack], Golden [Jim Cannon], Lewis [Will Weinstone], Paul [J. Wilenkin], Ray [Joseph Stilson], Wheat [Jay Lovestone].

Reading of the minutes of the previous meeting.

Motion by Golden [Cannon], to correct minutes to read that this was not a meeting of the full committee because the nonresident members were not present.

Amendment by Lewis [Weinstone], to mention names of nonresident members absent from meeting. *Amendment carried.*

Protest by Golden [Cannon]: That the defeat of the motion amounts to a misrepresentation of the character of that meeting.

Statement by Wheat [Lovestone]: I cannot account for Golden's [Cannon's] protest, he was informed about the meeting and was told to attend the sessions. He answered that his attendance was not essential and that things could be taken care of without him and that we should go right ahead and that he had to leave town on very urgent business.

Ruling by Chairman [Kornfeder]: A majority of the CEC has the right to make decisions.

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that we wire at once for Lansing [Arne Swabeck] and Green [Meyer

Lunin] to come to this meeting.

Request for information by Wheat [Lovestone]: Has this body the right to act on the order of business and are its decisions final without the two nonresident members being present?

Answer by Chair [Zack]: Yes.

Motion carried.

International Relations.

Report by Marshall [Max Bedacht] as to misrepresentation by D. [=??] regarding our "B" [Friends of Soviet Russia] and the F.C. [=??] shipments.

Report as to his loss of credentials and difficulties.

Letter from Carter [Louis Fraina]: Coming from Havana and informing us that he has left Mexico but giving no information regarding his destination.

Letter from Carr [Ludwig Katterfeld] informing us of strong stand of CI against liquidation, of the order for Grey [Karlis Janson] to go to Canada, of the slogan for a "United Front," and of the request to send over D—s [???]. Letter to Carr [Katterfeld] by Secretary [Weinstone] read and accepted.

Report by International Delegate Gorney [Joseph Kowalski]:

(1) Recommendation of Carr [Katterfeld] to send 2 representatives to special CI Congress of February [1st Plenum: Feb. 24-March 4, 1922].

(2) Zinoviev proposed that the minority [Central Caucus faction headed by Ballam, Ashkenuzi, and Dirba] be suspended at once, and 2 of their represen-

tatives be sent to Moscow when he read their statement called "Save the Party."

(3) Zinoviev prevented Baldwin [Oscar Tyverovsky] from coming back.

(4) Comrade Shay [Bertram Wolfe] recommended by Carr [Katterfeld] to be engaged in legal press work.

(5) CI pleased with our [Russian famine] relief work but hoped we would do still more.

(6) Should take over the S.R. [*Soviet Russia*].

(7) We should under no conditions permit D. [Apparent reference to "Dorsey" = William Z. Foster] to pose as a representative of S.R. [*Soviet Russia*].

(8) Must begin English and Jewish dailies.

(9) Carter [Fraina] instructed to turn over all funds (\$15,666.) his balance to Party.

(10) Special C.H.K. [Sovnarkom?] Rep. will come to deal with one member of CEC.

(11) Special Int. [International] Dept. to be organized.

(12) Letter to Polish Comrades in America by representative of Polish CP in the CI.

(13) Report on Fred [Federated Press]. To have 2 correspondents.

(14) L. [Lenin] writing a book on Agrarian problems in America and is being supplied with data by Carr [Katterfeld]. Carr [Katterfeld] now working with Anglo Saxon Secretary and is in very good standing.

Relief.

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that Duffy [Alfred Wagenknecht], Harrow [Harold Ware], and Swift [Jacob Hartmann] be asked to appear at the next session and report on their activities.

Relief Decisions of the CEC Meeting Feb. 13th, 1922.

Duffy [Wagenknecht], Harrow [Ware], Swift [Hartmann] report.

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone]: (1) That the "B" [Friends of Soviet Russia] fully cooperate with the T [=??] in setting up its machinery, so as to obtain maxi-

mum relief for Russia from the Labor Unions.

(2) That a sub-committee of the CEC be appointed to insure the full cooperation and avoidance of conflict between the T [=??] and the B [FSR].

(3) All relief activities carried on in the Labor Unions to be turned over to the T [=??], this transfer is to be made carefully and gradually under the direction and supervision of the sub-committee in order that the work of the B [FSR] shall not be disrupted.

(4) That the sub-committee on drawing up plans limit itself to working out ways and means of controlling the organizational activities and of directing funds and shipments exclusively to Workers' Relief Conference under the slogans given by the CI and the T [=??]:

(A) Bread for famine victims in Russia.

(B) From the Trade Unionists of America to the Trade Unionists of Russia.

(5) That this sub-committee be instructed to proceed with its work at once.

Amendment by Golden [Cannon], that the B [FSR] is to continue its activities and keep its organizational machinery intact.

Amendment to the amendment by Ballister [Robert Minor], that the personnel of the B [FSR] adaptable to the Trade Union Work shall be encouraged in all cases to go into the service of the T [=??].

Amendment by Golden [Cannon], that the B [FSR] shall financially assist the T [=??] in its preliminary work through the Fe. Com. [??].

Motion as amended carried.

B [FSR] Committee Elected: Ballister [Minor], Golden [Cannon], Wheat [Lovestone], Duffy [Wagenknecht], Harrow [Ware], and T. Sec. [=??].

Motion by Duffy [Wagenknecht], that Harrow [Ware] be instructed to proceed immediately to organizing a campaign for relief amongst the farmers.

Carried.

Motion, that the sub-committee elected get in touch with F.P.W. [Frank P. Walsh] and tell him Yes regarding bonds.

Carried.

Feb. 14th Session.

The Lig. [=??] Affair: That the sub-committee on relief be authorized, when in conference...

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Feb. 15th [1922] Session.

Present: Lewis [Weinstone], Golden [Cannon], Raphael [Alexander Bittelman], Ray [Stilson], Paul [Wilenskin], Lansing [Swabeck], Green [Lunin], Griffith [Zack], Wheat [Lovestone], and Ballister [Minor].

Golden [Cannon] chairman.

Discussion on United Front.

Secretary [Weinstone] reports that the CI is awaiting our decision on this matter.

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone]: that the #2 [WPA] send a representative to the Chicago Conference [Conference for Progressive Political Action: Feb. 20-21, 1922] to be instructed to present a resolution for cooperation of all Labor organizations in special campaigns for such measures as:

- (A) Protection of the unemployed.
- (B) Protection of Labor Unions, and maintenance of the right to strike and picket.
- (C) Granting of relief to farmers and ex-soldiers.
- (D) Plumb Plan with modifications.
- (E) Organized United Industrial and Political opposition to the open shop and wage cuts.

...and that he also present a resolution for the organization of a genuine Labor Party along federative lines modelled after the British Labour Party:

- (A) Each of the constituent bodies to have complete organizational autonomy.
- (B) To maintain right of full criticism and autonomy of platform.

Amendment by Ballister [Minor], that we empower a spokesman in #2 [WPA] meeting to put forward motion for drafting an open letter to be addressed to the conference; the character of the letter to be presented by delegate as follows:

(1) Confine it to a few elemental broad class struggle points of issue.

(2) Make it as hard as possible for the conference to turn us down.

(3) Shall be of such a nature as to put [William H.] Johnstone and Co. on record if they refuse it.

(4) Call for united front on the Labor Party basis.

(5) That this united front shall leave autonomy so that on broad measures, where we agree in general, each party shall express its difference with the other parties in the form of amendments not to excluded the original measure.

(6) That this open letter shall be presented by our delegate, and thereafter published in our press.

(7) In case only some of our proposals are accepted our representatives should have them write which are accepted and which are not acceptable.

Amendment to the amendment by Raphael [Bittelman], that the statement begin with a characterization of the #2 [WPA] and A [American Labor Alliance] program:

(1) That the Party is a revolutionary party and does not believe in reforms.

(2) That we stand for the interests of the workers and for unity of action.

(3) For a Labor Party.

Roll call on the amendment to the amendment:

For the amendment to the amendment: Paul [Wilenskin], Green [Lunin], Lewis [Weinstone], Golden [Cannon], Raphael [Bittelman], Griffith [Zack].

Against the amendment to the amendment: Lansing [Swabeck], Ray [Stilson], and Wheat [Lovestone].

Amendment to the amendment carried.

Amendment carried.

Motion as amended carried.

Motion by Ballister [Minor], that Raphael [Bittelman] present the motion at #2 [WPA].

Amendment by Lewis [Weinstone], that Wheat [Lovestone] present the motion at #2 [WPA].

Amendment carried.

Motion by Lansing [Swabeck], that a committee of three be chosen to draft statement. *Carried.*

Ballister [Minor], Golden [Cannon], Raphael [Bittelman] chosen.

Motion by Lansing [Swabeck], that we send 2 delegates.

Amendment by Wheat [Lovestone], that we send 1 and that Golden [Cannon] be chosen.

Amendment to the Amendment by Ray [Stilson], that we send 3, on a 2-to-1 ratio in #2 [WPA].

Amendment to the amendment carried.

Ballister [Minor] and Golden [Cannon] elected.

Session of Feb. 19th [1922].

Present: Raphael [Bittelman], Golden [Cannon], Ray [Stilson], Griffith [Zack], Paul [Wilenskin], Green [Lunin], Lansing [Swabeck], Wheat [Lovestone], Ballister [Minor].

Lewis [Weinstone] absent.

Raphael [Bittelman] — Chairman.

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that the Official Organ [*The Communist*] go to press not later than Feb. 23rd. *Motion carried.*

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that the Editorial Committee work out a plan to unify the press activities of the Party and supply instructions for procedure to editors. *Motion carried.*

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that we authorize District Executive Committee #5 [Chicago] to give weekly allotment to paper no. 4 [*Voice of Labor*] not to exceed \$25. *Motion carried.*

Fred [Federated Press].

Report by Lansing [Swabeck] on Conference, and his place on Board.

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that Lansing [Swabeck] submit a written detailed report on the situation. *Motion carried.*

Motion by Golden [Cannon], that we disapprove Locks. [=??] plan for European Bureau and that our representative be instructed to work against it. *Motion carried.*

Motion by Golden [Cannon], that we be responsible to Gutherie [Anna Louise Strong?] for \$50 if she finds herself in need when she is across and sends articles to us. *Motion carried.*

Motion by Golden [Cannon], that we approve Johnson [??] filling Young's [Ludwig Lore's] place if he desires to accept it. *Motion carried.*

The Opposition [Central Caucus-CPA].

Recommendation of the Org. Com. that special squads of members having connections with oppositionists be organized to spread the decision of the CI amongst them.

(2) To call upon Main Office [Moscow] to **force** have followers of Henry [George Ashkenuzi], Dobin [Charles Dirba], and Moore [John Ballam] rejoin the CP of A within a certain date on pain of outright expulsion from the CI.

(3) That appeal to minority be published by Editorial Committee in four page leaflet in English, Jewish [Yiddish], Polish, and Russian.

(4) That the Official Organ [*The Communist*] be issued in all languages and be subsidized to the best of our ability.

Motion by Green [Lunin], that we replace one of our representatives abroad with one from here. Recommendations accepted.

Roll Call on Motion:

For the motion: Green [Lunin] and Raphael [Bittelman].

Against the motion: Lansing [Swabeck] and Wheat [Lovestone].

In view of insufficient number voting, action was deferred.

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that the CI document and report of International Delegate be published as a declaration of the CEC on the CI Decision and as a report submitted by Ballister [Minor] as CI representative. *Motion carried.*

United Front.

Motion on open statement by Griffith [Zack]: That we insert the word “present” before the word “leaders” in the statement.

Roll Call on Motion:

For the motion: Griffith [Zack].

Against the motion: All others present.

Motion by Raphael [Bittelman], that letter be adopted as read and corrected. *Motion carried.*

Griffith [Zack] recorded as voting against it because it does not characterize leaders sufficiently.

Motion by Lansing [Swabeck], that letter be published in all our papers and in leaflet called “For a United Labor Front.”

Unemployment.

Discussion of the situation.

Motion by Griffith [Zack], that we concentrate on the organization of the unemployed themselves.

Amendment by Raphael [Bittelman]: that Griffith [Zack] be instructed to prepare complete report with recommendations for action for the Organization Committee. *Motion as amended carried.*

The Liquidation Issue.

Motion by Raphael [Bittelman], that the CEC is of the opinion that the advocacy of an open CP, even with an emergency apparatus, is in effect advocating liquidation of the CP of A, American Section of the CI, and that the CEC considers persistency in preaching the above as sufficient cause for disciplinary action in accordance with the provisions of the Party Constitution and those of the CI.

Amendment by Ballister [Minor]: That the CEC

is of the opinion that although the CP can and will ultimately function in the open (at the same time maintaining its underground organization) the conditions in the United States at this time make an open CP impossible. Therefore any agitation for an open CP at this time will objectively promote liquidation tendencies and is therefore injurious to the Party.

Substitute for the Whole by Wheat [Lovestone], ...

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Feb. 22nd Session — Continued.

Unfinished District Matters.

District 2 [New York]:

Communication from D2 [New York] re: stand of Comrade Cook [Cannon] on liquidation.

Motion by Griffith [Zack], that we request a statement from Cook [Cannon] on liquidation.

Amendment by Wheat [Lovestone], that we refer the communication to Cook [Cannon] himself.

Amendment to Amendment by Ballister [Minor], that Secretary [Weinstone] be instructed to reply that statement is ridiculous on the face of it and that we have proceeded regularly however in looking into the matter and have learned to our satisfaction that Cook [Cannon] made no such statement; that the CEC affirms that no person advocating the liquidation of the CP will be allowed to remain in the CPA; that we are surprised that Party members take seriously “charges” made by non-members regarding Party members.

Amendment to Amendment carried.

District 5 [Chicago]:

Motion by Griffith [Zack], that we publish in Official Organ [*The Communist*] the D5 [Chicago] resolution on the United Front. *Motion lost.*

Motion by Green [Lunin], that in answer to

protest of D5, SD1 [City of Chicago] regarding Raphael's [Bittelman's] statement as to Party position on No. 1 [CPA] convention preceding No. 2 [WPA] conference, the Secretary [Weinstone] answer by stating position of the Party.

District 6 [Detroit]:

Report by Green [Lunin] as to his difficulties.
Green [Lunin] submits his resignation as DO.

Accepted.

Dare [=???] elected DO.

Cole [=???] approved as DIO.

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that we empower DEC to choose Organizer of #2 [WPA]. Carried.

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that the Nos. 1 [CPA] and 2 [WPA] appeal for loan to finance *ABC [The ABC of Communism]*. Carried.†

District 12 [Minneapolis]:

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that Raphael [Bittelman] be instructed to submit full report on Ukrainian controversy to Organization Committee. Carried.

Special Industrial Report by Golden [Cannon] on the Smith [Lindgren?] relations and need for pamphlet.

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that we accept Golden's [Cannon's] report regarding Smith's [Lindgren's?] request to have Sly. [=???] work on this matter. Carried.

The Case of L. Young [Ludwig Lore].

Motion by Paul [Wilenskin], that we invite L. Young [Lore] to Party caucuses.

Amendment by Griffith [Zack], that we recommend DEC2 [New York] to take action with view of eliminating him from the Party.

Roll call on the Amendment:

For the Amendment: Griffith [Zack].

Against the Amendment: Green [Lunin], Paul [Wilenskin], Golden [Cannon], Ray [Stilson], Wheat [Lovestone].

Present: Lewis [Weinstone].

Amendment lost, motion lost.

CEC Matters.

Lewis [Weinstone] submits his resignation as Secretary on account of ill health. *Resignation accepted.*

Motion by Ray [Stilson], that Wheat [Lovestone] be elected Secretary. *Motion carried.*

Wheat [Lovestone] is elected Secretary.

Wheat [Lovestone] accepts on the condition that every member of the Committee pledges himself to give the maximum cooperation in solving the many difficulties with which the Party is faced today.

Motion by Lewis [Weinstone], that the Secretary [Lovestone] work out a plan for Green's [Lunin's] trip in cooperation with the Jewish Bureau.

Amendment by Griffith [Zack], that Green [Lunin] address other Federations while on the road. *Motion as amended carried.*

Motion by Lewis [Weinstone], that the Organization Committee take up with Raphael [Bittelman] the question of giving full time to Party activities. *Motion carried.*

Motion by Griffith [Zack], that the Organization Committee be empowered to make all changes necessary to improve #2 [WPA] activities.

Amendment by Green [Lunin], to have Golden [Cannon] give recommendations on this to the next meeting. *Amendment carried.*

†- Nikolai Bukharin & Evgenii Preobrazhensky's *The ABC of Communism* (Part 1) was produced for the Detroit District of the by the Marxian Educational Society of Detroit in an edition of 3,000. Due to financial difficulties, Part 2 was never released. [Comintern Archive, RGASPI, f. 515, op. 1, d. 68, ll. 29 & 34].

Convention.

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that we appoint a sub-committee of 4 to work out convention call, agenda, and date, and that the call and agenda are to appear in the forthcoming issue of the Official Organ [*The Communist*] and that the Organization Committee be empowered to act on the organization of the convention.

Amendment by Griffith [Zack], that a Thesis on the position of the CEC on the various items of the Agenda be worked out by the sub-committee and that the said Thesis be published in all organs.

Amendment to the amendment by Lewis [Weinstone], that every member of the CEC be permitted to state his own position on any item of the agenda.

All carried.

Committee elected is Ballister [Minor], Raphael [Bittelman], Griffith [Zack], and Paul [Wilenskin].

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that the sub-committee call a special meeting to have CEC act at once on convention call and agenda so as to lose no time in sending it to membership. *Motion carried.*

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that the sub-committee be instructed to set date in compliance with the decisions of no. 2 [WPA] conference.

Point of order by Lewis [Weinstone]: That motion is out of order since the committee has been empowered to fix date. Chairman [Wilenskin] sustains point of order. Wheat [Lovestone] appeals stating that he for one will not tolerate any jockeying of the convention date and that he will do everything possible to make sure that the Instructions from the No. 2 [WPA] conference caucus are complied with. Besides the CEC has a full right to give instructions to any of its sub-

committees. The Chair [Wilenskin] states that the committee has been empowered to act.

Roll Call on the Appeal:

For the Chair: Paul [Wilenskin], Ray [Stilson], Lewis [Weinstone].

Against the Chair: Green [Lunin], Golden [Cannon], Wheat [Lovestone].

Present: Griffith [Zack].

Vote being tied, the Chair is sustained.

Protest by Lewis [Weinstone] against any reference to date being mentioned at meeting.

Special Editorial.

Motion by Ray [Stilson], that the Editorial Committee be instructed not to print the article by Collins [Boston District Organizer, Latvian] on or Nuclei Work in the forthcoming issue of the Official Organ [*The Communist*].

CEC Meetings.

Motion to meet at intervals of ten days. *Motion carried.*

Motion that Organization Committee meet once a week. *Motion carried.*

Paul in the Chair.

Present: Green [Lunin], Golden [Cannon], Griffith [Zack], Paul [Wilenskin], Lewis [Weinstone], Wheat [Lovestone], Ballister [Minor], and Ray [Stilson].

Absent: Raphael [Bittelman] and Lansing [Swabeck].

The End!

Edited with a footnote by Tim Davenport.

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