
Minutes of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America: New York — March 8, 10, 14, 16, 23, 27, 29, 31, 1922.

Copy in the Comintern Archive, f. 515, op. 1, d. 94, ll. 12-20.

Session of March 8, 1922.

Present: Golden [James Cannon], Griffith [Joseph Zack Kornfeder], Paul [J. Wilenkin], Ray [Joseph Stilson], Wheat [Jay Lovestone], Gorney [Joseph Kowalski], and Ballister [Robert Minor].

Chairman: Griffith [Zack]

#2 [Workers Party of America].

Motion by Griffith [Zack], to approve plan for a loan budget and finance committee for #2 [WPA].

Motion carried.

International.

Letter from CI upholding the policies and tactics of the CEC in its struggle with the opposition [Central Caucus-CPA].

Motion by Ray [Stilson], that a photostatic copy of the letter be made and sent to all groups. *Motion carried.*

Motion by Griffith [Zack], that we publish in full the CI document in all official organs.

Roll call:

For — Griffith [Zack];

Against — Golden [Cannon], Paul [Wilenkin], Ray [Stilson], Wheat [Lovestone]. *Motion lost.*

Report on Des. [Debs].

Ballister [Minor] reports that he had heard from good authority that Comrade D. [Debs] regrets his stand towards the CI and feels very keenly about his mistake.

Motion by Paul [Wilenkin]: That Ballister [Minor] be a committee of 1 to take this matter up with Lin St. [Lincoln Stephens], who will see Com. De. [Debs] shortly.

Finances.

Report by Sec. [Lovestone] that the treasury is totally empty, that the needs were pressing, no funds coming in from the districts and that the outlook for improvement was very dark.

Motion by Ray [Stilson], that we abolish the maintenance of paid DOs in Districts 7 [St. Louis], 8 [San Francisco], 9 [Seattle], 11 [Pittsburgh], and 12 [Minneapolis]. *Motion lost.*

Motion by Griffith [Zack], that all party members who earn \$40 a week or more pay 50 cents a month in dues. *Motion lost.*

District Matters.

D#3 [Philadelphia]:

Resignation of DO Mason [Anthony Bimba] accepted with regrets.

Recommendation of Organization Committee that Hoffman [Morris Kushinsky] be appointed DO accepted.

D#6 [Detroit]:

Motion by Griffith [Zack], that Dubner [Abram Jakira] be appointed DO6 [Detroit].

Amendment by Golden [Cannon], that Dubner [Jakira] be drafted as Secretary of Russian Bureau. *Amendment lost, motion carried.*

D#11 [Pittsburgh]:

Motion, that Dare [=???] be made DO. *Motion carried.*

Women's Section.

Organization committee reported on the recommendations of Comrade Crane for the National Women's Committee, and proposed the following committee of 9: Shays [=???], Emmons [=???], Stanton [=???], Armand [=???], Sparks [=???], Billie [=???], Davis [=???], Lamp [=???], Holt [=???]. *Accepted.*

Recommendation that this committee of #1 [CPA] meet as soon as possible and work out all plans to be binding for the committee of #2 [WPA]. *Accepted.*

Session of March 10, 1922.

Present: Raphael [Alexander Bittelman], Griffith [Zack], Paul [Wilenskin], Gorney [Kowalski], Ballister [Minor], Golden [Cannon], and Wheat [Lovestone].

Chairman: Paul [Wilenskin].

International.

1) Letter from Carr [Katterfeld] informing us of arrival of Marshall [Bedacht] for Feb. Conference [1st Enlarged Plenum of ECCI: Moscow, Feb. 21-March 4, 1922].

2) The final settlement of the controversy with the opposition [Central Caucus-CPA] in our favor by the CI.

3) Request for information regarding the whereabouts and plans of comrade L.C. Carter [Louis C. Fraina], member of the former American Agency. CI wants to know whether he has reported and turned over his funds to the Party as directed.

4) The IWW in Russia are much concerned over the attitude taken by their organization towards the Red Trade [RILU] and the CI. They are sending a cable repudiating it and are drawing up an answer to the Williams report. Haywood is especially opposed to the

stand taken by the GEB [General Executive Board].

5) At the conference of the far East [1st Congress of Toilers of the Far East: Moscow and Petrograd, Jan. 21-Feb. 2, 1922] there were over 200 delegates from Japan, China, Korea, Mongolia, and Java. Carr [Ludwig Katterfeld] was placed on the Presidium of this conference.

6) Request for us not to hold our convention before such time as will enable us to receive the full reports of the Feb. Conference [Enlarged ECCI]. Some of the decisions of this conference may necessitate some rather fundamental changes in our tactics.

Letter from Marshall [Bedacht], informing us of his arrival and giving information regarding our relief activities.

Motion by Ray [Stilson], that Marshall [Bedacht] be instructed to return immediately.

Amendment by Raphael [Bittelman], that Carr [Katterfeld] be instructed to return immediately and that Marshall [Bedacht] take his place on the EC of the CI.

Roll call on the amendment:

For — Raphael [Bittelman], Paul [Wilenskin], and Wheat [Lovestone].

Against — Golden [Cannon], Ray [Stilson].

Present — Griffith [Zack].

Amendment carried.

Motion by Ballister [Minor]: That Carr [Katterfeld] be instructed to try to secure an appropriation of at least 25 [thousand dollars]. *Motion carried.*

Letter received from the CP of Great Britain asking us whether we are prepared to have Comrade Charles A. [=???] act as fraternal representative for the Party at the special policy conference of the CP of Great Britain.

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that the request be granted. *Motion carried.*

Letter received from International of Red Sports and Gymnastics.

Motion by Golden [Cannon], that we refer the communication to the organization committee for recommendation. *Motion carried.*

Convention. †

Recommendations of the organization committee:

1) That there be a per capita tax of \$1 as a convention assessment. *Carried.*

2) That districts be assigned quotas they must raise through the per capita tax and other ways to be devised. *Carried.*

3) Ratio of delegates to 1 to 200 or major fraction thereof in good standing on basis of the dues average for the three months of Jan. 15 - April 15 inclusive. *Carried.*

4) That the personnel be limited to delegates, CEC members, International delegates, 1 YCL fraternal delegate, and necessary technical help. Total present to be 35 to 45 maximum. *Carried.*

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that all funds collected for convention purposes be expended only for legitimate convention expenses. *Motion carried.*

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that only travelling and board expenses be paid to delegates; no per diems to be paid. *Motion carried.*

Convention Call.

Report of committee by Raphael [Bittelman] *as motion*, see attached.‡

Amendment by Ballister [Minor], see attached.‡

Amendment to the Amendment by Wheat [Lovestone], that both documents be referred back to the committee with instructions to include Par. 2 and 3 of Ballister's [Minor's] and Par. 1 of the same, reworded and changed in order.

All lost.

Motion by Raphael [Bittelman], that new committee be elected. *Motion lost.*

Motion by Paul [Wilenskin]: That special meeting be called for March 14th [1922] to act on call. *Motion carried.*

Meeting adjourned.

Session of March 14, 1922.

Present: Golden [Cannon], Griffith [Zack], Raphael [Bittelman], Paul [Wilenskin], Ray [Stilson], Wheat [Lovestone], Ballister [Minor], Gorney [Kowalski], Lewis [Weinstone] (late).

Chairman: Golden [Cannon].

Special report of Jewish Committee.

Report on controversy in #2 [WPA] paper. *Accepted.*

Motion by Paul [Wilenskin], that Jewish investigation committee continue its work.

Amendment by Ballister [Minor] outlining the policy of our caucus for keeping control of the situation.

Roll call on Amendment:

For — Ray [Stilson], Raphael [Bittelman], Griffith [Zack], Wheat [Lovestone];

Against — Paul [Wilenskin], Golden [Cannon].

Amendment carried. Motion lost.

#2 [Workers Party of America].

Motion by Golden [Cannon], that we reject the ad of the UTC [United Toilers] in paper #23 [=???].

Amendment by Ballister [Minor], that we reject all advertisements of organizations that make spurious claims of representing the CI.

Amendment carried.

Relief.

Letter received by "B" [Friends of Soviet Russia] from the former Minority [Central Caucus-CPA] seeking representation on the Board of B [FSR] and threatening to disrupt the work of B [FSR] unless this rep. be granted.

†- Reference to the 2nd Convention of the unified CPA, held at the Wolfskeel Resort in Bridgman, MI, Aug. 17-22, 1922.

‡- This document is not appended to the copy in the archives.

Motion by Golden [Cannon]: That they be informed that the B [FSR] is not a political organization, that no political parties have representation on the Board of the B [FSR], and that therefore their request is turned down. *Motion carried.*

District Matters.

D#1 [Boston]:
Alba [=???] approved as SDO4 [Lawrence, MA].

D#4 [Cleveland]:
Regarding #2 [WPA] controversy:

Motion by Griffith [Zack], that our delegates to the next #2 [WPA] Convention recommend a new DO for approval of the CEC of #2 [WPA]. *Motion carried.*

D#5 [Chicago]:
Protest from district convention against CEC for not giving out sufficient information.

Motion by Griffith [Zack], that the protest be received and the answer of the Secretary [Lovestone] approved. *Motion carried.*

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that we approve the decisions of the District convention regarding the relation between #1 [CPA] and #2 [WPA]. *Motion carried.*

Received the following recommendations regarding industrial activities:

1) We recommend to the CEC that in order to avoid Dualism in our striving for a practical combination of activities in no. 1 [CPA] and 2 [WPA], all industrial activities be under the complete and immediate direction of no. 1 [CPA] so that there may be only one set of machinery. The head industrial department of no. 1 [CPA] should also become the industrial department of no. 2 [WPA], same to apply for DIOs [District Industrial Organizers] and SDIOs [Sub-District Industrial Organizers] and organizers for industries, local unions, and shops; in other words, that these activities remain entirely in the hands of our men functioning in both capacities. All organizers to keep connections with no. 1 [CPA] intact from top to bottom and vice versa and keep every nucleus functioning as a caucus.

2) We further recommend that the Industrial Department of the CEC be located in D#5-SD1 [Chicago] in order to secure the greatest possible cooperation and coordination of both 1 [CPA], 2 [WPA] and the X [Trade Union Educational League] and that the Industrial Dept. be

authorized to issue a press service sheet regularly to all Party and sympathetic papers.

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that a committee of 3 be elected to work out the industrial policy of the Party and that its report be considered first in the order of business at the forthcoming meeting. *Motion carried.*

Golden [Cannon], Griffith [Zack], and Ballister [Minor] elected.

Motion by Griffith [Zack], that D#5 [Chicago] be instructed to carry out the Party's policy on unemployment regarding the organization of the unemployed themselves. *Motion Carried.*

D#6 [Detroit]:

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that Dubner [Jakira] be instructed to abide by the decision of the CEC regarding his appointment as DO6 [Detroit].

Amendment by Golden [Cannon], that we demand a letter of explanation.

Amendment to the Amendment by Lewis [Weinstone], that the letter be sent within two days and referred to the organization committee with power to act.

Roll call on the motion:

For — Paul [Wilenskin], Griffith [Zack], Lewis [Weinstone], and Wheat [Lovestone];

Against — Raphael [Bittelman], Ray [Stilson], and Golden [Cannon].

Motion carried.

Resolution from DEC regarding former DO [Meyer Lunin] read.

Motion by Lewis [Weinstone]: To defer action on the resolution until Comrade in question returns to town. *Motion carried.*

D#12 [Minneapolis]:

Motion by Raphael [Bittelman]: That action of the DEC in the Ukrainian controversy be sustained. *Motion carried.*

Motion by Griffith [Zack], that we inform DEC12 [Minneapolis] that the office of paid DO is to be abolished, but that due to the nearness of the

convention it is impossible for us to turn these sub-districts into a part of another district. A voluntary DO is to be in charge until after the convention. *Motion carried.*

Motion by Griffith [Zack], that we empower the committee on industrial policy to work out a plan to help such organizations as the WWV [World War Veterans]. *Motion carried.*

Amendment by Wheat [Lovestone], that the editorial committee of #2 [WPA] make arrangements with the National Office of the WWV [World War Veterans] regarding regular publicity. *Motion carried.*

Polish Federation.

Report of progress in organizing Bureau and request to defer recognition of any no. 2 [WPA] Polish organization until our own organization is afoot. *Accepted.*

The Mine Strike.

Motion by Griffith [Zack], that Committee on Industrial Policy work out a plan for party activity in the probably forthcoming mine strike. *Motion carried.*

Session of March 16, 1922.

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

Chairman: Golden [Cannon].

Convention Call.

Report of committee accepted.

Convention Theses: Division of Work.

Report of the CEC — Lewis [Weinstone] and Wheat [Lovestone].

Report of Third Congress — Ballister [Minor].

Decisions of Communist International on the American Question — Ballister [Minor].

Party Problems of the Present — Raphael [Bittelman].

United Front — Golden [Cannon].

Legal Political Activities — Raphael [Bittelman].

Labor Union Activity —
Sec. a and b — Griffith [Zack] and Ballister [Minor].

Sec. c and d — Ballister [Minor].

Sec. e and f — Griffith [Zack].

Sec. g and h — Ballister [Minor].

Imperialism — Wheat [Lovestone].

New Economic Policy of the RSFSR — Paul [Wilenskin].

Relief of Famine — Ballister [Minor].

Press — Ballister [Minor].

Agrarian Problem — Harrow [Harold Ware].

Young Communist League — Turner [=??].

Pan American Congress of Communist Parties —
Raphael [Bittelman].

Communist Activity Among Women — Shays [??].

Negro Question — Griffith [Zack].

Nationalist Movements — Griffith [Zack].

Defense — Jones [Edgar Owens].

Federations — Paul [Wilenskin].

Program — Raphael [Bittelman].

Constitution — Lewis [Weinstone].

Convention Quotas.

D1 [Boston] — 1100.

D2 [New York] — 2600.

D3 [Philadelphia] — 500.

D4 [Cleveland] — 1100.

D5 [Chicago] — 2350.

D6 [Detroit] — 500.

D7 [St. Louis] — 500.

D8 [San Francisco] — 350.

D9 [Seattle] — 300.

D11 [Pittsburgh] — 350.

D12 [Minneapolis] — 350.

Recommendations of Secretary approved.

Editorial Committee Report.

Reports by Ballister [Minor] and Raphael [Bittelman] as to difficulties arising in committee over arrangement of material and compliance with decisions of CEC and Editorial Board.

Motion by Ballister [Minor], that we censure Raphael [Bittelman] for disobeying the decision of the Editorial Committee in reference to not putting the CI document on the first page and publishing the article of his own, which does appear on the first page.

Roll call:

For the motion — Golden [Cannon].

Against the motion — Raphael [Bittelman], Griffith [Zack], Ray [Stilson], Paul [Wilenskin], Wheat [Lovestone].

Motion lost.

Resignations of Ballister [Minor] and Golden [Cannon] from the Editorial Board accepted.†

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that Ballister [Minor] replace Raphael [Bittelman] as editor.

Motion lost.

Industrial Committee.

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], to defer action until Committee is ready to report. *Motion carried.*

The Miners' Strike.

Motion by Raphael [Bittelman], to wire Edwards [=???] for report and recommendations. *Motion carried.*

Motion by Ballister [Minor], 1) To have National Industrial Organizer utilize to the full his present open connections in unions to plan with the left elements for the fight. The Industrial Organizer is in com-

plete charge of all phases of the coal situation.

2) Through the proper channels and through Party Industrial Organizers assistants, which he has authority to appoint and assign to duties without waiting in this emergency for confirmation by the CEC to establish contact with our nuclei.

3) To issue any immediately necessary instructions to nuclei that cannot wait.

4) To make complete report on the situation at once.

5) Through legal organs to issue an appeal to railroadmen not to carry scab coal.

Amendment by Wheat [Lovestone], to keep all our organs (1 [CPA] and 2 [WPA]) completely informed as to activities and developments during strike and issue leaflet.

Amendment to the Amendment by Griffith [Zack], to carry out immediately all instructions from the Industrial Department.

All carried.

Special Editorial.

Raphael [Bittelman] submits resignation as Editor.

Roll call:

For Accepting Resignation — Ray [Stilson], Wheat [Lovestone], Raphael [Bittelman].

Against Accepting Resignation — Golden [Cannon], Griffith [Zack], Paul [Wilenskin].

Resignation not accepted.

Agrarian Report.

Report submitted by Harrow [Harold Ware], National Agrarian Organizer, giving in detail results of activities, connections, and recommendations as per attached report.‡

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone]: That 1) We approve the recommendations.

2) That Harrow [Ware] be instructed to attend Convention of NPL [Non-Partisan League].

3) That he then submit complete plan of activi-

†- This controversy seems to be related to the recalled and pulped issue "No. 6" of *The Communist*. A new issue "No. 6/7" was printed and released in its stead.

‡- This document is not part of the copy in the archives.

ties.

Motion carried.

Meeting adjourned.

Lewis [Weinstone] absent.

Session of March 23, 1922.

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

Chairman: Golden [Cannon].

Special report by Paul [Wilenskin] that the Oppositionists [Central Caucus-CPA] broke into the plant of Russian paper no. 2 [*Novyi Mir?*], seized the property, and organized a gang to hold it.

Motion by Lewis [Weinstone]: That we elect a committee of 1 to cooperate with proper council in order to take effective steps for redeeming the property.

Amendment by Wheat [Lovestone]: That we organize a strong armed squad to dislodge them and hold the plant.

Motion as amended carried.

Griffith [Zack] elected to be the committee.

Report by Comrade Travers [Norman Tallentire?] from District 8 [San Francisco] on:

1) The D.B.S. [Debs] Case, and recommendation that a committee of 4 be chosen to meet with him. This committee to be May Marcelle [Mary Marcy?], Duffy [Alfred Wagenknecht], and representatives of the CEC of both 1 [CPA] and 2 [WPA].

Recommendation accepted.

Golden [Cannon] and Wheat [Lovestone] elected to the committee.

2) Report on relief.

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that Comrade Travers [Tallentire?] be instructed to return from his

present trip to National Headquarters in order to cooperate with Duffy [Wagenknecht] and M. [=???] in forming plan for his Illinois activities. *Carried.*

3) Report on general strike and industrial activity in D8 [San Francisco].

4) Report on activities of SP [Socialist Party] in UMW [United Mine Workers].

Motion by Ballister [Minor]: That Comrade Travers [Tallentire?] be instructed to take up this matter with the NIO [National Industrial Organizer = Foster] and work in the closest of cooperation with him.

Motion carried.

Motion by Ray [Stilson]: That we refuse mine leader M.C.M. [=???] credentials.

Amendment by Ballister [Minor]: That we have him try to be elected by his union as a delegate to the Red Trade Union Congress.

Amendment carried. Motion carried.

Motion by Raphael [Bittelman]: That we wire Comrade Borden [William Z. Foster] that he or his representative should come at once to headquarters with information and program for mine strike. *Motion carried.*

Meeting adjourned.

Session of March 23, 1922.

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

Ray [Stilson] elected chairman.

District Matters.

District 1 [Boston]:

Request for setting limit of unemployment exemption to 10% accepted.

Report by Secretary [Lovestone] on rumors being spread by the Oppositionists [Central Caucus-CPA] as to Griffith [Zack] having gone over to their side. Statement of denial by Secretary [Lovestone] and letter to same effect by Griffith [Zack].

Disruptive activities by Gosve. [???] connected with the Kz. [=???]

Motion by Griffith [Zack], that we make representation to the Kz. [=???] Board to have Gosve. [=???] removed for introducing factional strife into its activities. *Motion carried.*

District 2 [New York]:

Protest by Secretary [Lovestone] that District 2 [New York] is holding up the issuance of financial statements for January and February because of its not sending reports as to its financial activities. DO replied that he would make effort to remedy the situation.

District 3 [Philadelphia]:

Report from DO [Kushinsky] as to neglect of #1 [CPA] work there and as to plans for remedying the situation. Progress achieved to this end.

District 4 [Cleveland]:

Report as to conditions in relation to the #2 [WPA] difficulties.

District 5 [Chicago]:

Motion by Paul [Wilenskin], that we accept Kd [=???] as a member for the regularly provided probationary period but that he be exempt from attending group meetings regularly.

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that resolution of invitation to Minority [Central Caucus-CPA] members be drawn up as per request of District 5 [Chicago]. *Motion carried.*

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that we reduce the Convention cost of each delegate from the wages due to him but that we judge the particular circumstances surrounding every individual case. *Motion carried.*

Motion by Griffith [Zack], that we accept

Lansing's [Arne Swabeck's] recommendation as to the South Slavic press controversy. *Motion carried.*

District 6 [Detroit]:

Report by Secretary [Lovestone] on Dubner's [Jakira's] letter objecting strenuously to his appointment as DO.

Report by Secretary [Lovestone] on recommendation of DEC that we have a voluntary DO.

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that we accept the recommendation of the DEC. *Motion carried.*

District 7 [St. Louis]:

Report by Secretary [Lovestone] on conditions. Favorable.

District 8 [San Francisco]:

Report by Secretary [Lovestone] on conditions. Favorable.

District 9 [Seattle]:

Not much activity. Awaiting report of Comrade Milne [=???].

District 11 [Pittsburgh]:

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that Comrade Jim Bruce [=???] be appointed DO. *Motion carried.*

District 12 [Minneapolis]:

Motion by Wheat [Lovestone], that Raphael [Bittelman] write up the CEC decision on the Ukrainian Controversy. *Motion carried.*

Mine Strike.

Report by Secretary [Lovestone] on Communications with IO [Industrial Organizer] Edwards [=???].

Motion by Griffith [Zack], that the Chicago B [FSR] use To.T.pt. [Tom Tippet?] for work so as to enable him to tour mine area. *Motion carried.*

Motion by Lewis [Weinstone], that official organ of #2 [*The Worker*] carry proclamation on strike and that policy be framed by Driscoll [Bill Dunne], Ballister [Minor], and Griffith [Zack]. *Motion carried.*

Women's.

Report acted on. Recommendation to committee that #1 [CPA] CC serve as 2 [WPA's] except for Comrade Shays [=???]. Other recommendations approved.

Federations.

Motion by Griffith [Zack]: That a committee of 2 be elected to investigate Russian Bureau and recommend plans of its reorganization.

Motion carried.

Griffith [Zack] and Ray [Stilson] elected.

Report on conditions in Jewish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Finnish, Polish Federations accepted.

Session of March 31, 1922.

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

Chairman: Paul [Wilenskin].

Motion by Griffith [Zack]: That we send a representative to District #4 [Cleveland] in order to remove the difficulties in the #2 [WPA]. *Motion carried.*
Golden [Cannon] elected.

Theses consideration continued.

Session of March 29, 1922.

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

Chairman: Griffith [Zack].

Recommendation by Wheat [Lovestone], that the Jewish Bureau be reorganized by the Committee elected to reorganize the Russian Bureau.

Motion carried.

Consideration of Theses.

Edited with footnotes by Tim Davenport.

Second Edition, August 2007 — Making numerous changes of content and altering typography.

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