
Minutes of the Central Executive Committee, (unified) Communist Party of America: New York City — May 30-June 3, 1921.

A document in the Comintern Archive, f. 515, op. 1, d. 51, ll. 2-7.

[First Day, Monday, May 30, 1921.]

Present: All members except “Ray” [Joseph Stilson] and “Post” [???, ex-UCP]; the new names of all members being the following: “Paul” [J. Wilenkin, ex-CPA], “Dow” [Charles Dirba, ex-CPA], Kelly [George Ashkenuzi, ex-CPA], “Curtis” [John Ballam, ex-CPA], “Ray” [Joseph Stilson, ex-CPA], “Carr” [Ludwig Katterfeld, ex-UCP], “Wheat” [Jay Lovestone, ex-UCP], “Griffith” [Joseph Zack Kornfeder, ex-UCP], “Turner” [Will Weinstone, ex-UCP] (acting for “Cook” [Jim Cannon, ex-UCP]), and “Post” [???, ex-UCP].

Chairman: “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]. Temporary Secretary: “Dow” [Dirba].

Order of Business: (1) Election of Executive Secretary; (2) Instructions to International Delegate; (3) Redistricting; (4) Appointment of District Organizers; (5) CEC Positions; (6) Program, Constitution, and Report of Convention; (7) Action on Reports of Convention, Committees, and Manifesto; (8) Federation Conferences and Dues; (9) Emblem; (10) Assessment; (11) Audit and Funds; (12) Membership Certificates; (13) Connections and Code for CEC.

[Definition of Quorum.]

Motion (by “Carr” [Katterfeld]): That 7 members shall constitute a quorum; that a majority of those present shall decide any question unless there is demand to have the question referred to full Commit-

tee, in which case a majority of the whole Committee shall be necessary for decision.

Amendment (by “Griffith” [Zack]): “Unless 2 object.”

Amendment to the Amendment (by “Wheat” [Lovestone]): That 8 members shall constitute a quorum.

Motion (by “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]): To table the motion and the amendments.

Motion carried.

Motion (by “Turner” [Weinstone]): To elect a committee of 3 to draw up rules.

Motion carried.

“Carr” [Katterfeld], “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi], and “Dow” [Dirba] elected.

Motion (by “Wheat” [Lovestone]): That 8 members to constitute a quorum for this meeting.

Amendment (by “Dow” [Dirba]): That the motion of Comrade “Carr” [Katterfeld] shall stand for this meeting [i.e. quorum of 7].

Amendment carried.

Motion (by “Turner” [Weinstone]): To change the order of business to the following: #2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 1, 3, 4, 5, 12, 13.†

Motion carried.

[Acting Executive Secretary.]

Motion (by “Curtis” [Ballam]): That “Dow” is to be the acting Executive Secretary until the full meeting takes up the question.

[†- That is, a new order of business consisting of: (A) Instructions to International Delegate; (B) Program, Constitution, and Report of Convention; (C) Action on Reports of Convention, Committees, and Manifesto; (D) Federation Conferences and Dues; (E) Emblem; (F) Assessment; (G) Audit and Funds; (H) *Election of Executive Secretary*; (I) *Redistricting*; (J) *Appointment of District Organizers*; (K) *CEC Positions*; (L) Membership Certificates; (M) Connect. and Code for CEC. This had the effect of moving the most sensitive and fundamental decisions, which would determine the basic shape of the organization and composition of the organization’s employees (italicized above), down on the agenda.]

Motion carried.

Instructions to International Delegates.

(1) What documents to take along; (2) Special Instructions; (3) Who is to stay there; (4) Connections; (5) Finances; (6) Immediate cable to the CI.

Motion (by “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]): Constitution, Program, Resolutions shall be given to the International Delegate.

Motion carried.

Amendment (by “Curtis” [Ballam]): add: Minutes and Extracts from Reports to the Convention.

Amendment carried.

Motion (by “Turner” [Weinstone]): To elect a committee of 3 to prepare these documents.

Motion carried.

“Curtis” [Ballam], “Carr” [Katterfeld], and “Dow” [Dirba] elected.

Motion (by “Dow” [Dirba]): To instruct our International Delegate to request that the agencies of the CI should include Party representatives with voice and vote.

Amendment (by “Curtis” [Ballam]): “Decisive vote” instead of “voice and vote.”

Amendment to the Amendment (by “Wheat” [Lovestone]): To instruct the documents committee to formulate instructions on our stand in reference to Agencies and Bureaus of the CI.

Amendment to the Amendment carried.

Motion (by “Carr” [Katterfeld]): That Comrade “Marshall” [Max Bedacht] shall be instructed to return by August 1st [1921].

Motion carried.

Motion (by “Curtis” [Ballam]): That “Baldwin” [Oscar Tyverovsky] shall be our representative on the EC of the CI.

Motion carried.

Motion (by “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]): To instruct our International Delegate [Tyverovsky] to establish direct connections between the CI and the CP of A.

Motion carried.

[Financial Matters.]

Motion (by “Wheat” [Lovestone]): To refer the

question of finances to the committee of 3.

Motion carried.

Motion (by “Wheat” [Lovestone]): To instruct the Secretary to get information about the amount of money necessary to give to each International Delegate for his expenses, and then bring the question again to this committee.

Motion carried.

Amendment (by “Curtis” [Ballam]): Wherever the delegates leave dependents here who have no other means of support, the Party shall pay them single salaries.

Amendment carried.

Motion (by “Curtis” [Ballam]): To permit “Baldwin” [Tyverovsky] to take along his wife and to cover the additional expense.

Motion carried.

Motion (by “Turner” [Weinstone]): To grant membership certificates to the wives of “Ballister” [Robert Minor] and “Baldwin” [Tyverovsky], due to special considerations.

Motion carried.

Motion (by “Griffith” [Zack]): That “Ballister” [Minor] should bring to the CEC all information he has in reference to “Fred” [the Federated Press].

Motion carried.

Motion (by “Curtis” [Ballam]): To instruct “Andrew” [Nicholas Hourwich] to come back after the Congress of the CI.

Motion lost.

Motion (by “Wheat” [Lovestone]): To instruct “Ballister” [Minor] to come back as soon as he has fulfilled the instructions given him.

Motion carried.

[Publication of Program and Constitution.]

Motion (by “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]): That a committee of 3 shall be elected to edit and publish in the Official Bulletin the program and the constitution and other important decisions of the Convention at once.

Motion carried.

“Curtis” [Ballam], “Carr” [Katterfeld], and “Dow” [Dirba] elected.

[Collection of Party Dues.]

Motion (by “Carr” [Katterfeld]): That dues shall be paid on the new basis starting with July [1921].

Motion carried.

Motion (by “Curtis” [Ballam]): To adjourn until 7 pm next day.

Motion carried.

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Second Day, [Tuesday] May 31, 1921.

All present, except “Post” [=???, ex-UCP].

Chairman — “Turner” [Weinstone].

Motion: To take up the question of “Post’s” [=???] absence just before the end of the meeting.

Motion carried.

Motion (by “Curtis” [Ballam]): That in this meeting a majority of 5 shall decided any question, unless two object, in which case 6 votes are necessary for decision.

Motion carried.

Report of Committee on Instructions to the International Delegates.

1) On Agencies and Bureaus of the CI and RILU: a, b, c, and d — adopted as read.

2) On Appeal of Levy and Serrati — adopted as read.

3) On Literature and Connections — adopted as read.

4) On Funds.

Motion (by “Griffith” [Zack]): That the delegates should specify what the program of the party is in the various fields of party activities.

†- While every point and vote of this Central Executive Committee plenum thus far tipped to the perspective of the old CPA, the move to collection of “Federation dues through regular Party channels” was a marked victory for the organizational model of the former United Communist Party. The old CPA allowed its six language Federations to collect dues and to remit a portion (after taking their own percentage) to the center; the UCP and the unified CPA collected dues in full via the District Organizers of the party, who paid the full amount to the center, which in turn remitted a percentage back to the Federations and other peripheral party organizations. Instead of holding the power of the purse-strings, as they did in the old CPA, the various language Federations were reduced to supplicants for funds from the center.

Motion lost.

Motion (by “Curtis” [Ballam]): That the Executive Secretary shall prepare an itemized statement of the financial requirements of the Party to be sent to the CI.

Motion carried.

Telegram from Russia — “appoint two on Board of Directors.” [Elect two members to ECCI].

Motion (by “Curtis” [Ballam]): To defer action until receipt of report from our delegates now going.

Motion carried, 5 to 2.

Chair [Weinstone] ruled that if 3 object the question will be referred to full meeting.

“Kelly” [Ashkenuzi] raised point of order to the effect that discussion should be opened to see if the motion cannot get 6 votes. Chair [Weinstone] ruled point of order not well taken. “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi] appealed, and the chair was sustained.

Motion (by “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]): To file the cable.

Motion carried.

Election of Executive Secretary.

“Dow” [Dirba] was elected Executive Secretary.

Federation National Conferences.

Motion (by “Curtis” [Ballam]): That Federation Conferences shall be held during the month of July.

Motion carried.

Amendment (by “Griffith” [Zack]): That Federation Conferences shall be held by August 15 [1921].
Amendment lost.

(Federation dues through regular Party channels to start with July 1st.)†

Polish Federation EC Request.

The Polish Federation Executive Committee requests a representative to come to their meeting where the question of the G.R. [??] will be taken up. "Dow" [Dirba] was elected to attend their meeting.

Emblem.

Committee's definition was adopted, as follows: "Crossed hammer and sickle between two standing sheaves of wheat within a double circle; underneath the hammer the sickle the words 'All Power to the Workers,' and in the circular margin — 'Communist Party of America, Section of the Communist International.'"

Assessment.

Motion (by "Dow" [Dirba]): That the Special Assessment Stamps and appeal shall be issued as soon as possible.

Motion carried.

Audit and Funds.

Motion (by "Kelly" [Ashkenuzi]): To instruct the Secretary [Dirba] to get in touch with Comrade "Duffy" [Alfred Wagenknecht], and to follow out the instructions of the Convention Liquidation Committee.

Motion carried.

Membership Certificates.

Motion (by "Curtis" [Ballam]): That no membership certificates for Russia shall be issued except in special cases.

Motion carried.

Amendment (by "Griffith" [Zack]): That we issue membership certificates for any member wishing to leave this country.

Amendment lost.

Convention Committee Reports.

Motion (by "Kelly" [Ashkenuzi]): To postpone

action on these reports until we have fully constituted ourselves.

Motion carried.

Redistricting.

Motion (by "Kelly" [Ashkenuzi]): To take up each district separately.

Motion carried.

Amendment (by "Griffith" [Zack]): To elect a special committee of 3 to prepare a report on redistricting.

Amendment lost.

Amendment to the Amendment (by "Carr" [Katterfeld]): To accept the outlines of the districts as defined in the UCP.

Amendment to the Amendment lost.

[District 1]

Motion (by "Dow" [Dirba]): That District 1 shall remain as at present defined in both parties [New England, except for the city of New Haven south in Connecticut].

Motion carried.

[District 2]

Motion (by "Dow" [Dirba]): That District 2 shall be as defined in the CP [Eastern NY, along with New Haven and the southeastern corner of Connecticut, plus northern New Jersey], with the addition of Buffalo, which means combining UCP Districts 2 and 14 minus Erie.

Motion carried, 5 to 4.

Amendment by Carr: District 2 as defined in the UCP [New Haven and southeastern Connecticut, New York south of Poughkeepsie, New Jersey north of Trenton, also technically including Panama and Puerto Rico].

Amendment lost, 4 to 5.

Final action referred to full CEC meeting.

[District 3]

Motion (by "Dow" [Dirba]): That District 3 remain as present defined in both parties [Eastern

Pennsylvania, New Jersey from Trenton south, Delaware, Virginia, Maryland, District of Columbia].

Motion carried.

[District 4]

Motion (by “Dow” [Dirba]): That District 4 shall be as in the CP, minus Buffalo [Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia].

Motion carried, 5 to 4.

Amendment (by “Carr” [Katterfeld]): District 4 as defined in the UCP.

Amendment lost, 4 to 5.

Final action referred to full CEC meeting.

[District 5]

Motion (by “Dow” [Dirba]): That District 5 shall consist of Illinois (north of Springfield), Indiana, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.

Motion carried, 5 to 4.

Amendment (by “Carr” [Katterfeld]): District 5 to be as District 7 in the UCP [Illinois north of Springfield, Iowa south of Mason City, plus Lake County in northern Indiana].

Amendment lost, 4 to 5.

Final action referred to full CEC meeting.

[District 6]

Motion (by “Dow” [Dirba]): That District 6 shall be the state of Michigan.

Motion carried, 5 to 4.

Amendment (by “Carr” [Katterfeld]): District 6 to be as defined in the UCP [lower peninsula of Michigan and Indiana except for Lake County].

Amendment lost, 4 to 5.

Final action referred to full CEC meeting.

[District 7]

Motion (by “Dow” [Dirba]): That District 7 shall consist of Illinois (Springfield south), Missouri, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas, which is the same as District 8 in the UCP.

Motion carried.

[District 8]

Motion (by “Dow” [Dirba]): That District 8 shall include all units on the Pacific Coast.

Motion carried, 5 to 4.

Amendment (by “Carr” [Katterfeld]): This territory to be divided into three districts as defined in the UCP Districts 9 [Colorado, Wyoming, Southern Idaho, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico], 10 [California, Nevada, Hawaii], and 11 [Oregon, Washington, Northern Idaho, Western Montana, Alaska].

Amendment lost, 4 to 5.

Final action referred to full CEC meeting.

Motion (by “Carr” [Katterfeld]): To elect a committee of 3 to report on the districts which were referred to the full meeting.

Motion carried.

“Carr” [Katterfeld], “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi], and “Dow” [Dirba] elected.

Motion (by “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]): To instruct this committee to bring in their report to the next session of the CEC.

Motion carried.

Appointment of District Organizers.

Referred to the full CEC meeting.

Motion (by “Wheat” [Lovestone]): To refer CEC positions to full meeting.

Motion lost.

CEC Positions.

Executive Secretary — “Dow” [Dirba] already elected. The Secretarial Department to act also as the Organization Department.

Assistant Secretary — “Carr” [Katterfeld] elected.

Editor of Underground Papers — “Curtis” [Ballam] (5 votes), “Wheat” [Lovestone] (4 votes).

Referred to full CEC meeting.

Editor of Legal Papers — “Cook” [James Cannon] elected, if he can come back [to New York].

Assistant Editor — “McLean” [???, ex-old CPA] elected.

Editorial Committee — “Paul” [Wilenskin], “Curtis” [Ballam], “Wheat” [Lovestone], “Turner” [Wein-

stone], “Cook” [Cannon] nominated.

Motion: All 5 nominees to act on the committee.

Motion lost.

Question referred to full CEC meeting.

Temporary Committee of “Paul” [Wilenkin], “Curtis” [Ballam], and “Wheat” [Lovestone] elected.

Industrial Department — referred to full CEC meeting.

On Legal Activities: The question whether or not to have a special department for this work was referred until action is taken upon the Convention Committee report on legal activities.

Manager of Party Legal Papers — “Duffy” [Wagenknecht] elected.

Educational Department — “Turner” [Weinstein] nominated, defeated 4 to 5.

Referred to full CEC meeting.

On Language Bureaus: Motion: In favor of a special man to attend to the National Language Bureaus was lost by 4 to 5 votes, and then referred to the full CEC Meeting.

Motion (by “Curtis” [Ballam]): To send someone to Philadelphia for Comrade “Post” [???].

Motion carried. “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi] to go.

Adjourned, to meet next day.

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Third Day, [Wednesday] June 1, 1921.

All present.

Chairman — “Curtis” [Ballam].

Order of business: (1) Redistricting; (2) District Organizers; (3) CEC Positions; (4) Audit and Funds; (5) Action of Convention Committee Reports; (6) Manifesto; (7) Report of Rules Committee; (8) “Fred” [Federated Press].

Redistricting.

[District 2]

Motion (by “Dow” [Dirba]): That District 2

shall stand as in the CP [Eastern NY, along with New Haven and the southeastern corner of Connecticut, plus northern New Jersey], plus Buffalo.

Motion carried.

Amendment (by “Carr” [Katterfeld]): District 2 as in the UCP [New Haven and southeastern Connecticut, New York south of Poughkeepsie, New Jersey north of Trenton, also technically including Panama and Puerto Rico].

Amendment lost.

[District 4]

Motion (by “Dow” [Dirba]): That District 4 shall be the same as in the CP minus Buffalo [Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia], which means Districts 4 and 5 of UCP combined, plus Erie.

Motion carried.

Amendment (by “Carr” [Katterfeld]): That District 4 shall consist of Western Pennsylvania and West Virginia.

Amendment lost.

[District 5]

Motion (by “Dow” [Dirba]): That District 5 shall consist of Illinois (North of Springfield), Iowa, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.

Motion lost, 5 to 5.

Amendment (by “Carr” [Katterfeld]): That District 5 shall consist of Districts 7 and 13 of the UCP combined [Illinois North of Springfield, Iowa South of Mason City, Lake County in Northern Indiana, Wisconsin except for its Northeastern edge].

Amendment lost, 5 to 5.

[District 6]

Motion (by “Carr” [Katterfeld]): That District 6 shall consist of Michigan (less Upper Peninsula), Indiana (less Lake County), and Toledo, Ohio.

Motion carried.

Amendment (by “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]): That District 5 shall consist of Michigan (less Upper Peninsula) and Toledo, Ohio.

Amendment lost, 5 to 5.

[District 7]

Motion (by “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]): To reconsider District 7.

Motion carried.

Motion (by “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]): That District 7 shall include also District #9 of the UCP [Adds Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico to the district already including Illinois from Springfield South, Missouri, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas].

Motion carried.

[District 8]

Motion (by “Carr” [Katterfeld]): That District 8 shall consist of Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Eastern Montana, and the Upper Peninsula of Michigan.

Motion lost, 5 to 5.

Motion (by “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]): That District 8 shall be the Pacific Coast.

Motion lost, 5 to 5.

Motion (by “Carr” [Katterfeld]): That District 8 shall consist of California and Nevada.

Motion lost, 5 to 5.

[District 5]

Motion (by “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]): That District 5 shall consist of Illinois (North of Springfield), Iowa, Lake County of Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Upper Peninsula of Michigan.

Motion carried, 5 to 4.

[District 8]

Motion (by “Paul” [Wilenkin]): That District 8 shall consist of California, Nevada, Utah, and Arizona.

Motion carried.

[District 9]

Motion (by “Paul” [Wilenkin]): That District

9 shall consist of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Western Montana.

Motion carried.

Appointments of District Organizers.

District 1 [Boston] — “Sullivan” [A.S. Edwards, ex-CPA] (6 votes) elected, as against “Bronk” [???, ex-UCP] (4 votes).

District 2 [New York] — “Henry” [??? †] (7) elected, as against “Mills” [Arne Swabeck, ex-UCP] (3).

District 3 [Philadelphia] — “Hoffman” [Morris Kushinsky] elected, as against “Dobner” [A. Jakira].

“Carr” [Katterfeld] demanded that the elections shall be by majority vote of the CEC.

Chair [Ballam] ruled that the question was referred to full meeting, that no special rules were made for the full meeting, and the election stands.

“Carr” [Katterfeld] appealed. The chair was sustained.

District 4 [Cleveland] — “Anders” [???, ex-old CPA] (5) elected, as against “Mills” [Swabeck, ex-UCP] and “Schiller” [???, ex-UCP].

District 5 [Chicago] — “Johnson” [???, ex-old CPA] (5) tied with “Burke” [Charles Krumbein, ex-UCP] (5).

District 6 [Detroit] — “Green” [Meyer Lunin?, ex-CPA] (5) tied with “Dobner” [Jakira, ex-UCP] (5).

District 7 [St. Louis] — “Page” [T.R. Sullivan, ex-UCP] elected.

District 8 [San Francisco] — “Schiller” [???, ex-UCP] elected.

District 9 [Seattle] — “Kay” [Kate Greenhalgh, ex-UCP] elected.

After several unsuccessful attempts to break the tie votes on District 5 and 6, the next order of business was taken up.

CEC Positions.

Editor of Underground Papers — “Curtis” [Bal-

†- There are several individuals who used the pseudonym “Henry,” including CEC member George Ashkenuzi, who was using the pseudonym “Kelly” during this period.

lam] (5) tied with “Wheat” [Lovestone] (5).

Editorial Committee — “Curtis” [Ballam] (10), “Wheat” [Lovestone] (10), and “Paul” [Wilenskin] (5) elected.

Industrial Department — “Griffith” [Zack] elected.

Motion (by “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]): To instruct him to prepare a report and plans for the future work before going ahead with it.

Motion carried.

Educational Department — “Turner” [Weinstein] and “Wheat” [Lovestone] nominated, and both declined.

Motion (by “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]): To draft “Wheat” [Lovestone] to take charge of the educational work.

Motion lost, 5 to 5.

Motion (by “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]): To combine Educational Department with the Editorial Committee.

Motion carried, 5 to 4.

Motion: That the CEC shall appoint Language Bureau Director.

Motion tabled.

Motion (by “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]): To put “Post” [???, ex-UCP] on the Editorial Staff.

Motion carried.

Motion (by “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]): To put “Ray” [Stilson] in the Secretarial Department temporarily.

Motion carried.

Motion (by “Carr” [Katterfeld]): To reconsider election of District 2 Organizer.

Motion lost, 5 to 5.

Carr wants to change his vote on District 2 [New York] Organizer [“Henry”]. Chair [Ballam] ruled that the vote cannot be changed since the organizer was declared duly elected.

Another attempt was made to break the tie vote on District 5 [Chicago] Organizer, but without success.

Motion (by “Paul” [Wilenskin]): That “Wheat”

[Lovestone] and “Curtis” [Ballam] shall work in the Editorial Department.

Motion carried.

On another vote, “Burke” [Krumbein, ex-UCP] was elected District 5 [Chicago] Organizer, and “Green” [Loonin?, ex-CPA] (5) was elected District 6 [Detroit] Organizer, as against “Dobner” [Jakira, ex-UCP] (4).

Motion: To adjourn to meet again at 5:30 pm, June 3.

Motion carried.

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Fourth Day, [Friday] June 3, 1921.

All present, except “Post” [???].
Chairman — “Carr” [Katterfeld].

Order of Business: As submitted by the Secretary [Dirba].

Vote on Editor of Underground Party Papers resulted in 5 for “Curtis” [Ballam] and 4 for “Wheat” [Lovestone].

Referred to full meeting.

Motion (by “Griffith” [Zack]): To reconsider the appointments of District Organizers.

“Curtis” [Ballam] raised point of order that the motion is out of order since it does not come under appointments on Technical Department now before the Committee according to the order of business adopted.

Chair [Katterfeld] ruled against the point of order, but on appeal was not sustained.

Appointments on Technical Department.

“Stein” [???, ex-old CPA] and “Logan” [Walter Brustor, ex-UCP] nominated for Technician. Chair [Katterfeld] expressed the opinion that the head of the Technical Department should be a member of the CEC.

Motion (by “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]): That the Secretarial Department should organize a technical staff.

Amendment (by “Griffith” [Zack]): That the Technical Department shall be in charge of a member of the CEC.

Amendment carried.

Motion as amended carried.

“Ray” [Stilson] (6 votes) elected to take charge of the Technical Department.

**Announcement by “Griffith” [Zack],
“Wheat” [Lovestone], “Turner” [Weinstone],
and “Carr” [Katterfeld].**

Announcement was handed in, as follows: “We, the undersigned members of the CEC, hereby announce that we do not consider legal the appointments of District Organizers who have not received a majority vote of the Committee (the majority vote being not less than 6). We consider the final appointments of District Organizers in question referred to the next full meeting of the CEC. (signed) — ‘Griffith’ [Zack], ‘Wheat’ [Lovestone], ‘Turner’ [Weinstone], and ‘Carr’ [Katterfeld].”

Audit and Funds.

Secretary [Dirba] reported that the Auditing Committee waited three days for the UCP books to be prepared for auditing, but then were told by Comrade “Duffy” [Wagenknecht] that the books were not written up since April 1st, and that it will take more than a week to get them in order. Now the Auditing Committee has gone away, to come back later on. The funds of the UCP have not yet been turned over to the Executive Secretary [Dirba], neither the connections and mail, although it appears that some funds are coming in and being still received by Comrade “Duffy” [Wagenknecht].

Motion (by “Dow” [Dirba]): To instruct Comrade “Duffy” [Wagenknecht] to turn over to the Executive Secretary [Dirba] the cash balance in his possession, subject to any adjustment found necessary by the Auditing Committee.

Motion carried.

Motion (by “Dow” [Dirba]): That all remittances now coming in from either side [ex-UCP, ex-old CPA] shall be turned over directly to the Executive Secretary [Dirba], who is to pay all outstanding accounts and current expenses due.

Motion carried.

Motion (by “Griffith” [Zack]): To elect a Treasurer.

Motion carried.

Amendment (by “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]): To elect a committee of 3 to arrange for the safekeeping of funds.

Amendment lost.

“Harper” [??] was elected Treasurer, special arrangements to be made for large funds.

Motion (by “Dow” [Dirba]): That current funds up to \$5,000 may be held by the Executive Secretary [Dirba].

Motion carried.

Report of Rules Committee.

Motion (by “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]): To take the Rules of Procedure for the CEC up seriatim.†

Motion carried.

Clause 1. — Amendment by “Carr” [Katterfeld]: The CEC shall meet regularly each week.

Amendment lost, 4 to 5.

Point, as submitted, carried by 5 to 4 votes.

Motion (by “Griffith” [Zack]): To refer this point to the full CEC meeting.

Motion lost, 3 to 5.

“Turner” [Weinstone] raised point of order that the demand of two members is sufficient to have a question referred to full meeting. Chair [Katterfeld] ruled that this applied only to the particular session at which it was adopted.

Motion (by “Turner” [Weinstone]): To take up first the points referring to quorum and voting.

Motion carried.

Clause 4a. — Amendment (by “Griffith”

†- The complete set of Rules of Procedure for the CEC of the CPA is appended to these minutes.

[Zack]: That 8 members of the CEC shall constitute quorum.

Amendment lost.

Clause approved as submitted.

Clause 4b. — Withdrawn by the Rules Committee.

Clause 4c. — **Amendment by “Carr” [Katterfeld]:** That on all questions of procedure a majority of those voting shall decide. On other questions decision shall be by majority vote of those voting except on roll call, in which case six votes, a majority of the whole Committee, shall be required for binding decision.

Amendment to the Amendment (by “Curtis” [Ballam]): That no decision of the CEC can be annulled or reversed without a majority vote of 6 or more.

Substitute (by “Dow” [Dirba]): That on all questions of procedure a majority of those voting shall decide. On other questions decision shall be by majority of those voting, except in case any member is absent, when, upon the demand for roll call, the decision does not take effect until all members of the CEC have recorded their vote, or unless there are more than 5 votes for or against a motion.

Substitute carried, 5 to 4.

Amendment to the Amendment carried, 5 to 4.

Amendment lost, 4 to 5.

“Griffith” [Zack] demands a roll call on substitute and amendment, which resulted as follows:

On “Dow’s” [Dirba’s] substitute — **Yes:** “Curtis” [Ballam], “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi], “Paul” [Wilenskin], “Ray” [Stilson], “Dow” [Dirba]. **No:** “Carr” [Katterfeld], “Turner” [Weinstone], “Wheat” [Lovestone], “Griffith” [Zack].

On “Carr’s” [Katterfeld’s] amendment — **Yes:** “Carr” [Katterfeld], “Turner” [Weinstone], “Wheat” [Lovestone], “Griffith” [Zack]. **No:** “Curtis” [Ballam], “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi], “Paul” [Wilenskin], “Ray” [Stilson], “Dow” [Dirba].

Decision does not take effect until “Post” [??] records his vote.

Clause 5. — OK.

Clause 6. — First part: OK. Second part:

Motion (by “Dow” [Dirba]): To refer this part back to the Committee for reformulation.

Motion carried, 5 to 4.

Clause 7. — OK.

Clause 8. — OK.

Clause 9. — OK.

Clause 10. — OK.

Motion (by “Turner” [Weinstone]): That whenever there is a dissenting opinion by a minority of the committee on decisions affecting organization, or tactics, or principles, they may publish their views in the Bulletin or underground organ, provided they secure 3 votes.

After long discussion, “Turner” [Weinstone] wanted to change “3 votes” to “5 votes,” but “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi] objected.

Amendment (by “Turner” [Weinstone]): Provided they secure 5 votes in favor of the publishing of their views.

Amendment to the Amendment (by “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]): Provided they secure 6 votes.

Roll call was demanded, and resulted as follows:

“Kelly’s” [Ashkenuzi’s] Amendment to the Amendment — **Yes:** “Carr” [Katterfeld], “Turner” [Weinstone], “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]. **No:** “Wheat” [Lovestone], “Griffith” [Zack], “Curtis” [Ballam], “Paul” [Wilenskin], “Ray” [Stilson], “Dow” [Dirba].

Amendment to the Amendment lost, 3 to 6.

“Turner’s” [Weinstone’s] Amendment — **Yes:** “Carr” [Katterfeld], “Turner” [Weinstone], “Wheat” [Lovestone], “Griffith” [Zack]. **No:** “Curtis” [Ballam], “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi], “Paul” [Wilenskin], “Ray” [Stilson], “Dow” [Dirba].

Amendment lost, 4 to 5.

“Turner’s” [Weinstone’s] Motion — **Yes:** “Wheat” [Lovestone]. **No:** All others.

Motion lost, 1 to 8.

Clause 11. — **Amendment (by “Griffith” [Zack]):** To strike out whole clause.

Substitute (by “Carr” [Katterfeld]): That no discussion shall be allowed without a motion except by majority vote.

Substitute carried as against the amendment.

Motion by “Carr” [Katterfeld]: That whenever there is a dissenting opinion by a minority of the

Committee on decisions affecting organization, tactics, or principles, they may present their views in articles for publication in the underground official organ. If the Editorial Committee refuses publication, the articles must be published upon the vote of five members of the CEC.

Motion lost, 4 to 5.

Amendment (by “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]): Upon majority vote.

Amendment lost, 4 to 4.

Clause 12. — Amendment (by “Griffith” [Zack]): To strike out 10 minute limit for speeches.

Amendment lost.

Clause adopted as submitted.

Clause 13. — OK.

Clause 14. — OK.

Clause 15. — OK.

Clause 16. — OK.

Clause 17. — OK.

Clause 18. — Amendment (by “Curtis” [Ballam]): To strike out the part pertaining to substitutes.

Amendment lost, 3 to 6.

Clause approved as submitted.

Clause 19. — OK.

Clause 20. — OK.

Clause 21. — OK.

Clause 22. — OK.

Clause 23. — OK.

Clause 24. — OK.

Clause 25. — Withdrawn.

Clause 26. — Amendment (by “Griffith” [Zack]): That 5 votes shall carry the motion to reconsider.

Amendment to the Amendment (by “Carr” [Katterfeld]): The clause to read: “Motion to rescind opens the whole question to debate.”

Amendment to the amendment lost, 4 to 5.

Amendment lost, 3 to 6.

Clause as submitted adopted, 6 to 3.

Clause 27. — OK.

Clause 28. — OK.

Clause 29a. — Amendment (by “Carr” [Katterfeld]): The clause to read: “The Secretary shall use

his discretion regarding the publication of motions for the membership, unless he receives specific instructions from the Committee.”

Amendment carried.

Clause 29b. — OK.

Clause 29c. — Stricken out.

Clause 30. — OK.

Report of the Editorial Committee.

Bulletin and Assessment Stamps will be out Monday [June 6, 1921].

Motion (by “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]): To instruct the Executive Secretary [Dirba] to get “Post” [??] for the next meeting of the CEC.

Motion carried.

Motion (by “Griffith” [Zack]): To take up the question of editors.

Motion carried.

“Curtis” [Ballam] (4) tied with “Wheat” [Lovestone] (4).

“Carr” [Katterfeld] brought up the question of railroad fare to and from his residence, monthly commutation ticket amounting to \$27.95, the same applying to Comrade “Duffy” [Wagenknecht].

Motion (by “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]): To allow this railroad fare to “Carr” [Katterfeld] and “Duffy” [Wagenknecht].

Motion carried.

Motion (by “Kelly” [Ashkenuzi]): To allow “Turner” [Weinstone] a week’s pay.

Motion carried.

Motion (by “Curtis” [Ballam]): That the Executive Secretary pay the members of the CEC at the regular meetings.

Motion lost.

Motion: To adjourn, next meeting to be held [Tuesday] June 7, 3 pm.

Motion carried.

“C. Dow” [Charles Dirba],
Executive Secretary.

Rules of Procedure for the CEC of the CP of A.

A document in the Comintern Archive, f. 515, op. 1, d. 51, ll. 9-11.

1. The CEC shall meet at least twice a month.
2. The Executive Secretary shall call the regular meetings of the CEC.
3. Special meetings shall be called by the Executive Secretary whenever circumstances require, or upon the demand of two members of the CEC. Special meetings shall act the same as regular meetings.
- 4a. Seven members of the CEC shall constitute a quorum.
- 4b. (*Withdrawn.*)†
- 4c. On all questions of procedure a majority of those voting shall decide. On other questions decision shall be by majority of those voting, except in case any member is absent, when, upon the demand for a roll call vote, the decision does not take effect until all members of the CEC have recorded their vote, or unless there are more than 5 votes for or against a motion.
5. The Executive Secretary shall keep a record of those members coming more than 15 minutes late, or absenting themselves without giving valid reasons. The CEC will discipline those members who are repeatedly late, and who are absent without valid reasons.
6. It shall be considered breach of Party discipline for any member, or any other comrades present at the meeting of the CEC: (1) to leave the meeting before adjournment without a special permission; (2) to divulge any decisions of the CEC not shown on the official extracts sent out to membership, or any proceedings, information, or debated not having a direct bearing upon the decisions and matters so given out by the CEC.
7. The Executive Secretary shall prepare an order of business for every meeting of the CEC, subject to approval and changes by the CEC. The CEC may take up any question at any time upon a simple motion (without a special motion for the suspension of rules).
8. At each regular meeting the Executive Secretary shall give a financial statement, and read excerpts from the correspondence with Districts, Federations, etc., having general interest, or requiring action by the CEC.
9. All committees, special as well as standing committees, must prepare and give reports at each regular meeting of the CEC.
10. As soon as a committee is elected, it shall elect its secretary, who shall arrange meetings of the committee and prepare and give the reports of the CEC.
11. No discussion shall be allowed without a motion, except by a majority vote.
12. Discussion shall be limited to ten minutes for each speaker the first time, and five minutes for each subsequent time. This may be extended by unanimous consent, or upon a majority vote when an objection is raised.
13. The chairman shall keep a list of speakers, giving the floor to those wishing to speak for the first time on a question before anyone is given the floor for the second time.
14. Points of order and privileged motions may be made, points of information asked, and the previous question may be called for by any member without regard to the list of speakers.
15. The rights of the chairman to participate in discussion and to vote on all questions shall be the same as of all the other members of the CEC.
16. Tie vote means a motion lost, or the chair sustained. Expulsion or suspension of a member from the CEC shall require 7 votes; all other questions are decided by majority vote.
17. Roll call vote shall be taken upon the demand of any member of the CEC.
18. There may be an amendment, second amendment, or a substitute to each main motion. A

†- This subclause originally was to read: "4b. The CEC should designate at once one alternate from each side to attend upon notice the meetings of the CEC as substitutes for any regular member unable to be present. Any member of the CEC who for a valid reason cannot attend a meeting of the CEC shall promptly give notice of this to the Executive Secretary, so that the alternate may be called to the meeting to serve in his place."

substitute may be moved after either amendment; it cannot be amended, and if carried, it disposes of the motion and amendments. Amendments may be made in full, and then, if carried, dispose of the motion; or they may be made to modify the motion, and then, if the amendment is carried, the motion is put as amended.

19. Motions to divide a question; to postpone indefinitely; and to rescind former action, open up the whole question to debate.

20. Motion to refer to a committee, and motion to postpone to a fixed time are debatable only as to the advisability of the commitment or postponement. Motion to instruct the committee opens debate on the whole question.

21. The following motions on procedure shall not be debatable except by the mover, and one against; not over three minutes each: To lay on the table; To suspend the rules; To take up a question out of its order; To take from the table; To adjourn or to take a recess. They cannot be amended.

22. The following motions shall not be debatable: For the previous question; To limit or close debate; To extend limits of debate.

23. The following motions may be made while another has the floor: Objection to consideration (suppresses the question); For the orders of the day; Point

of order, and appeal from the decision of the chair on it. They are not debatable, except that on appeal from the decision of the chair, both the appellant and the chair shall have five minutes each to state their sides.

24. The Executive Secretary shall act as the chairman when an appeal is taken, or when the chairman takes the floor.

25. (*Withdrawn.*)†

26. Motions contrary to or making inoperative a decision or a part of a decision passed at a previous meeting of the CEC are not in order unless first a motion to rescind the previous action is carried. Motion to rescind opens the whole question to debate. This does not apply to motions regarding interpretation or application of previous decisions.

27. After a motion has been taken up by the meeting, the maker cannot modify or withdraw it, except by general consent.

28. Motions to adjourn, to lay on the table, or to take from the table cannot be renewed unless some other motion has intervened.

29. The Secretary shall use his discretion regarding the publication of motions for the membership, unless he receives specific instructions from the Committee.‡

30. The names of the movers of motions and amendments shall be recorded in the minutes.

†- This clause originally was to read: "25. Motion to reconsider shall be entertained upon being supported by two members, besides the mover, and it opens debate upon the whole question, if it was debatable. Only one reconsideration of a question is permitted."

‡- This clause originally was to read: "29. The CEC shall determine after each motion whether it shall be sent out to the membership, or not. Only three copies of the full minutes shall be kept by the Executive Secretary in three different safe places of Party archives; the members of the CEC being permitted to make notes in code of the confidential decisions, if they so desire."

Edited with footnotes by Tim Davenport.

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