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# Minutes of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America: April 3-6-7-9-10-14-17-21-24-25-26-27, 1922.

Copy in Comintern Archive, RGASPI, f. 515, op. 1, d. 94, ll. 20-29.

## *Minutes of the CEC Meeting Held on April 3rd, 1922.*

Present: Raphael [Alex Bittelman], Griffith [Joseph Zack Kornfeder], Green [Meyer Lunin], Paul [J. Wilenkin], Golden [Jim Cannon], Gorney [Joseph Kowalski], and Wheat [Jay Lovestone].

Chairman: Paul [Wilenkin]

Letter from Carr [Ludwig Katterfeld].

Cable from Carr [Katterfeld] regarding his and Braun's [Max Bedacht's] return.

*Motion by Green [Lunin]*, that we instruct Carr [Katterfeld] to remain.

*Amendment by Wheat [Lovestone]*, that we defer action.

*Amendment Carried.*

*Motion by Wheat [Lovestone]*, that we accept report of Golden [Cannon] on the situation in District No. 4 [Cleveland]. *Carried.*

Consideration of Theses continued.

## *Minutes of the CEC Meeting Held on April 6th, 1922.*

Present: Raphael [Bittelman], Golden [Cannon], Griffith [Zack], Green [Lunin], Paul [Wilenkin], Lewis [Weinstone], Gorney [Kowalski], and Wheat [Lovestone].

Chairman: Griffith [Zack].

Letter from Duffy [Wagenknecht] regarding salary of Swift [Jacob Hartmann] read.

*Motion by Golden [Cannon]*, that we lay over the Duffy-Swift [Wagenknecht-Hartmann] matter for a full meeting. *Carried.*

Report of Paul [Wilenkin], of Duffy' [Wagenknecht's] going to Chicago to make purchases in violation of the instructions of the Executive Board of B [Friends of Soviet Russia], and of his securing certified check from Treasurer [Hartmann] through misrepresentation of facts. Also reported that he had withheld from the Executive Board propositions regarding agricultural unit submitted to him for consideration by Board.

*Motion by Griffith [Zack]*, that we appoint a committee to investigate the B [FSR].

*Amendment by Wheat [Lovestone]* to defer action to a full meeting.

Roll call on Amendment:

*Yes* — Raphael [Bittelman], Golden [Cannon], Wheat [Lovestone].

*No* — Griffith [Zack], Paul [Wilenkin], Green [Lunin].

*Amendment lost.*

Reversed vote on Motion. *Lost.*

*Motion by Paul [Wilenkin]* to postpone action on the B [FSR] until next session with full local attendance. *Carried.*

Report by Gorney [Kowalski] on the Polish situation with recommendation that Sec. [Lovestone] instruct our DO#6 [Detroit] how to deal with Polish Editor [=???]. *Accepted.*

**Motion by Griffith [Zack]**, that we reimburse Gorney \$50, on account of sum advanced by him for Polish work.

Roll call:

*Yes* — Raphael [Bittelman], Griffith [Zack], Golden [Cannon], Green [Lunin], Lewis [Weinstone].

*No* — Paul [Wilenskin].

*Present* — Wheat [Lovestone].

*[Carried.]*

### **Russian Federation.**

**Motion by Griffith [Zack]**, that we call a Russian District Conference for 1 [Boston], 2 [New York], 3 [Philadelphia], for the purpose of revitalizing the Federation, reorganizing the Bureau, and paper no. 2 [*Novyi Mir?*].

**Amendment by Raphael [Bittelman]**, that a similar conference be called in the West.

**Amendment to the Amendment by Green [Lunin]**, that Gavruk [=???] replace Nag [=???] as Secretary of the Russian Bureau.

*All carried.*

**Motion by Raphael [Bittelman]**, that the #2 [WPA] extend an invitation to the National Committees of all labor organizations — economic, political, etc. — to meet with it in conference not later than April 20th [1922], for the purpose of discussing possibility of joint action of demonstrative nature in connection with the Genoa Conference.

**Amendment by Griffith [Zack]**, that we cooperate with organizations friendly towards SR [Soviet Russia].

**Amendment to the Amendment by Golden [Cannon]**, that we instruct all our locals to organize joint activities.

**Substitute for the Whole by Lewis [Weinstone]**, that we defer action on this matter till the next meeting of the Administrative Council of #2. *Carried.*

Meeting adjourned.

### **Minutes of the CEC Meeting Held on April 7th, 1922.**

Present: Griffith [Zack], Raphael [Bittelman], Lewis [Weinstone], Green [Lunin], Golden [Cannon], Wheat [Lovestone], Borden [William Z. Foster], Paul [Wilenskin].

Chairman: Griffith [Zack].

Borden [Foster] report on miners' situation and the organization of caucuses throughout the fields of No. 1 [CPA] members first, then down the line.

### **Minutes of the CEC Meeting Held on April 9th, 1922.**

Present: Griffith [Zack], Raphael [Bittelman], Golden [Cannon], Lewis [Weinstone], Green [Lunin], Wheat [Lovestone], Paul [Wilenskin], Borden [Foster], Ray [Joseph Stilson].

Chairman: Ray [Stilson].

### **Industrial Matters.**

Borden reporting: 50 active units of X [TUEL] in operation, 30 of which have not yet elected a secretary or gotten their machinery in operation. The party must put its machinery behind the X [TUEL] or else it will fall into the hands of others. Socialists have control in Milwaukee; Proletarian [Party] in Detroit; and United T. [Toilers] in Philadelphia. Recommendation to set Party in motion behind the X [TUEL] at once. The press must write about it though not as if it were a Party institution, yet endorsing it. The X [TUEL] is dead broke and a substantial appropriation should be made, if possible.

Instructions for mine caucuses read and approved. In connection with same, Borden [Foster] instructed to stop at D11 [Pittsburgh] and D4 [Cleveland] on his way to D5 [Chicago].

Report made by Borden [Foster] on the Amalgamated Metal Workers.

1. Informed that Johnston offered union a chance to come back into Assoc. [IAM].

Motion made and carried that Sec. [Lovestone] be instructed to investigate this.

**Motion made** and *carried* that Comrade K.D. [=???] of the Machinists be toured by #2 [WPA].

**Motion made** and *carried* that Sec. [Lovestone] be instructed to write a special letter to all DOs on the X [TUEL] and instructing our members to get into it and build it up.

Industrial Department also to write about it.

Border [Foster] to issue weekly or bi-weekly letter to editors. Executive Secretary [Lovestone] to instruct all editors regarding the X [TUEL].

**Motion by Borden [Foster]**, that National Conference of the X [TUEL] be held July 1. *Carried.*†

### Report on Needle Trades.

Plan for organization submitted. Committee to direct the organization of the Left bloc and Golden [Cannon] to present plan at next meeting for action.

### Jewish Matter.

Report by Golden [Cannon] and Wheat [Lovestone] on the #2 [WPA] A.C. [=???] meeting.

General discussion on situation in Jewish Federation land 2 [in New York?].

**Motion by Ray [Stilson]**, that in the reorganization of #1 Jewish Bureau, Smith [Noah London], Funk [Hyman Costrell] and Lanes [Hyman Taubenshlag] be removed.

**Amendment by Green [Lunin]**, that Smith [London] and Lanes [Taubenshlag] be removed.

**Amendment to the Amendment by Paul [Wil-**

**enkin]**, that both No. 1 [CPA] and No. 2 [WPA] Bureaus be reorganized.

**Amendment by Golden [Cannon]**, that we arrange a Bureau #2 [WPA] meeting and find out the basis of working arrangements.

*Action not taken.*

Meeting adjourned.

### Minutes of the CEC Meeting Held on April 10th, 1922.

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

### The Opposition [Central Caucus-CPA].

### Minutes of the CEC Meeting Held on April 14th, 1922.

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

### Special Jewish Matter.

**Request by Raphael [Bittelman]**, that Sec. [Lovestone] take up with main office [Moscow] the situation in the Jewish press and that he underwrite a loan to the same. *Carried.*

### Order of Business.

**Motion by Lewis [Weinstone]**, that the follow-

†- The First General Conference of the Trade Union Educational League was actually held in Chicago from Aug. 26-27, 1922.

ing be the order of business:

1. Report of Secretary [Lovestone].
2. The B [Friends of Soviet Russia].
3. The N.D. [=???].
4. The #2 [WPA].
5. Federations of #1 [CPA].
6. District Matters.
7. Good and Welfare.

**Amendment by Paul [Wilenskin]**, that we first act on special matter regarding B [FSR].

*Amendment carried.*

### **The B [Friends of Soviet Russia].**

Report by Paul [Wilenskin] on censure of Duffy [Alfred Wagenknecht] by the Executive Board of B [FSR], for his unauthorized trip West entailing an expense of about \$400. and report that Executive Board of the B [FSR] has appointed an investigation committee consisting of Golden [Cannon] and Swift [Hartmann] to look into the whole matter.

**Motion by Paul [Wilenskin]**, that a committee of 3 be elected to investigate difficulties in the B [FSR].

Amendment by Griffith [Zack], that we add 1 to the B [FSR] committee already appointed and that the 3 constitute our committee. *Carried.*

Griffith [Zack] added.

### **Financial Report by Secretary [Lovestone].**

Giving itemized statement of expenditures and receipts for Party from Jan. 15 to April 11th [1922], inclusive.

Correction by Ray [Stilson] that \$6.50 charged to Lithuanian dues in February be charged to CEC expenses.

Report accepted as read and corrected.

General discussion of report.

### **District Matters.**

District 2 [New York]:

**Motion by Lewis [Weinstone]**, that Secretary [Lovestone] instruct SDO D2 [New York City SDO]

to vacate completely and immediately the old paper no. 23 [=???] building. *Carried.*

**Motion by Lewis [Weinstone]**, that the T.B. [=???] shop be turned over at once to the No. 2 [WPA] organization. *Carried.*

**Motion by Wheat [Lovestone]**, that DO#2 [New York] be instructed to submit financial statements as do all other DOs. *Carried.*

### **Relief.**

**Motion by Raphael [Bittelman]**, that the Secretary [Lovestone] and Duffy [Wagenknecht] be instructed to work out a report between the B [FSR] and the Party with a view to reorganization of the present difficulties. *Carried.*

### **Reorganization of the CEC.**

General discussion.

Lewis [Weinstone], Green [Lunin], and Wheat [Lovestone] offered resignations in order to enable the committee to achieve organic unity on the basis of representation of all factions.

Continuation of meeting to be held Monday, April 17th.

### **Minutes of the CEC Meeting Held on April 17th, 1922.**

Present: Brown [Max Bedacht], Griffith [Zack], Golden [Cannon], Green [Lunin], Paul [Wilenskin], Ray [Stilson], Raphael [Bittelman], Wheat [Lovestone].

Chairman: Golden [Cannon].

Continuation of consideration of Secretary's [Lovestone's] recommendation regarding reorganization of CEC.

**Motion by Golden [Cannon]**, that we approve the principle of reorganizing the Committee by co-optating Ballister [Minor], Dixon [Browder], and Duffy [Wagenknecht] to replace 3 members who resign.

Roll call:

*Yes* — Brown [Bedacht], Green [Lunin], Raphael [Bittelman], Golden [Cannon], Wheat [Lovestone], Lewis [Weinstone] (permitted recording of his vote as per request).

*No* — Griffith [Zack], Paul [Wilenskin], Ray [Stilson].

*Carried, 6-3.*

**Motion by Raphael [Bittelman]**, that those who resign be permitted to attend the National Convention [Bridgman: August 17-22, 1922]. *Carried.*

**Motion by Raphael [Bittelman]**, that the matter of resignations be presented to the membership as a step toward the unification of all constructive forces in the Party so as to enable the CEC to carry out the Party work successfully until the Convention.

Roll call:

*Yes* — Raphael [Bittelman], Green [Lunin], Golden [Cannon], Brown [Bedacht], Wheat [Lovestone].

*No* — Ray [Stilson], Paul [Wilenskin], Griffith [Zack].

*Carried.*

**Motion by Raphael [Bittelman]**, to take vote on only those submitting resignations who accept the principle of reorganizing the CEC. *Carried.*

Griffith's name taken off list to be voted on.

Remaining offers to resign of Green [Lunin], Lewis [Weinstone], Wheat [Lovestone], Golden [Cannon], Brown [Bedacht], and Raphael [Bittelman].

After several ballots could reach agreement of sufficient number of votes to accept the resignations of Green [Lunin] and Lewis [Weinstone].

Then decided to permit Griffith to put his name

on list to be voted on again and to permit Paul [Wilenskin] and Ray [Riley] to vote. After this procedure the following results were obtained. Brown [Bedacht] and Golden [Cannon] then withdrew:

For the RESIGNATIONS OF

|                     | Yes | No |
|---------------------|-----|----|
| Green [Lunin]       | 8   | 0  |
| Lewis [Weinstone]   | 8   | 0  |
| Wheat [Lovestone]   | 1   | 6  |
| Raphael [Bittelman] | 1   | 7  |
| Griffith [Zack]     | 6   | 2  |

The resignations of Lewis [Weinstone], Green [Lunin], and Griffith [Zack] were then accepted.

**Motion by Griffith [Zack]**, that statement of resignations be signed by all of present and newly constituted Committee. *Carried.*

**Motion by Golden [Cannon]**, that we meet April 21st as newly constituted.

**Amendment by Wheat [Lovestone]**, that we meet April 24th. *Carried.†*

**Motion by Raphael [Bittelman]**, that Golden [Cannon], Lewis [Weinstone], and Griffith [Zack] be committee to prepare statement to membership. *Carried.*

Meeting adjourned.

### **Minutes of the CEC Meeting Held on April 21st, 1922.**

Present: Raphael [Bittelman], Gorney [Kowalski], Golden [Cannon], Paul [Wilenskin], Green [Lunin], Griffith [Zack], Brown [Bedacht], Carr [Katterfeld], Lewis [Weinstone], Wheat [Lovestone].

Chairman: Griffith [Zack].

†- Although the minutes are unclear here, the result of this motion was that the old CEC met on April 21, 1922, and the newly constituted CEC met for the first time on April 24, 1922. In practice, the resigning members continued to attend and even vote at sessions of the CEC throughout April 1922.

Communications from the CI regarding the EC [ECCI] decision on the American question read.

**Motion by Golden [Cannon]**, that the consideration of the new convention date be put over till the next meeting and placed first on the order of business. *Carried.*

Minutes of previous meeting read and accepted as read with Lewis [Weinstone] making the following statement: "I consider that my resignation is not to take effect until I can be assured that the statement on the question is satisfactory."

Referred by the Secretary [Lovestone] to minutes of the previous session containing decision to have committee to effect this purpose.

**Motion by Golden [Cannon]**, on the difficulties arising in the B [FSR] from the organization of a so-called Soviet of employees whose object is to act upon certain decisions made upon the Executive Board of the B [FSR] in general and the employment of Comrade Morris [Wilenskin] in particular.

**Motion by Lewis [Weinstone]**, that Duffy [Wagenknecht] be not invited to the first session of the reorganized committee until the CEC acts upon the decisions of the special meeting of the Executive Board of B [FSR]. *Carried.*

**Motion by Braun [Bedacht]**, that Guthrie [Anna Louise Strong?] be authorized to act as the B [FSR] rep. in place of M [=??] in the famine region. *Carried.*

Meeting adjourned.

***Minutes of the CEC Meeting  
Held on April 24th, 1922.***

Present: Golden [Cannon], Green [Lunin], Duffy [Wagenknecht], Elk [Katterfeld], Ward [Browder], Ballister [Minor], Raphael [Bittelman], Paul [Wil-

enkin], Wheat [Lovestone], Gorney [Kowalski], Braun [Bedacht], Ray [Stilson], Lewis [Weinstone], Griffith [Zack].

Chairman: Griffith [Zack].

Minutes of previous meeting read and accepted as read.

**Motion by Wheat [Lovestone]**, that the following be the order of business:

1. Reorganization of CEC.
2. Convention.
3. International.
4. No. 2 [WPA].
5. Opposition [Central Caucus-CPA].
6. Industrial.

**Motion by Elk [Katterfeld]**, that Golden [Cannon] state the reasons for CEC organization plans. *Carried.*

**Motion by Golden [Cannon]**, that a committee of 5, consisting of 2 resigning, 2 incoming, and 1 remaining prepare statement for later hour in session. *Carried.*

Lewis [Weinstone], Griffith [Zack], Ballister [Minor], Duffy [Wagenknecht], and Golden [Cannon] committee.

**Motion by Lewis [Weinstone]**, that this committee also consider recommendations for International Delegate. *Carried.*

Report of committee then heard after recess.

**Motion by Ray [Stilson]**, that we proceed with the choice of International Delegate before considering statement of sub-committee. *Carried.*

Golden [Cannon] elected.

**Motion by Wheat [Lovestone]**, that we elect Golden [Cannon] unanimously. *Carried.*

**Motion by Ballister [Minor]**, that when a CP delegate appears in public he be permitted to act as the representative of the No. 2 [WPA] if the CI ap-

proves. *Carried.*

Report of subcommittee on reorganization statement read and accepted.

**Statement to the Membership  
of the CP of A by the CEC.**

The Communist Party of America is facing a period of expansion which requires the full cooperation of all vital Communist elements for the successful development of the American Communist movement. The CEC elected at the last convention [Woodstock: May 15-28, 1921] underwent many changes during the strife within the organization. This strife was the result of the application of the policies of the 3rd Congress of the communist International. During the course of the application of these policies a situation has arisen within the Party which caused a reawakening of the factional spirit which for years has done incalculable harm to the Party.

The Party convention having been postponed for several months in accordance with the instructions of the CI, we feel it to be necessary to make a move to abolish this factionalism which, if allowed to grow until the convention, would seriously interfere with the success of the Party. Realizing the need of unification, 3 members of the CEC — Lewis [Weinstone], Griffith [Zack], and Green [Lunin] — have voluntarily submitted their resignations. In place of the 3 members resigning, Duffy [Wagenknecht], Ballister [Minor], and Ward [Browder] have been cooptated. This is an effort to draw into the committee additional elements which can contribute to the unification of the Party.

In voluntarily resigning from the committee, the withdrawing members have demonstrated their desire in the Party ranks. They give way to others in order to see the various elements share in the responsibility of Party leadership, and to enable them to help strengthen and consolidate the Party ranks. The withdrawing members will personally at the convention share fully in the responsibility of the work of the Committee up to date. They feel that the reorganized committee, working for the welfare of the Party and in a spirit of revolutionary harmony can overcome discord in the Party ranks. The CEC feels that the comrades who voluntarily resigned have set before the membership an example of personal disinterestedness and Party devotion which if followed generally will quickly cement the unity of all Communist forces for the successful accomplishment of the great tasks that confront us.

The reorganization of the committee does not mean a change in the policy of the Party in any of the questions which came issue in the carrying out of the decisions of the 3rd Congress and the special instructions of the CI. Both those withdrawing and the new members cooptated have pledged themselves to complete cooperation on the basis of the policies which were put into effect by the CEC as constituted until today, which have been unreservedly upheld and commended by the Communist International. Upon the decisions of the 3rd Congress, which formed the basis of the CEC's answer to the appeal of the [Central Caucus] minority, and the special "Theses on Legal Activities" sent to the CP of A by the CI, the CEC as now constituted, takes its stand unqualifiedly, as did the CEC as constituted until today.

The reorganized CEC takes the Party responsibility at a time great difficulties as well as boundless possibilities for the building up of a Communist Party that can serve the workers and stand at the head of their struggles. The CEC will be able to make the best use of the present possibilities only with the full and loyal support and cooperation of the entire Party membership. The reorganized CEC and the 3 resigning members ask the Party membership to give the Central Party authority such loyal support and cooperation.

April 24th, 1922.

|                                |                               |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <b>James Ballister [Minor]</b> | <b>A.C. Griffith [Zack]</b>   |
| <b>James Braun [Bedacht]</b>   | <b>Lansing [Swabeck]</b>      |
| <b>James Cook [Cannon]</b>     | <b>G. Lewis [Weinstone]</b>   |
| <b>Duffy [Wagenknecht]</b>     | <b>Paul [Wilenkin]</b>        |
| <b>Tom Elk [Katterfeld]</b>    | <b>A. Raphael [Bittelman]</b> |
| <b>Green [Lunin]</b>           | <b>Reilly [Stilson]</b>       |
|                                | <b>Ward [Browder]</b>         |

**L.C. Wheat [Lovestone], Exec. Sec.**

Roll Call:

*Yes* — Griffith [Zack], Golden [Cannon], Ward [Browder], Lewis [Weinstone], Raphael [Bittelman], Green [Lunin], Duffy [Wagenknecht], Braun [Bedacht], Lansing [Swabeck], Wheat [Lovestone], Ballister [Minor], Elk [Katterfeld].

*No* — Paul [Wilenkin], Ray [Stilson].

*Carried.*

Meeting adjourned.

**Minutes of the CEC Meeting  
Held on April 25th, 1922.**

Present: Golden [Cannon], Ballister [Minor], Lansing [Swabeck], Ward [Browder], Duffy [Wagenknecht], Braun [Bedacht], Green [Lunin], Elk [Katterfeld], Gorney [Kowalski], Paul [Wilenskin], Wheat [Lovestone].

Chairman: Lansing [Swabeck].

Minutes of the previous meeting accepted as read.

**Convention.**

**Motion by Elk [Katterfeld]**, that the convention be held at the earliest possible date consistent with instructions from the CI.

**Amendment by Elk [Katterfeld]**, not later than

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*Motion as amended carried.*

**Motion by Wheat [Lovestone]**, that the No. 2 [WPA] convention be held on date as near as possible to the No. 1 [CPA] convention. *Carried.*

**Motion by Ballister [Minor]**, that Duffy [Wagenknecht] be added to a convention arrangement committee. *Carried.*

**Number Two [WPA].**

**Motion by Lansing [Swabeck]**, that we consider #2 [WPA] tomorrow and have the #2 [WPA] workers present. *Carried.*

**Motion by Golden [Cannon]**, that Jones [Ed Owens], Driscoll [Bill Dunne], Atwood [Caleb Harrison], Damon [C.E. Ruthenberg], Caxton [Ed Ferguson], Stanley [=???], etc. be invited to hear the report of the International Delegate [Katterfeld] and be

present at consideration of #2 [WPA]. *Carried.*

**Opposition [Central Caucus-CPA].**

**Motion by Ballister [Minor]**, that committee of 3 be appointed to work out a systematic method of approaching the opposition [Central Caucus-CPA] for the purpose of bringing their membership the CI decisions and instructions.

**Amendment by Wheat [Lovestone]**, that the Organization Committee be empowered to work out ways and means to this end.

**Amendment to the Amendment by Elk [Katterfeld]**, that the Organization Committee be instructed to issue special document of instructions for our members to attain this end.

*Motion lost. Amendment to the Amendment lost. Amendment carried.*

**Industrial.**

Report by Lansing [Swabeck] and recommendations for action at next session on connections, activity among the miners, and needle and building trades, etc.

**Motion by Ballister [Minor]**, that

(1) Our International Delegate [Cannon] be instructed to convey the CEC's urgent request that RTUI [RILU] shall not publish anything encouraging to an independent federation of labor movement in the United States.

(2) Our International Delegate [Cannon] shall write for publication in the RTUI [RILU] organ [*The Red Labor Union International*] articles repudiating principle of rival federation of labor in the US.

(3) That the article on Industrial Nuclei in OO [*The Communist*] #8 be not republished in the foreign language press or otherwise until further acted upon.†

(4) That Ward [Browder] be instructed to go to Cleveland needle trades convention and Ballister [Mi-

†- The article was signed "J.P. Collins" [Joseph Zack Kornfeder], and provides concrete details for a system of party units inside trade union groups. There does not seem to be anything that would have been ideologically shocking about the article, from Minor's perspective; his objection seems to have been grounded in a belief that Zack was jumping the gun in laying out what seemed to be a set of definite instructions. Note also that the identification of the "J.P. Collins" pseudonym as James P. Cannon in the recent biography on the same topic by Bryan Palmer is incorrect — "Collins" was Zack, initials of the pseudonym and trade unionist orientation of his subject matter notwithstanding. Palmer follows Theodore Draper in making this understandable misidentification.



nor] to Chicago needle trades regarding Rochester policy.

*No action taken.*

**Motion on procedure by Ward [Browder]**, that the first order of business at the next session be reorganization of the committee for work. *Carried.*

Meeting adjourned.

### **Minutes of the CEC Meeting Held on April 26th, 1922.**

Present: Golden [Cannon], Elk [Katterfeld], Lansing [Swabeck], Ballister [Minor], Wheat [Lovestone], Ray [Stilson], Paul [Wilenskin], Raphael [Bittelman], Braun [Bedacht], Griffith [Zack], O'Delly [Elmer Allison], Edwards [=???], Jasberg [=???], Low [Ben Gitlow], Jones [Owens], Driscoll [Dunne], Gorney [Kowalski], Green [Lunin], Damon [Ruthenberg], Ward [Browder], Hungarian [=???] and Ukrainian [=???]  
Secs.

Chairman: Lansing [Swabeck].

#### **International.**

Report by Carr [Katterfeld] and questions.

#### **Continuation of Industrial.**

**Motion by Elk [Katterfeld]**, that the next issue of the OO [*The Communist*] have statement that article of J.P. Collins [Zack] in [issue] #8 was not the official expression of the CEC.

**Amendment by Golden [Cannon]**, that we have permanent not in the official organ to the effect that the CEC is responsible for expressions put forth only in unsigned articles and those issued in the name of the CEC.

*Amendment carried, motion lost.*

**Motion by Golden [Cannon]**, that we reaffirm CEC decision on the industrial policy as given in the

Thesis on the same in official organ #8.

**Amendment by Wheat [Lovestone]**, that our members in #2 [WPA] be instructed to organize industrial nuclei in compliance with the industrial program.

**Amendment by Elk [Katterfeld]**, that wherever it seems necessary for effective work, the CP organizes also intermediary units of the members of its legal political organ [the WPA], but the members of such political organ must be made to see that in their work within the unions a trade union instrument is the primary means of their expression. Constant efforts must be made to draw all members of a trade union instrument organization into the Legal Political organ. The members of the Legal Political organ must be constantly developed to become members of the CP.

*Amendment to the Amendment lost. Amendment lost. Motion carried.*

**Motion by Lansing [Swabeck]**, that the application of the compulsive formation of industrial nuclei in #2 [WPA] be deferred until action is taken on same at a later meeting. *Lost.*

#### **The Dbs. [Debs] Case.**

Report by Travers [Norman Tallentire?] and recommendation that a committee of 3 consisting of Duffy [Wagenknecht], Marcelle [Mary Marcy?], and Wheat [Lovestone] be chosen to get in touch with D.B.S. [Debs] at once. *Motion carried* and nominations for committee made.

Wheat [Lovestone], Duffy [Wagenknecht], Elk [Katterfeld], Marcelle [Marcy?].

Wheat [Lovestone] declines; Duffy [Wagenknecht], Elk [Katterfeld], Marcelle [Marcy?], committee.

**Motion by Raphael [Bittelman]**, that this committee not go as a party committee. *Carried.*

#### **The Organization of the CEC.**

**Motion by Ward [Browder]**, that the CEC be divided into Industrial, Political, and Organization Committees. *Carried.*

**Motion by Ward [Browder]**, that Industrial and Organization Committees consist of 3 each and that the Political Committee of remaining resident members. Carried.

**Motion by Ward [Browder]**, that present Industrial Committee remain. Carried.

Lansing [Swabeck], Borden [Foster], and Ward [Browder] to act.†

Organization Committee elected. Carr [Katterfeld], Ray [Stilson], and Wheat [Lovestone].

Remaining resident members the Political Committee. [Bedacht, Bittelman, Minor, Wagenknecht, and Wilenkin].‡

**Motion by Braun [Bedacht]**, that these committees act on all matters where policies have been decided.

**Amendment by Ward [Browder]**, in all cases where no policy has been laid down the sub-committee should work out concrete proposals for CEC on the same.

*Motion and Amendment carried.*

**Motion by Ballister [Minor]**, that none of these committees shall withhold information as to its activities from either of the other two committees or any member of the CEC, and that any member of the CEC has the right to be present at any meeting of any sub-committee.

**Amendment by Raphael**, that every sub-committee keep records of its proceedings and submit copies of the same to every member of the CEC.

*Motion as amended carried.*

**Motion by Wheat [Lovestone]**, that we elect Braun [Bedacht] as Secretary of the Political Committee. Carried.

**Motion by Ballister [Minor]**, that YCL repre-

sentative be permitted to attend the CEC and its sub-committee meetings.

**Amendment by Duffy [Wagenknecht]**, that Women's Committee Secretariat be so permitted.

**Amendment to the Amendment by Wheat [Lovestone]**, that all resident Federation Secretaries be present.

**Substitute for the Whole by Ballister [Minor]**, that YCL, Women's, and resident Federation Secretaries shall have right to be present at CEC meetings and that anyone of these may upon request attend a sub-committee meeting. Carried.

**Motion by Ballister [Minor]**, that Secretary be bound to deduct from salary of every member of CEC \$1 for each hour late or absent from CEC meetings without excuse by formal motion. The fine to be graduated on 15 minute basis. That Secretary of each of the 3 sub-committees keep similar time records and in no case shall this rule be departed from unless for good reasons or good excuse formally passed upon by the CEC. Carried.

**Motion by Ward [Browder]**, that fines be paid in cash before the member is permitted to participate in the meeting. Carried.

### Special Russian Matter.

That a committee of 2 be appointed to see the Opposition [Central Caucus-CPA] to secure postponement of Russian paper #2 [Novyi Mir?] case. Carried. Carr [Katterfeld] and Paul [Wilenkin] elected.

### [Miners' Strike.]

Report by Travers [Tallentire?] on Miners' Strike.

1. Activities of miners' caucus.
2. Growing influence of SP.

Meeting adjourned.

†- It should be noted that Foster, although the head of the Trade Union Educational League and de facto chief of the CPA's trade union efforts, was not a member of the CEC. All three of the members of the Industrial Committee — Foster, Swabeck, and Browder — hailed from Chicago, while the other two committees sat in New York. This was both a continuation and a precursor to severely antagonistic factions which emerged and developed in each of these cities.

‡- These all being residents of New York City or its environs.

**Minutes of the CEC Meeting  
Held on April 27th, 1922.**

Present: Braun [Bedacht], Lansing [Swabeck], Golden [Cannon], Elk [Katterfeld], O'Delly [Allison], Atwood [Harrison], Raphael [Bittelman], Ray [Stilson], Paul [Wilenskin], Gorney [Kowalski], Green [Lunin], Wheat [Lovestone], Damon [Ruthenberg], Ballister [Minor], Travis [Tallentire], Duffy [Wagenknecht], Jasberg [=???], Lewis [Weinstone], Griffith [Zack].

Chairman: Duffy [Wagenknecht].

Minutes of previous meeting read and accepted as read.

Fines for late coming — Lansing [Swabeck], \$1.00; Paul [Wilenskin], 75¢; Raphael [Bittelman], 25¢.

Raphael [Bittelman] and Lansing [Swabeck] paid and Paul [Wilenskin] charged.

**Motion by Raphael [Bittelman]**, that Travis [Tallentire] be instructed to bring to meeting Knods [=???] and Marcell [Marcy?]. Carried.

**The No. 2 [WPA].**

Reports by Golden [Cannon] and Atwood [Harrison] on activities and organization status.

**Motion by Wheat [Lovestone]**, that the Organization Committee and Comrades Duffy [Wagenknecht] and Damon [Ruthenberg] be instructed to consider ways and means of improving the work of #2 [WPA] Office with a view of rearranging functions of National Chairman [Cannon] and Secretary [Harrison].

**Amendment by Raphael [Bittelman]**, that Golden [Cannon] and Atwood [Harrison] serve ex-officio on committee.

*Motion carried. Amendment carried.*

Recess.

**Report of [Organization] Sub-Committee.**

**Motion by Braun [Bedacht]**, that we approve

recommendation of sub-committee as to Damon [Ruthenberg] being Secretary of #2 [WPA]. *Carried.*

Lewis [Weinstone] raises point that in the consideration of #2 [WPA] matters, No. 2 [WPA] CEC members in joint session with No. 1 [CPA] CEC members have right to vote.

Chair [Wagenknecht] upholds Raphael's [Bittelman's] point that this rule ceases to hold upon objection by one member of No. 1 [CPA] CEC.

*Chair upheld.*

Report of committee continued by Duffy [Wagenknecht].

**Motion**, that Atwood [Harrison] be made National Chairman and National Organizer [of WPA].

**Amendment by Ray [Stilson]**, that Golden [Cannon] remain National Chairman, that Atwood [Harrison] be made National Organizer.

*Amendment carried and Motion lost.*

**Motion**, that Duffy [Wagenknecht] continue as Secretary of B [FSR]. Carried.

**Motion**, that there be a Secretariat of 5 consisting of Organizing Committee [3 members] and Secretaries of B [FSR] and No. 2 [WPA].

**Amendment by Raphael [Bittelman]**, that CEC recommend that Secretaries of B [FSR] and No. 2 [WPA] cooperate with Organization Committee.

**Amendment to the Amendment by Raphael [Bittelman]**, that Secretaries of One [CPA] and Two [WPA] and Chairmen of the Political Committees of One [CPA] and Two [WPA] constitute a Secretariat to unify the activities of both.

**Amendment by Ballister [Minor]**, that Organization Committee shall hold regular consultations with Secretaries, inclusive of Women and YCL.

**Substitute for the Whole by Paul [Wilenskin]**, that Organization Committee be instructed to work out plan for coordinating Party activities. *Carried.*

**Industrial.**

**Motion by Raphael [Bittelman]**, that a resolution for RTUI [RILU] be presented to ILG [International Ladies' Garment Workers Union] only after

being presented at Amal. [Amalgamated Clothing Workers].

**Substitute by Lansing [Swabeck]**, that Ballister [Minor] get in touch with Smith [Noah London], get his viewpoint, and then inform Damon [Ruthenberg], who is to act on the same with caucus. *Carried.*

**Motion by Lansing [Swabeck]**, that the policy laid down by the American delegation at the RLUI [RILU] Congress [Moscow: July 3-19, 1921] be strictly applied and no separate policy or separate dealings outside of or contrary to this program towards independent unions be accepted.

**Amendment by Raphael [Bittelman]**, that National Industrial Organizer [Foster] instruct DO2 [New York DO=??] regarding this.

**Amendment to the Amendment by Lewis [Weinstone]**, that Lansing [Swabeck] consult DO2 [=??] before taking any action.

*Amendment carried. Amendment to the Amendment and Motion lost.*

### Miscellaneous.

**Motion by Lansing [Swabeck]**, to consider the resolution presented by him on Un. Ft. [United Front].

Amendment by Wheat [Lovestone], that it be referred to the Political Committee. *Carried.*

**Motion by Wheat [Lovestone]**, that CEC endorse Comrade Carr's [Katterfeld's] action in the dispute with Moore [John Ballam] before EC of CI and the declaration of arrangements. *Carried.*

Roll Call:

Yes — Duffy [Wagenknecht], Braun [Marshall], Ballister [Minor], Lansing [Swabeck], Golden [Cannon], Elk [Katterfeld], Paul [Wilenskin], Raphael [Bittelman], Ray [Stilson], Wheat [Lovestone].

*Unanimously upheld.*

**Motion by Golden [Cannon]**, that Lansing [Swabeck] give full advice on the Scandinavian matter to the Organization Committee. *Carried.*

**Motion by Raphael [Bittelman]**, to refer Jewish question to Organization Committee. *Carried.*

**Motion by Raphael [Bittelman]**, to refer Damon's [Ruthenberg's] plan for No. 2 [WPA] to the Political Committee. *Carried.*

**Motion by Ballister [Minor]**, that any No. 1 [CPA] sub-committee has right to submit its decisions to No. 2 [WPA] CEC when its decision is unanimous, before No. 1 [CPA] CEC has full meeting. *Carried.*

Referred to Organization Committee: finances; districts; #2 [WPA] CEC; Relations of #1 [CPA] and #2 [WPA].

Referred to Political Committee: Fed. Com.; Women's.

**Motion by Ballister [Minor]**, that each of the 3 sub-committees be instructed to prepare statement on relations between 1 [CPA] and 2 [WPA]. *Lost.*

### Fred [Federated Press].

Report by Lansing [Swabeck] and recommendations by Carr [Katterfeld] to pay ALS [Anna Louise Strong] \$25.00 week.

LDH [=??] correspond to act as Freds [sic.], and Board to stop Loch's [Louis P. Lochner's] adventure.

**Motion by Ballister [Minor]**, that we fill one vacancy of Fred [Federated Press]. *Carried.*

**Motion by Ballister [Minor]**, that Smythe [=??] take place vacant provided DEC5 [Chicago] finds situation suitable for this. *Carried.*

**Motion by Elk [Katterfeld]**, that uniform Party wage scale be put into effect in all Party institutions and Party-controlled institutions. *Carried.*

**Amendment by Wheat [Lovestone]**, but that the application of this rule be left in the hand of the Organization Committee.

**Motion by Ballister [Minor]**, no article shall appear without signature in OO [*The Communist*] except with approval of the Political Committee. As far as practicable, the material submitted for the OO [*The Communist*] shall be shown to the Political Committee. All members of the CEC shall be entitled to full

information as to material intended for or submitted to OO [*The Communist*] upon their request. *Carried.*

*L.C. Wheat [Jay Lovestone],*  
Ex. Sec'y.

*Edited with footnotes by Tim Davenport.*

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