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# Minutes of Central Executive Committee, Communist Party of America: New York — July 26-28, 1922.

Document in the Comintern Archive, RGASPI, f. 515, op. 1, d. 94, ll. 61-66.  
Alternate copy d. 95, ll. 23-28.

Present: Marshall [Max Bedacht], Paul [J. Wilenkin], Ward [Earl Browder], Low [Ben Gitlow], Damon [C.E. Ruthenberg], Lansing [Arne Swabeck], Ballister [Bob Minor], Carr [Ludwig Katterfeld], Ray [Joseph Stilson], and Wheat [Jay Lovestone].

Davidson [Boris Reinstein], Brooks [Genrik Valetski], Lang [John Pepper], Green [Meyer Lunin], Ganly [Tom O'Flaherty], Sascha [Rose Pastor Stokes], Ford [Israel Amter].†

Ward [Browder] elected chairman.

Following order of business was adopted:

- 1) Report of the CI Representative [Valetski].
- 2) Convention.
- 3) Report of Executive Secretary.
  - (a) Reading of communications;
  - (b) Organizational trip;
  - (c) General organizational survey;
  - (d) Districts and federations.
- 4) Industrial.
- 5) International.
- 6) Jewish Press.
- 7) No. 2 [Workers Party of America].
- 8) "B" [Friends of Soviet Russia].
- 9) Fred [Federated Press].
- 10) Defense.
- 11) Miscellaneous.

Com. Brooks [Valetski], representative of the Communist International, reported on the purpose of his mission to America and the task at hand in reference to the Opposition membership.

*Motion by Ballister [Minor]* that we have a brief discussion of the report as covering the following 3 points: (a) Opposition; (b) Committee on Agenda; (c) New committee on theses covering relations between 1 [CPA] and 2 [WPA]. *Carried.*

*Motion by Damon [Ruthenberg]* that we elect a committee of 3 to draft a report on the economic and political conditions in the US and that the same be presented to the [Bridgman] Convention in the name of the CEC. *Carried.*

Damon [Ruthenberg], Marshall [Bedacht], and Ballister [Minor] elected as this committee.

*Motion by Ballister [Minor]* that committee of 2, in addition to Com. Brooks [Valetski], be elected to revise convention agenda. *[Carried.]*

Wheat [Lovestone], Ray [Stilson], and Paul [Wilenkin] nominated.

*Motion by Wheat [Lovestone]* to have the 3 comrades nominated elected. *Lost.*

Committee elected is Wheat [Lovestone], Ray [Stilson], and Brooks [Valetski].

*Motion by Ballister [Minor]* that the CI Representative [Valetski] be requested to use all his strength to bring the opposition back into the party on the basis of the principles and tactical policies of the Theses on Legal Activities received from the Communist International, and in doing so to overlook technicalities where no harm would result therefrom.

*Amendment by Wheat [Lovestone]* that we gladly comply with the request of the CI Representa-

†- This was the first meeting of the CEC of the CPA attended by Comintern Rep Valetski, RILU Rep Reinstein, and Hungarian Communist John Pepper.

tive [Valetski] as to his going to the National Convention of the Opposition and his making all efforts to win the membership back into the party.

**Motion of Procedure by Ballister [Minor]** that we invite Com. Brooks [Valetski] to formulate the motion on the Opposition. *Motion lost.* Withdrawn by Ballister [Minor] because Brooks [Valetski] declined invitation.

**Amendment to Amendment by Carr [Katterfeld]** that Brooks [Valetski] be guided in this work by the recent decision of the CEC on the question of the Opposition and that we invite him to inform us whenever in his opinion it is advisable to modify the rule that Opposition membership can only join us as new members individually through recruiting groups.

**Substitute for the Whole by Wheat [Lovestone]** that Com. Brooks [Valetski] be guided in his work on the Opposition on the basis of the instructions from the Communist International in reference to this matter, but that the CEC consider every recommended modification by Brooks [Valetski] of these instructions as it appears. *Substitute for the Whole carried 6-3,* Low [Gitlow], Carr [Katterfeld], and Ballister [Minor] voting against.

**Motion by Wheat [Lovestone]** to take up special Jewish Question.

**Amendment by Lansing [Swabeck]** that this be made point 6 of the agenda. *Amendment carried.*

**Motion by Ballister [Minor]** that we accept the recommendation of Com. Brooks [Valetski] regarding appointment of new commission on theses of relations between #1 [CPA] and #2 [WPA] and that the committee be 5 members.

**Amendment by Lansing [Swabeck]** that the committee elected to work out report of the CEC on economic and political conditions also work out theses on relations between #1 [CPA] and #2 [WPA], based on the actual economic and political conditions, and be instructed to offer practical, concrete measures that are to be taken in accord with these conditions.

**Amendment to the Amendment by Wheat [Lovestone]** that Com. Brooks [Valetski] be one of the 5 members of the committee. *Amendment to the Amendment carried.*

*Amendment lost.*

*Motion carried.*

*Motion as amended carried.*

Session adjourned.

**Motion by Ward [Browder]** that the next order of business be industrial report.

**Amendment by Ballister [Minor]** that the industrial be considered after the convention.

*Amendment lost 6-3.*

*Motion carried 7-3.*

Industrial Report of Lansing [Swabeck] and Ward [Browder].

**Motion by Carr [Katterfeld]** that the Industrial Dept. be instructed to have the ~~United Labor Council~~ send delegates to the Red Trade Congress.

**Amendment by Ballister [Minor]** that efforts be made to get one of our #1 [CPA] members to be elected as delegate from the ~~United Labor Council~~ to the RITU [RILU] Congress. This comrade to be instructed by the CEC explicitly to make a strong effort to have the International take a stand calculated to discourage the formation of dual central bodies and to incite the United Labor Council forces to re-enter the main trade union movement as soon as practicable.

**Amendment to the Amendment by Ballister [Minor]** that all #1 [CPA] delegates to the RITU Congress and all other delegates that we can influence shall take the strongest possible stand in opposition to the formation of another federation of labor unions in the US.

**Substitute for the Whole by Low [Gitlow]** to add to our initiation of.

*Substitute for the Whole lost.*

*Amendment to the Amendment carried.*

*Amendment lost.*

*Motion lost.*

**Motion by Wheat [Lovestone]** that the agenda for the next convention be approved.

Amendment by Carr [Katterfeld], provided all propositions involving departure from already declared policy of the party shall be brought to the #1 [CPA] convention. *Amendment carried.*

*Motion carried.*

*Motion as amended carried.*

**Motion by Low [Gitlow]** to recall Travis [Norman Tallentire?] from Lawrence [Massachusetts]. Carried.

**Motion by Lansing [Swabeck]** that plans be made by the No. 2 [WPA] National Office for coordinating writers for use of press service. Carried.

**Motion by Wheat [Lovestone]** to adjourn until 11 am.

**Amendment by Carr [Katterfeld]**, 10 am.

**Amendment to the Amendment by Ray [Stilson]**, 1 pm.

*Amendment carried.*

*Motion lost.*

*Amendment to the Amendment lost.*

### **2nd Session [July 27, 1922].**

Present: Ballister [Minor], Marshall [Bedacht], Carr [Katterfeld], Paul [Wilenskin], Ward [Browder], Low [Gitlow], Ray [Stilson], Lansing [Swabeck], Wheat [Lovestone], and Damon [Ruthenberg].

Travis [Norman Tallentire?], Green [Lunin], Sascha [Stokes], Davidson [Reinstein], Brooks [Valetski], Lang [Pepper], Ford [Amter], Ganly [O'Flaherty], Driscoll [Bill Dunne], and Scott [Karlis "Charley" Janson].

Chairman: Low [Gitlow].

**Motion by Ward [Browder]** that we add Kuzs. [Kuzbas] to order of business. Carried.

**Motion by Ward [Browder]** that Fred [Federated Press] be acted as first order of business at this session. Carried.

**Motion by Ballister [Minor]** that the change of procedure regarding representation on Fred [Federated Press] Board be on basis of merger of our two <word expunged: papers?> in question. Carried.

**Motion by Ballister [Minor]** that Com. Wilson [Elmer McMillan] be instructed not to leave District 5 [Chicago] headquarters until Fred [Federated

Press] matter is settled and to hold Lansing [Swabeck] at disposition of party for use in this situation. Carried.

**Motion by Ballister [Minor]** that our members do not communicate in any way to Mr. C [E.J. Costello] their party status and that they let him know that they have severed party affiliations. Carried.

**Motion by Ballister [Minor]** that our Fred [Federated Press] policy be approved. Carried.

**Motion by Ward [Browder]** that Carr [Katterfeld] be instructed to send communications to Mr. C [Costello] advising him to go the main headquarters regarding arrangement for European connections. Carried.

**Motion by Ray [Stilson]** that European comrades be informed as to the exact character of Mr. C [Costello]. Carried.

**Motion by Ballister [Minor]** that Brooks [Valetski] be instructed that fines for lateness will hereafter be applied to him. Carried.

**Motion by Ward [Browder]** that now we consider the Kuzs. [Kuzbas] affair. Carried.

Report by Wheat [Lovestone] on this situation and his communications with Com. S.J.R. [S.J. Rutgers] of Moscow on the same.

Report of Com. Davidson [Reinstein].

**Motion by Ballister [Minor]** that Davidson [Reinstein] and Lang [Pepper] work out plan on this affair and submit same to the CEC.

**Amendment by Marshall [Bedacht]** that CEC wire <2 words expunged> for permission to investigate whole affair and that Davidson [Reinstein] and Brooks [Valetski] be members of this Investigating Committee. Carried.

Report by Executive Secretary Wheat [Lovestone].

Section (a) Communications.

Secretary [Lovestone] read cable from Executive Committee of the Communist International bearing following instructions to our party:

Com. Cook [Jim Cannon], your representative on the Exec. Com. of the Communist International and Com. Raphael [Alex Bittelman] are returning home with full instructions from the Exec. Com. of the CI. Postpone your convention until they arrive. Acknowledge receipt of this communication.

The Secretary [Lovestone] then upon request of Coms. Ballister [Minor] and Carr [Katterfeld] as to how the American question came before the Exec. Com. of the CI replied in the following: The problems of the various sections of the CI come up for discussion and decision by the EC of the CI through the reports rendered by representatives of the various countries on the Exec. Com. of the CI. Com. Cook [Cannon] being a new representative was naturally requested to make a report on the American situation. Besides as will be shown from letters in my possession, Com. Carr [Katterfeld] himself, without the knowledge of the CEC has made certain recommendations regarding the problems confronting our party to the Presidium of the CI. To the best of my knowledge, the American question came up before the Exec. Com. of the CI because of the regular procedure of Com. Cook [Cannon] making a report of the irregular procedure of Com. Carr [Katterfeld] sending recommendations without authority and without knowledge of the CEC.

The Secretary [Lovestone] then proceeded to a reading of reports from Com. Cook [Cannon] and a strong protest from Com. Cook [Cannon] against the letter sent by Com. Carr [Katterfeld] to the Presidium charging Com. Marshall [Bedacht] and the CEC as a whole with sabotaging of the readmission of the party Opposition [the Central Caucus-CPA], and stating that Com. Cook [Cannon], Raphael [Bittelman], Marshall [Bedacht], and Wheat [Lovestone] have liquidation ideas in their head, that the CEC on the whole has shown by its theses it adopted on the United Front policy is afflicted with liquidation tendencies, but that he, Carr [Katterfeld], had confidence that though the present CEC had such strong liquidation tendencies, the forthcoming party convention would, without doubt, repudiate these tendencies and again "place the Communist Party of America firmly on the standpoint

of the Comintern."

**Motion by Wheat [Lovestone]** that we comply with the instructions of the CI and postpone the convention date until the arrival of the delegates with the instructions of the CI for the American party.

**Amendment by Damon [Ruthenberg]** that the convention be held on the date fixed if the delegates appear, but that it be advanced 2 days only if they do not appear and that then connections be left for them so that they might reach the convention should they come later.

**Motion by Damon [Ruthenberg]** that discussion be limited to 5 minutes. *Carried.*

Roll call on the Amendment. **Voting Yes:** Wheat [Lovestone], Lansing [Swabeck], Marshall [Bedacht], Ward [Browder], and Damon [Ruthenberg]. **No:** Ballister [Minor], Carr [Katterfeld], Low [Gitlow], Paul [Wilenskin], Ray [Stilson]. *Amendment lost 5-5.*

*Motion lost.*

Sascha [Stokes] requests to be recorded as voting against the amendment.

**Motion by Wheat [Lovestone]** that we request the CI representatives [Valetski, Reinstein, Pepper] to record their affirmative sentiments for the amendment of Com. Damon [Ruthenberg].

Chair [Gitlow] rules this motion out of order. Decision appealed from. *Chair sustained 5-5.*

Recommendation of Brooks [Valetski] that first 2 days be taken up with technical matters. *Unanimously accepted.*

After listening to the discussion on the postponement of the convention, Com. Brooks proposed the following declaration of the CEC:

The Theses adopted by the 3rd World Congress [June 22-July 12, 1921] on the subject of organization, explicitly prohibited the formation of closed factions within communist parties. I have ascertained here in America that two existing tendencies in the Communist Party have already crystallized into definite factional structures which are waging against each other war to the knife on questions big or small. I am convinced that the actually existing differences of opinion do not by any means justify such factional formations and merely represent the continuation of the worst traditions within the ranks of the American comrades, traditions which were repeatedly condemned by the Communist

International. I am convinced that this situation can lead to complete paralysis of the party's activity and to new splits, fatal to American Communism.

Basing myself on the above mentioned Theses of the 3rd Congress and acting in the spirit of all the decisions of the Communist International bearing on the American question, I call upon the comrades of both factions immediately to take proper steps for the liquidation of the factional regime and to create real guarantees for party unity which is so extremely endangered. For this work I am entirely at your disposal.

**Brooks [Valetski],**

Representative of the Executive Committee  
of the Communist International.

July 27th, 1922.

**Motion by Paul [Wilenskin]** that the declaration of Com. Brooks [Valetski] be fully approved. *Carried.*

**Motion by Ballister [Minor]** that all non-CEC members present be permitted to vote in an advisory capacity on this proposition. *All present vote Yes on Brooks' [Valetski's] declaration.*

**Motion by Ward [Browder]** that a committee of 7 comprising 4 members of the party and 3 representatives of the Communist International present plans for unification of the party to the convention and recommend methods and selection of CEC material.

**Amendment by Carr [Katterfeld]** that this committee shall not make recommendations of persons for the next CEC.

**Amendment to the Amendment by Wheat [Lovestone]** that every member of the present CEC openly declare himself as being ready to refuse a place on the next CEC unless it is proven that he is irreplaceable.

Roll call on Amendment to the Amendment. **Voting Yes:** Ward [Browder], Marshall [Bedacht], Wheat [Lovestone]. **No:** Paul [Wilenskin], Ballister [Minor], Damon [Ruthenberg], Carr [Katterfeld], Lansing [Swabeck], Ray [Stilson], and Low [Gitlow]. *Lost 7-3.*

Nominations made for the 4 members and the following accepted: Ford [Amter], Dubner [Jakira], Tompkins [=???], and Driscoll [Dunne].

**Motion by Ray [Stilson]** that nominations be re-opened and no declinations be permitted.

**Amendment by Ballister [Minor]** that we shall vote for these candidates as representatives of the following groups:

- 1) Present Chicago dominant faction;
- 2) Goose Caucus;
- 3) Anti-goose caucus;
- 4) Trade Unions.

**Amendment to the Amendment by Sascha [Stokes]** that Ford [Amter], Ballister [Minor], Damon [Ruthenberg], and Carr [Katterfeld] be the 4.

*Amendment to the Amendment lost.*

*Amendment lost.*

*Motion carried.*

**Motion by Ballister [Minor] that Carr [Katterfeld]** be added to the committee. *Carried.*

**Motion by Ballister [Minor]** that instructions to attend the convention be given to National Industrial Organizer [William Z. Foster] and Moore [John Ballam].

**Amendment by Lansing [Swabeck]** that National Industrial Organizer [Foster] be invited.

**Amendment to the Amendment by Damon [Ruthenberg]** that Driscoll [Dunne] be invited.

*Amendment to the Amendment carried.*

*Amendment Carried.*

Roll call on the Motion. **Voting Yes:** Carr [Katterfeld], Ray [Stilson], Low [Gitlow], Ballister [Minor]. **No:** Paul [Wilenskin], Lang [Pepper], Marshall [Bedacht], Damon [Ruthenberg], Wheat [Lovestone], Ward [Browder]. *Motion lost.*

Sascha [Stokes] requesting that she be permitted to record her sentiments in the affirmative.

That on a request of Com. Brooks [Valetski], **motion made by Ford [Amter]** to reconsider the invitation of Moore [Ballam] to the convention. *Carried.*

Roll call. **Voting Yes:** Lansing [Swabeck], Ward [Browder], Ray [Stilson], Carr [Katterfeld], Low [Gitlow], Ballister [Minor]. **No:** Paul [Wilenskin], Marshall [Bedacht], Damon [Ruthenberg], Wheat [Lovestone].

**Motion by Scott [Janson]** that the CP of Canada be invited to send fraternal delegate to our conven-

tion. *Carried.*

**Motion by Ballister [Minor]** that we recommend to the convention to seat Davidson [Reinstein] with a vote.

**Amendment by Wheat [Lovestone]** that we also recommend that Dixon [Browder] be seated with a vote.

*Amendment lost.*

*Motion lost.*

**Motion by Damon [Ruthenberg]** that [Proletarian Party] be invited to send delegates to #2 [WPA] convention. *Carried.*

**Motion by Ballister [Minor]** that the Committee on Relations between #1 [CPA] and #2 [WPA] consider main points of #2 [WPA] program. *Carried.*

**Motion by Wheat [Lovestone]** on Procedure. The Secretary's reading of communications be acted in the following order:

- (a) Carr [Katterfeld] letter;
- (b) International;
- (c) 1. Party; 2. Industrial.
- (d) Election of Program Commission in compliance with Executive Committee of the Communist International.

*Motion carried.*

(a) Carr letter.

**Motion by Damon [Ruthenberg]** that the CEC condemns the action of Carr [Katterfeld] in sending a communication in which there are and that this resolution be sent out to the membership in the next party bulletin and to the Communist International.

**Motion to table by Ballister [Minor].** *Lost 7-3.*

**Amendment by Wheat [Lovestone]** that the CEC instruct Com. Carr [Katterfeld] to turn over all his communications with the Communist International in reference to the party situation or individual members to the CEC.

**Amendment to the Amendment by Low [Gitlow]** that the whole matter be referred to the convention on unification.

*Amendment to the Amendment lost.*

*Amendment carried 8-2.*

Roll call on Damon's [Ruthenberg's] motion:  
**Voting Yes:** Paul [Wilenskin], Ray [Stilson], Lansing [Swabeck], Ward [Browder], Marshall [Bedacht], Damon [Ruthenberg], Wheat [Lovestone]. **No:** Carr [Katterfeld], Ballister [Minor], Low [Gitlow]. *Carried 7-3.*

Sascha [Stokes] recording her sentiments in the negative.

**Motion by Ballister [Minor]** that the practice of using party channels as well as international for any other than official communications is condemned, in order to be discontinued on pain of discipline. *Carried.*

**Motion by Carr [Katterfeld]** that Wheat [Lovestone] and Marshall [Bedacht] shall turn over all letters with Cook [Cannon]. *Carried.*

(b) International Affairs.

**Motion by Ward [Browder]** that Lansing [Swabeck] be instructed to proceed to main headquarters [Moscow] immediately as representative of party on the Executive Committee of the Communist International and Executive Committee of the Profintern.

**Amendment by Carr [Katterfeld]** that the matter be left to the convention.

**Amendment to the Amendment by Ballister [Minor]** that nominations be opened.

**Substitute for the Whole by Ballister [Minor]** that we defer action on this until tomorrow morning.

*Substitute for the Whole lost.*

*Amendment to the Amendment carried.*

Lansing [Swabeck], the only nominee, is elected, all voting for except Carr [Katterfeld] expressly requesting to be recorded as voting against him.

**Motion by Wheat [Lovestone]** that we immediately fill the vacancy created on the CEC by our giving the new office to Lansing [Swabeck]. *Carried.*

Following nominated: Brand [Harry Winitzky], Sascha [Stokes], Lewis [Will Weinstone], Ganly [Thomas O'Flaherty].

Brand [Winitzky] — 2; Sascha [Stokes] — 2; Lewis [Weinstone] — 0; Ganly [O'Flaherty] — 6.

Ganly elected.

Meeting adjourned until 11 am.

**3rd Session**  
**[July 28, 1922].**

Following present: Jacobs [Jacob Mindel], Green [Meyer Lunin], Lewis [Weinstone], Low [Gitlow], Paul [Wilenskin], Carr [Katterfeld], Sascha [Stokes], Damon [Ruthenberg], Ward [Browder], Marshall [Bedacht], Lansing [Swabeck], Ford [Amter], Scott [Janson], Ganly [O'Flaherty], Davidson [Reinstein], Lang [Pepper], Brooks [Valetski], Ray [Stilson], Wheat [Lovestone].

Chairman: Damon [Ruthenberg].

**Motion by Low [Gitlow]** that we consider financial matters at 2 o'clock and refer remaining business to the [New York] resident members at 4 o'clock when session is to be adjourned.

**Amendment by Ray [Stilson]** that we consider financial matters in executive session at 1 o'clock.

*Amendment carried.*

*Motion as amended carried.*

(d) Program Commission.

**Motion by Wheat [Lovestone]** that committee of 5 be elected.

**Amendment by Ballister [Minor]** that Brooks [Valetski] be one of the 5.

**Amendment to the Amendment by Carr [Katterfeld]** that the Commission report to the convention.

**Substitute for the Whole by Wheat [Lovestone]** that all matters worked out by this commission shall be sent to the Comintern and that Brooks be an additional member to the 5.

*Substitute for the whole carried and Carr's amendment carried.*

Committee consists of Paul [Wilenskin], Marshall [Bedacht], Wheat [Lovestone], Carr [Katterfeld], Ballister [Minor], and Brooks [Valetski].

Jewish Press.

**Motion by Ward [Browder]** that we propose

the sum requested by the subcommittee and place it in the hands of a committee of 3, one of whom is to be Lang [Pepper], and this committee is to see to it that the money is defrayed in the interest of the paper.

**Amendment by Carr [Katterfeld]** that the committee carry out all party instructions.

**Amendment to the Amendment by Ray [Stilson]** that the committee thoroughly investigate the conditions, finances, expenses, etc.

*Amendment to the Amendment carried.*

*Amendment carried.*

*Motion carried.*

Comrades Ray [Stilson], Low [Gitlow], and Lang [Pepper] are the committee for this purpose.

[Finances.]

Report of Secretary [Lovestone] on finances in executive session.

**Motion by Ward [Browder]** to elect committee of 3 as Budget Committee to report back in 1/2 hour. *[Carried.]*

Budget Committee elected: Ward [Browder], Ray [Stilson], and Wheat [Lovestone].

**Motion by Lansing [Swabeck]** that DO5 [Chicago: Charles Krumbein?] handle his work in his absence. *Carried.*

Miscellaneous.

**Motion by Davidson [Reinstein]** regarding Kuzbas cable. *Carried.*

**Motion by Carr [Katterfeld]** that the Political Committee consider the Debs statement. *Carried.*

**Motion to adjourn.** *Carried.*

**Motion** resident members convene at 7 pm July 31st [1922]. *Carried.*

*Edited with a footnote by Tim Davenport.*

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