
Minutes of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America: New York — May 29 to June 1, 1922.

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Minutes of the CEC Full Session May 29th [1922].

Present: Raphael [Alex Bittelman], Ballister [Bob Minor], Lansing [Arne Swabeck], Ward [Earl Browder], Ray [Joseph Stilson], Low [Ben Gitlow], Damon [C.E. Ruthenberg], Carr [Ludwig Katterfeld], Duffy [Alfred Wagenknecht], Marshall [Max Bedacht], Jones [Edgar Owens], Smith [Edward Lindgren?].

Raphael [Bittelman] Chairman; Marshall [Bedacht] acting secretary.

Motion by Lansing [Swabeck], that \$500 be paid to Fred [Federated Press] on account due to Fred [Federated Press].

Motion to refer to question on finances; *carried*.

Motion by Lansing [Swabeck], that [E.J.] Costello be instructed to confine himself to editorial work and that [Tom] Tippet take his place as managing editor Fred [Federated Press], and that [Carl] Haessler is to eventually take manager post.

Substitute Motion by Ballister [Minor], that recommendation regarding business manager be accepted; that our people be instructed to act with extremely diplomatic methods to avoid antagonizing Costello if possible; that Tom. T. [Tippett] be informed of the order. That the policy regarding H [Haessler] be endorsed, but our people instructed not to rush its fulfillment. *Substitute carried*.

Motion by Ballister [Minor], that report of Committee on ARTIWA [=???] be accepted and that it be instructed to act further in the matter. *Carried*.

Motion to leave all details to the committee.

Amendment to recommend to committee to consider 6 organizations as cooperating in the ARTIWA campaign but that actual work be left to B [Friends of Soviet Russia], T. [=???], and Techaid [Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia]. *Amendment lost, motion carried*.

Motion to strike out condition 5 from proposal of sub-committee. *Carried*.

Motion, that committee (Duffy [Wagenknecht], Ballister [Minor], Damon [Ruthenberg]) be confirmed. *Carried*.

Report of Industrial Department.

Moved to instruct Industrial Dept. to reorganize national needle trades committee. *Carried*.

Motion, that office of Industrial Organizer be separated from the office of party DOs in Districts 1 [Boston], 2 [New York], and 3 [Philadelphia], and that one man be appointed to fill the position of Industrial DO for the three Districts 1, 2, and 3. *Carried*.

Moved, that Low [Gitlow] be appointed as Industrial DO of Districts 1 [Boston], 2 [New York], and 3 [Philadelphia].

Moved, that Low [Gitlow] be instructed to act immediately as follows: (1) To establish strong organization of X [TUEL] in Districts 1, 2, and 3. (2) To give attention to New England textile strikers on basis of our program. (3) To follow up and make good on the opportunity in New York C.L.U. (4) To act as agent

of X [TUEL] in organizing a national needle trades committee of X [TUEL] with headquarters in New York. Industrial DO to act under instructions of national Industrial Dept. *Carried.*

Motion to appropriate \$500 for industrial work in Districts 1 [Boston], 2 [New York], and 3 [Philadelphia].

Amendment to refer to Organization Committee. *Amendment carried.*

Motion that special editions of the *Voice of Labor* [Paper #4] be published for striking miners. *Carried.*

Motion, that the [Albert] Verblin case be reopened and a new trial be ordered; that the union officials who sponsor the charges be invited to present to the trial committee the evidence which they have.†

That a new trial committee be elected by the CEC.

That the A [Amalgamated Clothing Workers] be urged at least to have a representative sit with the committee without a vote.

In case the union will agree to a joint trial committee, half and half, we shall agree by a majority decision, our half of the trial committed to act, each member on his own judgment of the facts, not being bound, in this case, by the caucus rule.

That Verblin be instructed not to take his case before #2 [Workers Party of America] units or members before the case is finally acted upon by #1 [Com-

munist Party of America].

Amendment to strike out paragraph dealing with joint trial committee with Amalgamated.

Amendment to Amendment to strike out last part of last sentence reading “before the case is finally acted upon by #1.”

Motion as amended carried. Flynn [Edward Lindgren], O’Delly [Elmer Allison], and Gorney [Joseph Kowalski] elected as trial committee.†

Report of Ward [Browder] relative to action of caucus in Chicago local of Amalgamated.

Motion by Raphael [Bittelman], that although policy of our papers and departments toward Amalgamated was not always correct, Chicago group be instructed to carry out instructions of the Industrial Department.

Motion to turn over the matter to committee of 3 to bring in recommendation. *Carried.*

Low [Gitlow], Lansing [Swabeck], and Ballister [Minor] elected on committee.

On request of Low [Gitlow] to be permitted to write 2 articles in [Carlo] Tresca’s paper [*La Guardia Rossa?*].

Motion, that articles be submitted to committee consisting of Low [Gitlow], Damon [Ruthenberg], and Italian Org. [=???] for final action. *Carried.*

Motion of Executive Session. *Carried.*

Motion, that women’s secretary [=???] and YCL

†- **Albert Verblin (Goldman)** (1897-1960) was a former member of the IWW who was expelled from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Local 39 as a labor spy in January 1921, based on the testimony of Alexander Bailin. Bailin was later himself revealed to be an employee of the Thiel Detective Agency. A series of new trials resulted in an attempt to determine Verblin’s status: the first retrial early in 1922 being chaired by Ed Owens and exonerating Verblin; a second new trial shortly thereafter chaired by Earl Browder nearly exonerating him and then refusing to do so. The third retrial, to which these minutes refer, began on June 15, 1922, and was heard before a 6 person committee: Elmer Allison, Edward Lindgren, and Will Weinstone (instead of Kowalski) for the CPA; with Obermeier, R. Sacharow, and Ullman for the ACWU. The trial committee met periodically throughout June and July 1922, ultimately exonerating Verblin. Verblin earned a law degree from Northwestern University in 1925 and worked for a time thereafter as an attorney for the ILD, becoming an acolyte of Jim Cannon. He ultimately broke with the Communist Party, joining the Trotskyist Communist League of America briefly in 1933 before leaving that organization to join the Socialist Party in 1934. Inside the SPA, Verblin-Goldman edited the publication *The Socialist Appeal* and was an important factional leader, being reunited with the Trotskyists when they pursued their entry strategy into the Socialist Party in 1936-37. In 1938, Verblin-Goldman joined the Socialist Workers Party, sitting on the National Committee of that organization. He was a supporter of Jim Cannon against Max Shachtman in the 1940 SWP split. In 1941 Verblin-Goldman was indicted under the Smith Act, convicted, and jailed. Upon release he was debarred. Verblin-Goldman remained a member of the SWP until 1946, when he exited to join Shachtman’s Workers Party. Verblin-Goldman left the Shachtman organization and radical politics in 1949, flipping all the way to conservatism during the period of the Korean War. He died of cancer in 1960.

representative [=“Edwards”=???] be given right at all sessions of the Executive Committee. *Carried.*

Motion, that Com. Wheat [Jay Lovestone] attend to B [Friends of Soviet Russia] matters while abroad. *Lost.*

Motion that B rep. [Wagenknecht?] attend to transaction prepared by Wheat [Lovestone]. *Lost.*

Motion that action of resident members [of the CEC] relative to sending of Wheat [Lovestone] be immediately approved. *Carried.*

Motion, that nominations be opened for secretary of the committee. *Lost.*†

Motion, that Assistant Secretary be elected to act in absence of Wheat [Lovestone]. *Carried.*

Brown [Bedacht] elected Assistant Secretary.

Motion to approve of action of resident members when they approved decision of Jewish Bureau to send Raphael [Bittelman], to get some funds for *Freiheit* through Jewish ZB of RKP [Russian Communist Party] and other sources. *Carried.*

Motion to declare Raphael's [Bittelman's] place on the committee vacant and place substitute on it. *Carried.*

Motion to place Damon [Ruthenberg] in place of Raphael [Bittelman] and Low [Gitlow] in place of Wheat [Lovestone] and Duffy [Wagenknecht], who will be absent for some time. *Carried.*

Motion to instruct Secretary [Lovestone] to straighten out account with Carr [Katterfeld]. *Carried.*

Motion to approve election of Duffy by ~~XXX~~. [=???]

Amendment to approve election of the 3 delegates to Berlin conference. *Carried.*

Report of Political Committee.

Theses on United Front.

Motion to accept draft of Political Committee as basis to be issued as theses of No. 2 [WPA] and to take them up seriatim. *Carried.*

After considering the document seriatim and changed in some instances it was finally *adopted as a whole* with all votes against that of Com. Carr [Katterfeld], who wished his vote recorded. The adopted document is attached to these minutes.

Session of May 30th [1922].

Chairman: Ward [Browder].

Present: Raphael [Bittelman], Ballister [Minor], Lansing [Swabeck], Paul [J. Wilenkin], Ward [Browder], Ray [Stilson], Low [Gitlow], Damon [Ruthenberg], Carr [Katterfeld], Duffy [Wagenknecht], Smith [Lindgren?], McGregor [=???], Dillon [=???], Edwards [=???], and Marshall [Bedacht].

Motion by Ward [Browder] to elect committee of 3 to consider matters contained in letter of Lovovsky and to draft and answer, to be submitted to committee before adjournment of this session. *Carried.*

Ward [Browder], Ballister [Minor], and Marshall [Bedacht] elected.

Motion to approve tentative selection of K [=???] and J [Johnstone?], as delegates to the 2nd World Congress of RTUI [RILU: Moscow, Nov. 19-Dec. 2, 1922]. *Carried.*

Motion to instruct Industrial Dept. to send as many delegates as possible. *Lost.*

Motion to select delegates from point of view of trade union standing. *Carried.*

Motion, that all correspondence of Departments of the Party with International — Profintern or Com-

†- Lovestone was at this time the Executive Secretary of the CPA. He had apparently just been dispatched to Europe (Berlin, seemingly) by decision of the CEC, which would have opened up the Executive Secretary position.

intern — be read to the committee. *Carried.*

Motion, that Industrial Dept. take up letter of president of IAM with Russian authorities and settle the matter through the T [Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia]. And that all transactions in this connection should take trade union ethics in consideration. *Carried.*

Motion, that Industrial Dept. should take up matter of purchasing from non-union concerns with the B [Friends of Soviet Russia]. *Carried.*

Motion to turn Theses on United Front over to editorial committee, Damon [Ruthenberg] and Brown [Bedacht]. *Carried.*

Motion to approve of action taken by Chicago District and permit them to go ahead on basis of decisions made by committee. *Carried.*

Meeting of May 31st [1922].

Chairman: Duffy [Wagenknecht].

Present: Ballister [Minor], Lansing [Swabeck], Paul [Wilenskin], Ward [Browder], Duffy [Wagenknecht], Carr [Katterfeld], Ray [Stilson], Low [Gitlow], Damon [Ruthenberg], Marshall [Bedacht], McGregor [=???], Dillon [=???], Edwards [=???], Smith [Lindgren?].

Motion, that speeches in committee sessions be limited to 5 minutes except by consent of body. Second speeches only allowed after all have spoken first who wish to do so. *Carried.*

Draft of theses on relation [“The relation of #1 and #2 — the underground and the overground parties] read by Secretary of Politcom [Minor?].

Motion to accept draft as basis. *Motion lost.*

Motion to refer theses back to committee.

Amendment to elect sub-committee of 4, 2 from each side for consideration of relation. *Amendment lost,*

motion carried.

Motion, that Damon [Ruthenberg] replace Raphael [Bittelman] on Political Committee and Low [Gitlow] replace Wheat [Lovestone] on Organization Committee. *Carried.*

Motion, that Organization Committee act as Budget Committee and prepare complete report for next session of committee. *Carried.*

Motion to appropriate at once \$500 in payment of debts due to Fred [Federated Press] for services to papers of our organization. *Carried.*

Motion, that Lansing [Swabeck] and Duffy [Wagenknecht] are committee to raise this money. *Carried.*

Report of sub-committee on Lozovsky's letter received and accepted.

Motion, by Ballister [Minor], that hereafter all issues of Official Organ [*The Communist*], in languages to suit, shall be published in a quantity sufficient for all members of #2 [WPA] and all members of the Opposition [Central Caucus-CPA], and the Organization Committee of #1 [CPA] shall devise and apply forthwith a method of getting #1 [CPA] Official Organ [*The Communist*] into the hands of every member of #2 [WPA] and all members of the Opposition [Central Caucus-CPA]. *Motion carried.*

Motion, by Ballister [Minor], that all District Organizers shall report at the earliest practicable date as follows:

1. Proportion of members on all committees of #2 [WPA] that are not members of #1 [CPA].
2. All cases where a person is in responsible position or is especially active in #2 [WPA] and is not a member of #1 [CPA].
3. Whether efforts have been made to get such committee members or officials or especially active members of #2 [WPA] to join #1 [CPA], and if so, what results.
4. Whether any of such committee members or officials or specially active members of #2 [WPA] ap-

pear ready to accept #1 [CPA] program and the 21 points, as well as the theses of the CI. If so, how many, not by name, but by committee or position?

That all DOs and other party officials shall adopt the policy of getting all committee members and officials of #2 [WPA] who are not members of #1 [CPA], at the earliest possible date; provided that all who so shall declare their willingness to accept without reservation the program of #1 [CPA], the 21 points, and the theses of the 2nd (1920) and 3rd (1921) Congress of the CI.

That all DOs shall systematically, energetically, and constantly, as a permanent policy, endeavor to get every person who is a member of #2 [WPA] and not #1 [CPA], and who shows himself to be especially active and capable to become a member of #1 [CPA]. Before actually bringing such persons into #1 [CPA] however, the regular investigation of past record, etc. and the standard tests for membership shall be applied.

All of these efforts shall be made by approaching each one individually in a friendly spirit, and in no case must a spirit of coercion be used. Motion carried.

Meeting of June 1st [1922].

Chairman: Duffy [Wagenknecht].

Present: Ballister [Minor], Lansing [Swabeck], Paul [Wilenskin], Ward [Browder], Duffy [Wagenknecht], Carr [Katterfeld], Ray [Stilson], Low [Gitlow], Damon [Ruthenberg], Marshall [Bedacht], McGregor [=???], Dillon [=???], Edwards [=???], Smith [Lindgren?].

Motion to adopt Ballister's [Minor's] report on relation [of #1 and #2] as a basis for discussion. Carried.

Motion, that committee do not adjourn until question of relation [of #1 and #2] is settled. Carried.

Motion to adjourn until 2:00 o'clock and that to take up budget, and afterward theses [on #1 and

#2]. Carried.

Report of Budget Committee.

Available: about \$40,000.

To be distributed as follows:

Back wages, \$2,000.

Back Federation dues, \$2,800.

Due printers and other bills, approx. \$5,000.

For the convention fund, \$3,000.

For organization fund of #1 [CPA], \$5,000.

Due to federations for expenses of Federation conferences, \$1,000.

Total: \$20,800.

To be set aside for daily paper, \$5,000.

Donation to *Freiheit*, \$1,000.

Donation to *Voice of Labor*, \$500.

To Fred [Federated Press], \$500.

To WP, \$5,000.

To Industrial Dept. (national), \$3,000.

[To Industrial Dept.] (local), \$500.

To Women Secretariat, \$500.

To YCL, \$1,500.

To Canadian Party, \$1,000.

For Ward's [Browder's] hospital bill, \$50.

Total: \$39,850.

Motion to adopt report.

Amendment that an equal percentage, approximately 5% be taken from all sums appropriated except that for industrial work to be added to the national fund for industrial work to raise that from \$3,000 to \$5,000. *Amendment carried.*

Motion to raise Fred [Federated Press] to \$1,500. *Lost.*

Report as amended carried.

Motion to designate committee of 3 to thoroughly investigate Fred [Federated Press] and report to the next meeting of CEC.

Amendment, that possibilities and plans of chain papers of Fred [Federated Press] be also looked into by this committee. *Amendment and motion carried.*

†- This huge sum dropping from the sky upon the impoverished CPA was very clearly a Comintern subsidy.

Carr [Katterfeld] with Ward [Browder] and Lansing [Swabeck] to be committee.

Motion, that Organization Committee be instructed to institute a uniform system of financial reports in all departments of the party, including regular monthly reports of all departments to the CEC. *Carried.*

The draft of the theses on relation [of #1 to #2] was taken up seriatim and theses amended in several places, and finally adopted as attached, 3 members voting against them.

Ballister [Minor] then proposed an addendum to the theses dealing with industrial nuclei.

Motion to turn that matter over to Industrial Dept. *Carried.*

Motion, that #2 [WPA] function industrially through Industrial Dept. of #1 [CPA]. *Carried.*

Motion, that Ward [Browder] act as #2 Industrial Organizer. *Carried.*

Motion, that local Industrial Dept. of Districts 1 [Boston], 2 [New York], and 3 [Philadelphia] function under jurisdiction of Industrial Dept. (national) of #1 [CPA]. *Carried.*

Motion to permit Ukrainian Opposition [Central Caucus-CPA] members willing to submit to decision of Comintern to remain with Opposition organization til their national conference, and that they make an effort meanwhile to have the Opposition Federation sever connections with Opposition party. *Carried.*

Motion to send circular letter to DOs about necessary activities among Opposition. *Carried.*

Motion to instruct Jones [Edgar Owens] to organize new Ukrainian Bureau. *Carried.*

Motion that Organization Committee make use of services of Com. Jones [Owens]. *Carried.*

Motion, that the following constitute Russian

Federation Bureau from now on: Field [=???], Alex [=???], Nagorney [=???], Toming [=???], Medvedev [=???], Peters [=???], and Miller [Abram Jakira]. *Carried.*

Report of Com. Lansing [Swabeck] regarding situation in South Slavic Federation; [**motion**] to be turned over to Organization Committee with power to act. *Carried.*

Question of selection of a DO for #2 [WPA] in District __ is referred to Organization Committee. Also question of DO in Seattle. The Organization Committee is to take up question of DO in 2.

Report of Women's Committee turned over to Organization Committee with power to act.

Com. Marshall [Bedacht] is elected as editor of Official Organ of #1 [*The Communist*] to act with Ballister [Minor] and Low [Gitlow] as Editorial Committee.

Motion, that Carr [Katterfeld] be made National Organizer of party. *Carried.*

Of the resolution on membership passed by the YCL, the Committee considered paragraph VIII and passed 1, 2, 3. Of 4, the first part reading: "A member of the Communist Party shall be admitted to the YCL without the probationary period." Passed. Second part, reading: "Every member of the YCL who has been a member in good standing for one year, shall be admitted to CP membership without any probationary period." This was voted down. Articles 5 and 6 were adopted. Article 7 was referred to the convention. Articles 8, 9, and 10 passed.

Motion, that CEC recommend to convention to seat rep. of YCL on CEC of party with voice and vote. *Carried.*

Motion to seat in convention of party 3 delegates of YCL with voice and voted.

Amendment: 2.

Amendment to Amendment: 1.

Amendment carried.

Motion to seat rep. of YCL on CEC of #2 [WPA] with voice but no vote. *Carried.*

Motion, that Ward [Browder] represents CEC on NEC of YCL and that Com. Lansing [Swabeck] represent CEC on NEC of YWL. *Carried.*

Motion, that no #2 [WPA] convention be held.

Amendment, that question of #2 [WPA] convention be left to #1 [CPA] convention for decision.

Amendment to Amendment, that a #2 [WPA] convention be held as soon as possible.

Amendment to Amendment carried.

Motion to leave apportionment of delegates of 1 [CPA] for convention to Organization Committee. *Carried.*

Motion, that Org. Com. investigate financial affairs of #2 [WPA] in District 2 [New York]. *Carried.*

Motion to elect sub-committee of 3 to take up matter of T [=???], to make recommendations about subsidy, etc. *Carried.*

Damon [Ruthenberg], Low [Gitlow], and Balister [Minor] elected sub-committee. Action of T [=???] Committee of the past to be approved. *Carried.*

Motion to instruct Organization Committee to consider plans for a daily paper. *Carried.*

Motion, that Political Committee consider resolutions for AFL convention. *Carried.*

Motion, that a debate with anarchists be turned over to bureau of District 2 [New York]. *Carried.*

Motion, that our papers be instructed to carry on systematic propaganda campaign against anarchists' anti-Soviet Russia propaganda. *Carried.*

Motion, that next meeting of committee start June 26 [1922]. *Carried.*

Committee adjourned sine dei.

Edited with footnotes by Tim Davenport.

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