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# Resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the Case of Louis C. Fraina, September 30, 1920.

A typeset leaflet published by the Communist Party of America, 1920.  
Copy in the Comintern Archive, f. 515, op. 1, d. 17, l. 52.

*Preface: The following document just received from Moscow relating to the accusations raised against Comrade Louis C. Fraina by Santeri Nuorteva and circulated by the NY Call and the whole capitalist press, proves every contention made by the Communist Party of America in regard to this plot to discredit the Communist Party through one of its representatives. Comrade Fraina, after a trial and investigation, in which Nuorteva was called personally to testify, was completely exonerated.*

*This document is the last chapter in a case of international proportions in which enemies of the Communist movement of America attempted to bring it into disrepute by flinging charges of "police-agent" against one of its leaders.*

*Comrade Louis C. Fraina stands completely vindicated before the entire world. The Communist Party of America stands vindicated before the entire world. The framers of the charges stand exposed in their true colors — branded by the Congress and Executive Committee of the Communist International.*

*The CEC of the Communist Party of America.*

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The Executive Committee of the Communist International having investigated the charges made by Santeri Nuorteva, Secretary of the New York Soviet Bureau, that Louis C. Fraina was an agent of the Department of Justice, has unanimously decided that Fraina is innocent. Moreover, the Executive Committee brands Nuorteva's actions "absolutely contrary to the attitude of a true Socialist."

An investigating committee of three was appointed by the Executive Committee, after reading the

"stenographic report of the Louis C. Fraina case" and investigating additional evidence, also hearing witnesses, recommends the following statement for acceptance:

1) The star witness figuring in "the stenographic report of the L.C. Fraina Case" offers a very doubtful statement, which is not proven by the facts, based on a verbal story **only**.

a) It is proven that Peterson (the informer) has himself been a government spy;

b) No one can verify his statements;

c) Fraina proves his alibi in connection with dates mentioned by Peterson as having seen Fraina in the Department of Justice.

2) We recognize that the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America, after investigating the charges acquitted Fraina and granted him its full confidence as a true Party member. To accuse or suspect the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America as being an organization which protects suspicious persons — we have neither the proof nor the right. We have full confidence in the Executive Committee of the Communist Party being a revolutionary body.

3) We consider as supporting the evidence that Fraina is not guilty the fact that the Communist Labor Party of America through its Executive Committee refused, after hearing the stenographic report of the Fraina case, to appoint an investigating committee, questioned Peterson's statement, and turned down the proposal of the "Soviet Bureau" to take up the case.

4) The letter written by Comrade [S.J.] Rutgers from Amsterdam proves that Comrade Fraina has the full confidence of the Holland comrades.

"Therefore it is resolved that the investigating

committee ([Alexander] Bilan, Communist Labor Party of America; [Endre] Rudniansky, Communist Party of Hungary; [Alfred] Rosmer, Communist and syndicalist movement of France) find Comrade Louis C. Fraina NOT GUILTY OF THE CHARGES PREFERRED AGAINST HIM and recommend that he be given the necessary confidence as the accredited representative of the Communist Party of America.”

In accordance with this decisions, Fraina was admitted to the Executive Committee of the Communist International and to the Congress as the representative of his Party.

During the sessions of the Congress (August 1920) Santeri Nuorteva arrived in Moscow. Fraina thereupon requested the Executive Committee to reopen the whole case, in view of Nuorteva's presence. The Executive Committee, upon motion of Comrade Zinoviev, resolved to give Nuorteva 48 hours to present any new evidence; failing which the case would be closed and Nuorteva warned not to repeat the accusation on pain of severe measures being used against him.

Nuorteva appeared before the investigating committee, persisting in the accusation. The investigating committee, after hearing him at length, adopted the following resolution:

“The Committee on the Fraina Case, after hearing Santeri Nuorteva on August 20th, 1920, has come to the following decision:

1) Neither the former nor the new accusations brought by Nuorteva against Fraina give cause for altering the previous decision of the Committee. Nuorteva's evidence consists of his personal opinion only. He offers no real arguments to prove any of his accusations.

2) On the basis of his personal opinion, Nuorteva openly spreads the story (even in the capitalist press) that Fraina is a police spy, that the program of

the Communist Party of America was written by a police spy, etc. SUCH PROCEEDINGS ARE ABSOLUTELY CONTRARY TO THE ATTITUDE OF A TRUE SOCIALIST.

If after this decision, Nuorteva does not cease making his accusations against Fraina, the Executive Committee will be compelled to USE THE GRAVEST MEASURES TO STOP HIM.

At the session of August 26th of the Executive Committee of the International, this resolution was unanimously adopted (among the members present being [Nikolai] Bukharin and [Grigorii] Zinoviev, Russia; [Ernst] Meyer, Germany; [Tom] Quelch, England; [John] Reed, America).

One of the American delegates having suggested that in view of the charges against Fraina being public property, it might be advisable for Fraina not to occupy any executive committee in the movement, the Executive Committee, upon motion of Zinoviev, decided that “the Executive Committee of the Communist International sees no reason why Comrade Fraina should be deprive of the opportunity for responsible executive work in the American movement.”

Subsequently, upon the suggestion of Comrade Lenin, the following supplementary resolution was adopted, September 29th:

“The Executive Committee of the Communist International insists that Nuorteva must retract publicly, in the press, all the accusations made by him against Comrade Fraina.”

M. Kobetsky, †

Secretary of Executive Committee.

Moscow, September 30th, 1920.

†- M.V. Kobetsky (1881-1937) was from 1919 the head of the publishing house of the magazine *Kommunisticheskiy Internatsional* in Petrograd. From 1922 he was a member of ECCI, the director of the Petrograd Department (Bureau) of ECCI. In 1921 he entered the Secretariat of ECCI. In 1924-27 he was the Ambassador of the USSR in Denmark and Greece. From January 1933 he was the referent of ECCI for the Scandinavian countries. He was arrested during the Ezhovshchina and executed. [Source: G.M. Adibekov, et al. (eds.) *Politbiuro TsK RKP(b)-VKP(b) i Komintern: 1919—1943: Dokumenty*. (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2004), pg. 854.]

*Edited by Tim Davenport.*

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