
Report to the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America, April 14, 1922.

by Jay Lovestone

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Comrades:—

On February 22nd, 1922, I was elected Secretary of your Committee [i.e. Executive Secretary of the CPA] with the understanding that I was to receive 100% cooperation from every member of the CEC. In the ten weeks of my Secretaryship, I have outlined several concrete proposals for the improvement of the work.

The General Situation.

The general situation in the Party is showing marked signs of improvement. The membership and finances are increasing.

District I [Boston, MA]:

Though this District has borne the brunt of the attack by the heavy artillery of the Opposition, it is on the job and is doing well. The DO [District Organizer "R. Robins"] is showing excellent cooperation with the National Office and is getting results. Unemployment very severe. Active in textile strike and [Soviet famine] relief. Is submitting a weekly average of \$5 per member for relief. Recently organized a T [TUEL local]. Also organized an X [probably refers to some sort of industrial party unit]. Membership is increasing. Total Dues paid to NO for January and February — 688. For March DO reports 737 members in good standing.

District II [New York, NY]:

This District is steeped in factionalism of the most dangerous kind. One faction has organized a so-

called "basic caucus" — based from the group up the line along all the regular channels. There is no other District where the disorganization is so rife. Outside of sub-district #1 [New York City proper] there is practically no dues paying membership. For January and the first three weeks in February the National Office shows a receipt of 1363 dues paying members. Only in relief activities is there any sign favorable to the District. The Local B [New York chapter of Friends of Soviet Russia] has collected over 14% of the total B money although the National Office is in its town and receives many local contributions.

District III [Philadelphia, PA]:

Until the appointment of Comrade Hoffman [Morris Kushinsky] as DO the No. 1 [underground CPA] work in this District was rapidly heading towards complete extinction. Things are beginning to pick up here. The whole No. 1 is being reorganized. Despite severe unemployment in the District, it is getting on its feet financially. Our DO found the X [trade union movement] in the control of the Oppositionists. This is interfering with his industrial activities. January and February paid dues — 522.

District IV [Cleveland, OH]:

January and February paid dues — 734. Active in relief and Miners' strike. District showing steady improvement. DO [Walter Brustor] cooperates very well with the National Office.

District V [Chicago, IL]:

District in good shape. January and February paid dues — 1241. There are 1281 [?] members in

good standing according to DO's March report. Very active in Industrial work and showing fine results. T in fine shape. Likewise the X. DO [Charles Krumbein] cooperates and attends to business promptly.

District VI [Detroit, MI]:

Very hard hit by the Opposition. Outside of main sub-district [Detroit proper], the membership not active, and is now being reorganized. Factional strife among South Slavs. Very poor financially and heavily in debt. Do hard work and prospects for improvement. Paid dues for January and February — 587. Some from Opposition coming back, especially among Ukrainians. Paid DO abolished.

District VII [St. Louis, MO]:

DO ["Page"] a tireless worker. Excellent cooperation with the National Office. Renders splendid financial support to the organization. Very active in Miners' struggle, relief, and general industrial activities. Only District in the country that has not lost a single member to the Opposition. Membership increasing, and District in fine shape. January and February — 517 paid dues.

District VIII [San Francisco, CA]:

Very active in educational and industrial activities. Control a local labor paper of high standing. Membership increasing and disciplined. DO ["Schiller"/"R.D. Schoen"] cooperates well with the National Office and can be counted upon to respond to calls for activity and support. January and February — 392 paid dues.

District IX [Seattle, WA]:

Bitter factionalism. District not in good shape. Comrade Milne [Max Lerner] making thorough investigation. Unemployment severe. Only signs of life in relief. January and February — 246 paid dues.

District X [Western New York]:

For January and February — 134 paid dues. Then added to District 2 [New York]. This now a sub-district. Not showing good results.

District XI [Pittsburgh, PA]:

For first 3 weeks in January, shows 73 paid dues.

Arrests broke up activity. Newly appointed DO an excellent organizer. In two weeks has practically reorganized the whole District under the most difficult conditions. Has won over to No. 1 [the underground CPA] the DO of No. 2 [the legal Workers Party of America] and is very active in Mine Strike. District is already financially independent and has surplus in treasury. Excellent cooperation with National Office. Active in relief; the membership complains against lack of cooperation from the National Office of the B [Friends of Soviet Russia]. <Illeg.> T is at work.

District XII [Minneapolis, MN]:

Steeped in factionalism. Ukrainians in revolt over most petty and insignificant matters. No. 2 active. Financial difficulties great. January and February — 350 paid dues and paid DO abolished.

Relief.

Every District reports that relief is taking away most of the sources for income. Many of our best Party workers giving all their time to relief. Secretary of B [Friends of Soviet Russia head Alfred Wagenknecht] should submit plan to [the CEC] whereby these serious disadvantages could be removed. On the whole the tendency in the relations between the B and the Party is towards lack of sufficient cooperation. The Secretary [meaning Lovestone] has repeatedly asked for special weekly reports and so far has received only one general public report. We do not have sufficient Party guidance and control of this institution. Recommend the appointment of a special sub-committee to remedy this situation at once. This Department is broadening out its activities, and is making continuous organizational changes with the CEC's consideration or approval.

Unemployment.

Unemployment is seriously hampering our financial condition. It is particularly severe in Districts 1, 3, 4, 9, and 12. Of course this does not include those thrown out of work by the Miners' and Textile Strikes.

The Opposition.

Has been fully notified of our stand and compliance with CI [Communist International]. In Districts 4, 6, and 5 a good number have come back. Membership fully prepared and instructed for readmission of former members. Is completely behind the CEC policy in this field. Have learned unofficially that the Oppositionist officialdom will turn down CI instructions and appeal to 4th Congress [of the Communist International]. From all indications this should produce serious difficulties in their ranks.

Federations.

Jewish:

In very bad shape. Have not published a single [issue of its] official organ to date [since the December 1921 split]. Protests from all parts of the country against inactivity. New Secretary must be elected. The recent changes may produce results. Recommend that Bureau be instructed to turn out paper at once and reestablish connections at once or that an entirely new Bureau be appointed. District Conferences throughout the country would also help.

Russian:

In miserable shape. Have not issued an official organ in three months. This Federation has received more financial support than any other Federation. Bureau particularly inefficient and unrepresentative. Protests countrywide. District Conferences may help. Do not believe that newly appointed Secretary is able to master the situation.

South Slavs, Finns, and Lithuanians:

In good working order. Finns centering attention on Number Two, which they are supporting very well. Lithuanians cooperate well and attend to business promptly. Recommend special Committee to appear before No. 1 Finnish Bureau to impress upon them importance of No. 1. Serious liquidation tendencies in the Federation. Am planning organization of Central Guidance Committees of all non-English speaking members who have no Federation Bureaus. Central points of these to be in cities having greatest

membership. Am reorganizing the Italian Bureau. Am also calling Conference of all Federation District Organizers so as to improve activities of Bureaus and strengthen their connections. This should be particularly helpful to Number 2 as the questionnaire submitted to these DOs deals largely with the ways and means of improving the No. 2 Bureaus. With the completion of this reorganization of the Language Bureaus' activities, the Party should show further signs of improvement.

Number Two.

Districts report improvement all along the line. The reorganization of No. 1 Bureaus should be of tremendous aid to the No. 2. To date [the WPA] has consumed a large proportion of No. 1 District treasuries. A reorganization of the Sub-Comms. of both No. 1 and 2 to increase cooperation would be very helpful. Recommend special committee be appointed to work out detailed plan for revision of organizational relations of the two. It is evident that throughout the country — with the possible exception of District 11 a couple weeks ago — the strength of the Number 2 is directly dependant on that of the Number 1. Only where there is a virile disciplined Number 1 membership with good organization is the Number 2 getting a good start.

Finances.

There are today five full salaried and one half salaried employee on the staff of the National Office. This number is inclusive of the two International Delegates. We have dropped two from the NO staff and reduced one to half time. Rent has been cut from \$100 a month to \$35. Keeping the CI fully informed and sending it bulletins, publications, and cables with great regularity takes away the largest portion of the office expenses. The number of paid DOs has been reduced. We now have seven full-time No. 1 DOs; one paid by No. 2; one half-time No. 1; and two unpaid No. 1 DOs. District X is heavily overemployed in both Nos. 1 and 2, especially in view of the lack of results attained to date. There are two full-time paid workers in

each. This can be very well cut in half without detriment to No. 1 or No. 2. Throughout the country the Districts and Bureaus have been forced to run on a minimum budget. Expenses have everywhere been reduced considerably. The NO has pared down in wages alone over \$215 a week. This is of course exclusive of the reductions made by taking off the CEC members except the Secretary from the payroll of the Number 1 National Office. The financial situation is showing steady improvement in every district but District 2.

The CEC.

It is evident that the CEC has in the past three months not been working up to the mark attained by it in the months prior to January 1st. The Secretary has not been getting the cooperation a committee should accord. In several districts the prestige of the Committee has unquestionably been reduced. An organized opposition, having its headquarters in District 2, is circularizing the country against the CEC. This opposition wages a campaign on the pettiest of factional interests and shows not the slightest regard for Party welfare. In order to increase the efficiency and activity of the CEC, fundamental changes are necessary in its constitution. The CEC should consist of those best able to give their time and attention to the grave problems the party is facing today. I would therefore recommend that several members now unable to give the proper attention and sufficient time to Committee work because of the important work entrusted to them in other fields should resign and in their place we should at once elect to membership those able to strengthen the Committee. Such a course will have a highly beneficial effect upon the entire membership.

Yours for immediate action and results,

L.C. Wheat [Jay Lovestone]
Executive Secretary, CP of A

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