

Minutes of the Meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party of America: New York City — October 7, 1922.

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Comrade [Caleb] Harrison elected chairman.

Present: [Elmer] Allison, [George] Ashkenuzi, [Louis] Engdahl, [Israel] Amter, [Bill] Kruse, [Alfred] Wagenknecht, [Benjamin] Glassberg, [Edward] Lindgren, [Bob] Minor, [Alex] Bittelman, [Will] Weinstein, and [C.E.] Ruthenberg.

Motion carried, that Comrade Glassberg be seated as a member of the committee as alternate for Comrade [Alexander] Trachtenberg.

Motion carried, that Mrs. [Marion] Emerson and [A.] Nastasievsky be seated as members of the committee to fill the two vacancies remaining.

The Secretary [Ruthenberg] suggested the order of business be the report of the Executive Secretary under the headings: [a] Financial; [b] Political; [c] Organizational, and that questions raised in the report be acted upon as presented. This order of business was adopted.

Financial Report.

The following report on the finances of the Party was submitted by the Executive Secretary [Ruthenberg].

Cash Receipts, June 1 to Sept. 30 [1922].

General

Loans Repaid	\$ 20.00
Loans Payable	300.00
Transfers	135.01
Suspense Account	106.29
Exchange Checks	1,920.00
District #5 [Pittsburgh] Loan Paid	27.00
Rent Receipts	400.00
Refunds †	807.37
Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Fund	87.10
W.Va. Miners' Relief	136.41
Textile Workers Strike Fund	35.40
<i>[Sub-Total]</i>	\$ 3,974.58

Executive Department [& General]

Dues Stamps	\$ 9,339.05
Initiation Stamps	925.30
Organization Fund	1,469.49
Buttons	111.60
Supplies	217.25
Leaflet Fund	62.00
United Front Fund	3,328.65
Party Donations	525.50
<i>[Sub-Total]</i>	\$15,978.84

Lyceum Department

Lyceum Department	\$ 436.26
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†- Itemized as follows in report: Overpayment Account Payment, \$14.00; Payroll Overdrawn, \$120.00; Babson's Reports, \$62.50; Advanced Car Fare Returned, \$400.00; Convention Fund, \$87.75; General Expense, \$72.50; Protested Checks, \$46.12; Federation Dues, \$4.50.

Literature Department

Literature — Own	\$ 637.66
Literature — Jobbing	939.76
Literature — Loans	171.00
[Sub-Total]	\$ 1,748.42

The Worker

Subscriptions	\$ 1,318.74
Subscription Cards	2,769.81
Bundles	2,490.10
Advertising	581.63
Donations	165.60
Transfer	1.00
Sundry	1.00
[Sub-Total]	\$ 7,327.88

[Total Receipts] **\$29,465.98**

**Expenditures,
June 1 to Sept. 30 [1922].**

General

Accounts Payable	\$11,282.56
Exchange	1,920.00
Transfers	135.78
Suspense	35.27
Loans Payable	288.54
Loan to National Defense	100.00
Federation Dues Refund	2,960.22
District Dues Refund	306.70
Miners' Relief	136.41
Sacco-Vanzetti Defense	105.18
Babson's Reports	62.50
Protested Checks	48.64
Sinking Fund	100.00
Printing Plant Inventory	50.00
Office Fixtures	20.00
YWL Subsidy	510.00
Italian Federation [Subsidy]	450.00
<i>Voice of Labor</i> Subsidy	100.00
Convention Expenses	690.46
Travel Expenses	22.91
J. Marshall [Max Bedacht] Travel ..	25.00
United Front Fund Expenses	16.80
<i>International Press Correspondence</i> ..	13.30

(continued)

Bank Exchange Charges	21.10
General Office Expenses	32.58
Telegraph & Telephone	6.16
[Sub-Total]	\$19,441.11

Executive Department

Back Wage Account	\$ 460.00
Wages	3,459.50
Traveling Advance	255.98
Traveling Expense	195.29
Stationery & Supplies	114.24
Propaganda Leaflets	39.00
Postage	377.20
Button Sales Refund	5.00
[Sub-Total]	\$ 4,906.21

Literature Department

Wages	\$ 1,147.25
Literature Purchase	136.39
Literature Publication	236.36
Literature Loans	275.55
Postage	409.70
Stationery & Supplies	5.20
[Sub-Total]	\$ 2,210.45

The Worker

Wages	\$ 2,810.00
Postage	264.35
Press Service	42.91
Stationery & Supplies	24.10
Subscription Transfer	1.00
[Sub-Total]	\$ 3,142.96

Lyceum Department

Lyceum Department	\$ 253.89
[Total Expenditures]	\$29,954.62

Summary of Cash Account.

Balance on Hand, June 1 [1922]	\$ 611.00
+ Receipts	29,465.62
- Disbursements	29,954.62
Balance, September 30 [1922]	\$ 122.36

National Defense Committee**Summary Showing Operation
for Period June 1 to Sept. 30 [1922].***Receipts*

Defense Donations	\$ 2,844.90
Defense Literature	164.77
Defense Stamps	18.47
Return of Security	1,000.00
Loan	1,000.00
<i>[Sub-Total]</i>	<u>\$ 5,028.12</u>

Expenditures

Legal Expense	\$ 1,157.47
Prisoners' Relief	282.47
Prisoners' Family Relief	112.00
Michigan Case	244.70
Premium of Bail Bonds	60.00
Defense Travel Expense	361.50
Defense Wages	127.50
General Office Expense	27.12
Mrs. Riihonen	175.00
NY Division Loan Rec.	150.00
Roger Baldwin — Loan Paid	507.50
Selam Haltunen — Loan Paid	150.00
Charles Bramson — Loan Paid	200.00
L. Holligsworth Wood Security for Bail	1,000.00
Loan Repaid	1,000.00
<i>[Sub-Total]</i>	<u>\$ 5,555.26</u>

Charges

Loans Payable	\$ 300.00
Literature Loans	171.00
Increase in Accounts Payable	41.55
<i>Due Sept 30 — \$6470.51</i>	
<i>Due June 1 — \$6428.96</i>	

Reduction in Cash	488.64
<i>Balance Sept 30 — \$611.00</i>	
<i>Balance June 1 — \$122.36</i>	
<i>Total Charges</i>	<u>\$ 901.19</u>

Credits

Loans Paid	\$ 288.54
Literature Loan Paid	275.55
Loan to National Defense	100.00
Sinking Fund	100.00
Printing Plant Investigation	50.00
Office Fixtures	20.00
<i>Total Credits</i>	<u>\$ 834.09</u>

Net Deficit for Period	\$ 67.10
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**Summary of National Defense
Cash Account.**

Balance on Hand, June 1 [1922]	\$ 590.97
+ Receipts	5,028.12
- Disbursements	5,555.26
Balance, September 30 [1922]	\$ 63.83

Net Deficit for the Period Jan. 1 to May 31 [1922]	\$10,271.89
Net Deficit for the Period June 1 to Sept. 30 [1922]	67.10

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Literature Department,
[— For the 9 Month Period —]
Jan. 1 to Sept. 30 [1922].

Debits

Wages	\$ 2,939.91
Cost of Own Literature	1,670.21
Cost of Literature Purchased	3,886.43
Advertising	891.42
Postage	518.13
Rent	670.00
Stationery	389.33
Translation	100.00
General Expense	70.77
<i>[Sub-Total]</i>	<u>\$11,136.20</u>

Credits

Literature Sales	<u>\$ 6,408.52</u>
Total Deficit for Period	\$ 4,727.68

Against this deficit there is to be credited the literature on hand on September 30, of which inventory of that date is not available.

The Worker,
[— For the 9 Month Period —]
Jan. 1 to Sept. 30 [1922].

Debits

Wages	\$ 5,206.50
Printing	10,470.24
News Service	268.95
Wrapping & Shipping	1,115.90
Cartoons	133.50
Advertising	35.10
Commissions on Advertising	13.00
Stationery & Supplies	735.66
Rent	670.00
Subscription Transfers	11.00
<i>[Sub-Total]</i>	<u>\$19,059.85</u>

Credits

Advertising	\$ 1,050.63
Bundles [Sale of]	4,081.57
Donations	257.61

(continued)

Lectures	106.75
Office Sales	1.75
Opera Tickets	26.90
Worker Subscriptions	5,672.78
<i>[Sub-Total]</i>	<u>\$11,197.99</u>

Total Deficit for Period **\$ 7,861.86**

Motion carried, that the Financial Report be received and placed on record.

The Election Campaign.

Report by the Executive Secretary [Ruthenberg].

District #1 [Boston]: No nominations made. Expect to conduct campaign and have names written in.

District #2 [New York]: State ticket in field for New Jersey. No State ticket for New York. Local nominations for New York.

District #3 [Philadelphia]: No state or local ticket.

District #4 [Buffalo]: Will have local ticket in field.

District #6 [Cleveland]: No nominations. Will conduct campaign of writing in names.

District #7 [Detroit]: No nominations.

District #8 [Chicago]: No nominations. Special report from district on the political situation read, concluding with recommendation that:

We support the Farmer-Labor Party in the election in November, stating our position in a manifesto, which shall explain the program and position of the WP, expose the weakness of the FLP, give our reasons for supporting them, explain the reasons for our absence from the ballot, call upon the workers to support and join the WP at the same time that they vote for the FLP in this particular election; that the WP is a distinct political party which will in the future make fights with its own candidates on the ballots and program, independent of all other political parties, that we take advantage of every opportunity to use the elections to reach the widest masses with our program and policies on the basis of this course of action.

Motion carried, after extensive discussion, that the decision of the District Executive Committee, as

above outlined, be concurred in.

Motion carried, that the manifesto to be issued be prepared by the CEC.

Comrades Bittelman, Engdahl, and Ruthenberg elected a committee to draft the manifesto.

District #9 [Minneapolis]: No nominations.

District #10 [St. Louis]: No nominations.

District #12 [Seattle]: Candidate for United States Senator placed on the ballot in Washington state.

District #13 [San Francisco]: Full ticket placed on the ballot in California.

Motion carried, that in those districts in which we have no candidates the Party carry on a campaign for independent working class political action.

Birmingham, Ala.: Party branch there organized inside of Social-Democratic League, an independent body. Comrade Walker, member of the WP, nominated as candidate for sheriff on S-D League ticket. After nomination the S-DL affiliated with the Socialist Party in order to secure standing as a political party.

Motion, that Local Birmingham be instructed to remove the name of Comrade Walker from the SP ticket.

Motion: to table the matter for 2 weeks. *Lost*.

Amendment to motion: that we direct Comrade Walker to remain on the ticket and carry on a campaign on the basis of the WP program, announcing himself as a member of the Workers Party and ignoring the technical fact of his name appearing on the SP ticket.

Amendment to the amendment: that the branch be directed to demand that the S-DL withdraw from the SP and if it does not withdraw that our branch remove the name of Comrade Walker from the ticket.

Vote on the amendment to amendment: **Yes**: Lindgren and Ashkenuzi. **No**: Allison, Glassberg, Bittelman, Weinstone, Minor, Wagenknecht, Engdahl, Kruse, Ruthenberg, Amter.

Vote on the amendment: **Yes**: Allison, Glassberg, Weinstone, Minor, Engdahl, Kruse, Ruthenberg, Amter. **No**: Ashkenuzi, Bittelman, Wagenknecht, Amter, Lindgren. [*Amendment carried.*]

Motion, that the manifesto be issued by same committee preparing Chicago manifesto. *Carried*.

Election Program: The Political Committee was not prepared to report a program.

Motion carried, that the materials on hand be turned over to the Executive Secretary [Ruthenberg] to write the program and that after approval by the Political Committee it be issued.

Organization Report by the Executive Secretary.

The Secretary [Ruthenberg] reported that from his experience during recent trip it did not appear that the [Bridgman] raids had in any way affected the morale of the organization. Party work was going on everywhere and the members showing a fine spirit.

In District #1 [Boston] the organizer has expressed his desire to resign. In District #3 [Philadelphia] a paid organizer should be put in the field, the national organization furnishing financial assistance if necessary, in order to build up that district. District 5 [Pittsburgh] is one of the best Party districts. Comrade [Fred] Merrick has shown initiative and energy in putting into effect the Party policies and undoubtedly will build up a strong organization. District 6 [Cleveland] has suffered because of the fact that Comrade [Caleb] Harrison has been in prison. Comrade Marshall [Max Bedacht] has been speaking and organizing in the district for a month, but was arrested last Saturday [Sept. 30, 1922], which will break up his tour. District #7 [Detroit] required a new organizer as Comrade [Cyril] Lambkin has resigned. The DEC recommends Mollenhauer. Plan for an organization tour in the district temporarily held up, will be taken up again. In District #8 [Chicago] Comrade [Charles] Krumbein is acting as DO. Work has suffered because of inability of DO to act previously. Comrade [H.E.] Keas reports that in District #9 [Minneapolis] work is greatly hampered by factionalism, which must be eliminated at all costs. Comrade [Thomas] Sullivan has returned to District #10 [St. Louis] and work will go ahead more efficiently. In District #12 [Seattle] we have no DO and steps must be taken to put an active man in the field. In District #13 [San Francisco] Comrade [Paul] Reiss is acting as DO.

(Vacancies in positions of District Organizers were referred to the Organization Committee for action.)

Federations: The Finnish and South Slavic Federations are carrying on their work efficiently as usual. The German Federation has not made its financial report for August and September [1922], but it is promised in a few days. The Hungarian Federation requests to be permitted to hold its convention November 30, is still pending and action should be taken. The Lithuanian Federation recommends that duplication in sending out Party circulars to language branches be ended; that *The Worker* carry more news about national party activities; that periodical conferences be held with [Language] Bureau Secretaries by the Executive Secretary. Greek Federation requests permission to send a cable to the Soviet government in regard to the Greek-Turkish war. Italian Federation has been paid a subsidy of \$30 weekly and dues have been remitted. Has now grown to sufficient strength to permit new arrangements.

Motions carried as follows:

[1.] That the Hungarian Federation be permitted to hold its convention as requested, inasmuch as the date coincides with that of another convention which will make reduction in expenses considerable.

[2.] That the Executive Secretary [Ruthenberg] hold conferences periodically with the Secretaries of the Language Bureaus. (The Secretary [Ruthenberg] reported that duplication of communications to language branches had been stopped.)

[3.] That a cable be sent in the name of the Greek and Turkish Federations of the Party to the Soviet government covering the situation in the Near East. Comrades Bittelman and Ruthenberg were instructed to draft the cable.

[4.] That the Greek Federation also cable a protest to the Greek government about the persecution of Communists and trade unionists.

[5.] That beginning November [1922] the Italian Federation must make regular monthly settlements for dues and the subsidy now being paid be continued until the end of the year only.

Czecho-Slovak Federation: The Secretary [Ruthenberg] reported that the Czecho-Slovak Federation, with about 800 members, had affiliated with the Party and would begin paying dues in October [1922].

Scandinavian Federation: The SF has again submitted the question of affiliation to its membership. Comrade Oscar Larson has been engaged by the National Office to make a tour of the branches of the Federation and present the facts about the WP.

Political Committee Report.

The Political Committee submitted the following report:

Meeting of October 4 [1922].

Present: Bittelman, Minor, and Amter.

1. *Motion carried*, that credentials as Fraternal Delegate of the WP to the 4th Congress of the CI be given to Comrade [Alexander] Trachtenberg.

2. *Motion*, that the committee recommends the establishment of a Research Bureau and that Comrade [Jay] Lovestone be placed in charge.

3. Notification received that the United Toilers are receptive to the idea of coming into the WP as a body immediately. The Political Committee thereupon drafted a letter urging the United Toilers' immediate entrance into the Party.

4. *Motion carried*, that in view of the possibility of the entrance of the United Toilers into the Party, which appears to be pending, the UT be requested to inform the WP as to the possibility of turning over the subscription list of *The Workers' Challenge to The Worker*, if the former is to be discontinued.

5. *Motion carried*, that in case of the success of the foregoing proposal the Political Committee will recommend that [Harry] Wicks of the editorial staff of *The Workers' Challenge* be added to the editorial staff of *The Worker*, and that Works be given industrial work as well.

6. *Motion passed*, to recommend that a defense pamphlet be published for the purpose of clarifying and standardizing the defense propaganda, to be sold for defense revenue. Minor to be instructed to prepare a draft to be completed in collaboration with the Defense Council.

7. *Motion passed*, to recommend that the CEC immediately elect a committee of 5 to meet with a like committee of the United Toilers.

Motion carried, to endorse action in relation to the United Toilers and elect a committee of 3 to carry out details. †

†- This and the following motions under the heading "Political Committee Report" are enumerated as though they were additional actions of the Political Committee on Oct. 4. This appears to be a typographical error and that they were Oct. 7 CEC actions.

Motion carried, that Comrades Trachtenberg, [Ludwig] Katterfeld, and Bedacht be designated as fraternal delegates to the 4th Congress of the CI.

Motion carried, that we endorse in principle the ideas of a Research Bureau but that the Political Committee submit further details.

Motion carried, that the Political Committee furnish further details as to the work Comrade Wicks is to do.

Motion carried, that the Political Committee prepare the agenda for the Party Convention.

Party Convention.

A letter from the Finnish Bureau urging that the Party convention be held in February [1923] in place of December [1922] so that all the decisions of the 4th Congress of the CI would be available at the time of the convention and also urging that the delegation be limited to 1 delegate from each 500 members or major fraction thereof, we deferred to the Organization Committee for consideration.

YWL [Young Workers League].

Motion carried, that Comrade Earl Browder be designated as the representative of the CEC on the CEC of the YWL.

Motion carried, that the Political Committee be directed to furnish articles on American conditions requested by *Inprecor* [*International Press Correspondence*].

Motion carried, that the actions at the last meeting instructing the Secretary [Ruthenberg] to issue a call for a campaign fund and authorizing the engage-

ments of certain speakers for District 2 [New York] be rescinded.

(The Secretary [Ruthenberg] pointed out that in view of defense subscription lists it would be inadvisable to issue other subscription lists at this time and outlined the "Build the Party Fund Campaign" in connection with the celebration of November 7th [Russian Revolution anniversary].)

Motion, that the Political Committee be directed to prepare material for a campaign against SP. *Carried.*

The Secretary [Ruthenberg] read a telegram from Comrade [Bill] Dunne in regard to his return to New York, pointing out that the hearing took place on the 17th and he would be obliged to be at St. Joseph [Michigan] on that date and that he was carrying on work for the Labor Defense Council.

Motion carried, that Dunne remain in Chicago on Defense Work until after the 17th and then the matter be given further consideration.

Letter read [from] Godfrey Ebel, IWW prisoner at Leavenworth, asking assistance of the National Defense Committee because the IWW General Defense Committee had refused relief on the ground that he had broken discipline in asking for a parole.

Motion carried, that under the circumstances of his having broken the solidarity of his group we are not in a position to grant the assistance asked for.

Motion, that the Education Committee elected to make a report to the convention submit its report at the next meeting of the CEC.

The meeting then adjourned.

C.E. Ruthenberg,
Executive Secretary.

Edited with footnotes by Tim Davenport.

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