

# Report of the *Daily Worker* Campaign Committee to the National Convention of the Workers Party of America [delivered Dec. 31, 1923]

by John J. Ballam

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Comrades:—

This report covers the period of the *Daily Worker* Drive from the date of its announcement in *The Worker*, issue of Aug. 18th [1923], which was actually published Aug. 8th, 1923, to Dec. 22, 1923.

I was called in from Buffalo to take charge of the drive Aug. 20th. Plans were prepared by the committee before I took office which contemplated running the drive almost exclusively for share sales among our party membership, through our branches and mass meetings in the principal cities. Each federation language bureau was allotted a quota and all were expected to carry on the campaign through their affiliated branches under the direction of the *Daily Worker* Campaign Committee.

The following list shows the quota allotted to each federation:

<b>Federation</b>	<b>Average Membership (Aug.)</b>	<b>Quota</b>
Czecho-Slovak	437	\$ 3,000
Estonian	76	400
Finnish	7,000	25,000
Greek	172	1,000
German	481	5,000
Hungarian	355	3,500
Italian	454	1,000
Jewish [Yiddish]	1,007	5,000
Lithuanian	843	5,000
Lettish [Latvian]	403	3,000
Polish	181	500
Russian	955	3,000
Romanian	200	1,000
South Slavic	1,174	6,000
Ukrainian	532	2,000
Scandinavian	283	1,000

The drive started in the midst of all the confusion and unavoidable disorganization attendant upon the removal of the entire office force and equipment of the National Office to Chicago, together with the offices of many of the federations, so that the drive did not really get under way until Sept. 6, 1923.

All Federation Bureaus, district organizers, City Central Committee secretaries, and branch secretaries received instructions as to the method of conducting the drive. Every unit was requested to create campaign committees and to elect a campaign manager for their respective units. All language bureaus elected a special campaign manager and 58 City Central Committees out of the 76 listed elected their committees and managers and were active in the drive.

The campaign was confined until recently to the sale of \$5.00 stock pledges of which each party member was expected to purchase at least one. 125,000 application blanks (including 20,000 installment payment applications) were distributed proportionally to all federation campaign managers; to all district organizers; to all City Central Committee secretaries and campaign managers; and to every branch secretary. This distribution was made directly from the National Office to all units with instructions to higher units to adequately supply all lower units. Therefore, every member of the Party was supplied with these blanks in sufficient number for all purposes.

### Publicity.

Publicity matter had to be gotten out in large quantities and thoroughly distributed throughout the entire country from the National Office and we believe that the campaign for our daily has been popularized so as to lay a firm foundation for our daily upon its appearance. The following material was distributed:

a. 3,000 posters announcing the opening of the drive for September meetings.

b. 100,000 copies of the *Miniature Daily Worker* in two editions of 50,000 each. These were designed to reach non-party workers in unions, societies, etc., and were supplied to districts, City Central Committees, and branches free of charge. All copies were supplied by order only. This leaflet has proven to be an effective method of popularizing the daily and aided in stock sales and donations.

c. Display ads and cartoons in every issue of *The Worker*, together with special articles and news items, and full page posters for meeting halls.

d. *Daily Worker* Campaign Committee News Service, containing articles, reports, etc., sent to all party press and connections regularly each week.

e. Advertisements in magazines and foreign programs and trade union programs.

f. Pennants and posters for Russian Revolution celebration.

g. 10,000 contribution lists were sent to all branches.

h. 30,000 contribution lists, with share applications and special letter, sent through special list.

i. 10,000 specially selected union secretaries were circularized with trade union appeal and lists.

j. 3,000 miners' locals were appealed to for donations and shares.

k. 10,000 lists were circulated to *Worker* and *Liberator* lists, with appeals by Comrades Engdahl and Minor. A total of 63,000 letters, pledges, and lists were thus sent out.

### Meetings.

The first series of meetings arranged by the Daily Worker Campaign Committee were those in which the \$100,000 drive was opened in the principal cities, between Sept. 29th and Oct. 10th [1923], addressed

by the most prominent speakers in the Party. These meetings were held before the Party had mobilized all its forces for the drive but aroused intense enthusiasm. Twelve of these meetings were held.

Dances, picnics, entertainments, concerts were arranged all over the country for the *Daily Worker* Drive during the month of October [1923]. The conspicuously successful meeting was that held by the New York Campaign Committee at the Lenin Bust Unveiling, where the income was over \$2,000.

Russian Revolution Celebrations were arranged by the *Daily Worker* Campaign Committee in over 50 cities throughout the country, addressed by over 30 prominent Party speakers.

More than 70 meetings, from coast to coast, are now being arranged for Jan. 12th and 13th [1924] to greet the birth of *The Daily Worker*.

### Language Federations.

Each language section was given its quota of shares to be sold and complete instructions for general conduct of the drive. It was the policy of the committee to permit each federation to conduct the drive among its units in its own way; relying upon the pledge to raise the amount apportioned. Our foreign-born comrades have supported the drive for the English daily magnificently, and special credit is due them when the fact that most of the language sections carry the burden of maintaining dailies and weeklies in their respective languages is taken into consideration. Full credits for amount raised cannot in all cases be given to each federation, as many of their branches remitted directly through the City Central Committee campaign manager without showing sources, while others sent their remittances through the several Federation Bureaus. Special mention must be made of the Lithuanian and South Slavic Federations, where the drive was carried on intensively and in close cooperation with our committee. The Finnish Bureau is still busily engaged in raising its quota among its members, and their pledge to turn over to The Daily Worker Publishing Co. \$25,000 in cash or notes was the decisive factor making for the early appearance of our daily.

### General.

The announcement of the Central Executive Committee to start the drive for an English language daily was greeted by the leaders of the Communist Parties of the principal countries throughout the world. Zinoviev, Radek, Zetkin, Thalheimer, Brandler, Treist, Tom Mann, and others hailed the English Communist daily. Upton Sinclair called upon all workers to support the Workers Party in its drive for the new daily in Chicago.

Our comrades responded to the call of the Party with tremendous enthusiasm. While there was some hesitation and doubt, which in some cases continued through the drive by a few who were appalled by the magnitude of the task which the Party had set itself to accomplish, the rank and file set to work to organize; and the forces of the Party were gradually mobilized and set in motion for the most inspiring drive that our Central Executive Committee has instituted.

The first to respond was the Bulgarian branch of Madison, Ill., which sent the first \$30 donation. An analysis of all sources of income show that almost the entire sum raised came from the workers in factory, mill, mine, and railroad and from the exploited working farmers on the land. The comrades in Los Angeles raised over \$900; the Ukrainian branch of Hamtramick (Detroit), Mich., sent in over \$1,000; under the efficient direction of Comrade Julius Cod-kind the New York City campaign committee carried on an effective drive, conducted splendid meetings, and turned in directly to campaign headquarters over \$6,000; the drive was conducted in Chicago under the tireless efforts of Comrade Gus Schulenberg as campaign manager and resulted in direct returns of more than \$5,000; Boston, under Comrade Zelms as campaign manager, turned in directly nearly \$3,000. These are the highest spots in the campaign. A complete analysis of returns of federations and districts accompany this report.†

There was some hesitation on the part of some of our trade union sections toward carrying on the

campaign into the unions. Wherever our trade union militants did make the proper approach good results were obtained. Over 100 workers' organizations have donated money or purchased shares.

Our foreign-language press (with a few exceptions) has supported the drive and carried our announcements and to the extent that they gave their aid this support was invaluable.

Our intention was to raise the necessary amount by Nov. 7th [1923] and to issue our daily on the Sixth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution. But it was shown that 8 weeks was too short a time in which to accomplish this object. When it was announced by our Central Executive Committee that the date was extended to January 1924, our members, instead of becoming discouraged, took a fresh hold and from that time to the present the drive became intensified and is now nearing completion.

The total income from the drive is today \$73,011.90 (\$71,497.15 plus \$1,514.75 received since Dec. 22 [1923]).‡ The Finnish comrades have pledged \$15,000 and the Italian comrades have pledged themselves to pay \$2,000. This makes a total of \$90,000. Our membership must raise the other \$10,000. Every member who has not yet bought a share must be urged to do so at once. Only unemployment or sickness should be accepted as a valid excuse. There remain two weeks before our paper will be issued. If every member will see to it that all comrades do their full duty we can yet go over the top with the full \$100,000 on the day before our paper appears.

In making their decision to found a great national daily Party organ in the English language, our Central Committee has properly gauged the ability and enthusiasm and the revolutionary determination of the Party membership. It was hailed by the chairman of the Communist International, Comrade Zinoviev, as the necessary weapon to make our Party a real mass party. The *Daily Worker* Drive was one of the most important tasks which our party has undertaken. It has been crowned with almost complete success.

On Sunday, Jan. 13th [1924], *The Daily*

†- Not published in *The Second Year of the Workers Party of America*.

‡- Be advised that the "total income" figure of \$71,497.15 cited by Ballam is a *gross* figure through Dec. 22, 1923. According to his figures below, the campaign *netted* \$63,892.05 (the gross receipts, minus disbursements of \$7,605.10 — this excluding an advance of \$2,333.85 to the new Daily Worker Publishing Co., which was not a fundraising expense but rather an expenditure of raised funds on their dedicated purpose.

*Worker* will be born. Upon its success will depend in great measure the success of our immediate objectives: the membership drive, amalgamation, the labor party, recognition of Soviet Russia, organization of the unorganized, and defense. *The Daily Worker* will be the chief instrument through which our Party will popularize all its slogans, and mobilize all its forces for action in every field and it becomes the supreme duty of all party workers, regardless of their special activities, to work energetically to build up the influence and circulation of *The Daily Worker*.

We are convinced that our daily will be supported by tens of thousands of workers and farmers and become a tremendous power in the coming nationwide elections, developing the political consciousness of the workers, rallying them in support of the labor party at the polls, becoming an institution in the life of the workers and exploited farmers, and setting up another milestone on the path of our Party toward the realization of its final goal. There may be issues within our Party upon which there can be a wide division of opinion — upon the question of *The Daily Worker* there cannot be any legitimate opposition.

Our enemies fear the coming of our English daily for they nicely estimate its potential power and influence. Their fear is matched by the joy of our friends at the prospects of a working class daily. Once published the success of *The Daily Worker* is assured.

The decision of the Central Executive Committee of our Party to publish *The Daily Worker* is the crowning act in a series of realistic and Communist actions during their term of office.

The *Daily Worker* Campaign Committee appeals to the 3rd National Convention of the Workers Party of America and through it to the Party for united effort to build up the circulation of *The Daily Worker* and to establish it in the hearts of the working class of America.

LONG LIVE THE WORKERS PARTY AND ITS ORGAN, *THE DAILY WORKER!*

## Financial Statement, *Daily Worker* Campaign Committee.

Statement of cash receipts and expenditures  
from Aug. 28 to Dec. 22, 1923.

### Cash Receipts.

Paid applications for Preferred Stock	
a. Full payments	\$ 50,808.75
b. Partial payments	187.00
c. Finnish Federation	9,821.91
<i>Sub-Total</i>	<i>\$ 60,817.66</i>
Cash donations:	
General Donations	\$ 7,701.06
Special Lists	326.36
Liberator Lists	57.00
Worker Lists	122.30
<i>Sub-Total</i>	<i>\$ 8,206.72</i>
Miscellaneous Receipts:	
Stock Sales & Donations (unclassified)	\$ 1,223.31
Pennants Sales	1,164.23
Nov. 7th Subs. to Daily Worker	64.85
Interest on Bank Deposits	20.38
<i>Sub-Total</i>	<i>\$ 2,472.77</i>
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<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>\$ 71,497.15</i>

### Cash Expenditures.

Advertising:	
Campaign Headquarters	\$ 812.00
For Party Units	263.60
<i>Sub-Total</i>	<i>\$ 1,075.60</i>
Printing:	
Miniature <i>Daily Worker</i>	\$ 324.38
Soliciting Purposes	1,372.87
<i>Sub-Total</i>	<i>\$ 1,697.25</i>
General Office Expenses:	
Stationery, Supplies & Equipment	\$ 278.53
Rent of National Office Space	60.00
Postage and Forwarding	561.81
	(continued)

Telegrams and Telephone	34.85		<b>[Cash Balance.]</b>
Speakers' Traveling Expenses	1,133.48		
<b>Sub-Total</b>	<b>\$ 2,068.67</b>	Cash in Special Fund	\$ 25,000.00
Wages:		Cash Held by Finnish Fed. a/c Shares	9,821.91
Administration	\$ 1,426.50	Cash in Bank	27,406.83
Publicity	576.23	Petty Cash	20.00
<b>Sub-Total</b>	<b>\$ 2,002.73</b>	<b>Sub-Total</b>	<b>\$ 62,248.74</b>
Funds Advanced:		<i>(Less accounts payable)</i>	<i>( \$ 690.54)</i>
Advance to Daily Worker Pub. Co.	\$ 2,333.85	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$ 61,558.20</b>
<b>Sub-Total</b>	<b>\$ 2,333.85</b>		<b>=====</b>
Miscellaneous Expenditures:			<b>\$ 71,497.15</b>
Pennants	\$ 750.00		
Exchange on Checks	6.85		
<b>Sub-Total</b>	<b>\$ 756.85</b>		
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$ 9,938.95 †</b>		

Fraternally submitted,

*Daily Worker Campaign Committee,*  
*John J. Ballam, Manager. †*

†- Mathematical error of \$4.00 in published version; sum of listed expenditures should be \$9,934.95.

‡- The Comintern subsidy for the launch of *The Daily Worker*, predicated upon the American party first demonstrating the long-term viability of the publication by raising substantial funds of its own, was to be \$25,000. It is likely that this subsidy was hidden in Ballam's report in the published "full payments for stock" receipts line, offset with the line called "cash in special fund." The exact correspondence of the intentionally ambiguous (and thus obvious) "cash in special fund" figure with the amount of the scheduled CI subsidy would seem to indicate the correctness of this theory. If this supposition is correct, it would in turn mean that the vaunted "\$100,000 *Daily Worker* Campaign" actually netted **\$38,892.05** rather than the \$63,892.05 as stated in the 2nd footnote on page 3 above.

It would seem there was a grim theoretical nature to the cash actually on hand cited in Ballam's report for the ensuing launch of *The Daily Worker*. This tenuous situation was emphasized by a Jan. 10, 1924 coded cable from Executive Secretary C.E. Ruthenberg to the Comintern, in which Ruthenberg pleaded: "Request appropriation for WP 1924, *Daily Worker* — twenty-five thousand dollars. This amount we understood was appropriated for 1923 and we included it in our publishing fund. It is important that we receive it quickly if daily is to live." [Comintern Archive, RGASPI f. 515, op. 1, d. 297, l. 13 — available as a downloadable pdf from [www.marxisthistory.org](http://www.marxisthistory.org); full WPA subsidy sought for 1924 was \$64,000.] The proverbial bottom line was that the WPA actually had a bit over \$27,400 in the bank to the account of the *Daily Worker* project (assuming that those funds had not been diverted to other more immediate needs), with \$690 of bills remaining to be paid and about \$35,000 worth of unbankable promises from the WPA's Finnish Federation and the Comintern.

The possibility that the Comintern subsidy was included in a broader organizational budget can not be fully discounted, but it seems altogether likely that the above theory is correct.

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