
Minutes of the Central Executive Committee, WPA: Chicago, IL — January 3, 1924.

A document in the Comintern Archive, f. 515, op. 1, d. 276, ll. 1-3.

Present — All members of the Committee.†
Comrade Lore was elected chairman.

Following order of business was adopted: 1. Organization of the Committees; 2. Campaign for Protection of the Foreign Born Workers; 3. Conference for Progressive Political Action.

Organization of the Committees.

The following officers and committees were elected:

Executive Secretary — C.E. Ruthenberg
Chairman — J.P. Cannon
Political Committee — Ruthenberg, Pepper, Foster, Cannon, Lovestone, Dunne, and Browder.
Organization Committee — Ruthenberg, Cannon, Pepper, Abern, Foster.
Secretariat — Ruthenberg, Pepper, Cannon.

Motion: That the full CEC meet not less than once a month.

Amendment: That the Committee meet not less than once each six weeks.

Amendment *lost*; Motion *carried*.

Motion: That the Chicago members of the Committee act as an Executive Council between the meetings of the full Committee.

Motion carried.

Motion: That the CEC meet the first Monday of each month provided that the Political Committee may change the date of the meeting if emergency makes it necessary.

Motion carried.

Motion: That the Executive Secretary be empowered to call special meetings when necessary.

Motion carried.

Motion: That Comrade Engdahl represent the CEC in the National Executive Committee of the YWL.

Motion carried.

Motion: That copies of the minutes of the Political and Organization Committees and of the Executive Council be sent to the out-of-town members of the Committee.

Motion carried.

CI Congress.

Motion: That we proceed to elect delegates to the CI Congress.

Amendment: That we send 10 delegates.

Amendment 2: That we send 5 delegates.

Amendment 3: That we send 7 delegates.

Amendment 4: That we send 4 leading Party delegates and 3 from the trade union section.

Amendment 5: That [Charles E.] Scott and [Is-

†- The Central Executive Committee elected by the Third Convention of the Workers Party of America (Dec. 30, 1923 to Jan. 2, 1924) included: Alexander Bittelman*, Earl Browder*, Fahle Burman*, James P. Cannon*, William F. Dunne*, J. Louis Engdahl, William Z. Foster*, Benjamin Gitlow, Ludwig Lore, Jay Lovestone, John Pepper, C.E. Ruthenberg, and Martin Abern* as representative of the Young Workers League. This composition assured majority control of the CEC moving from the Pepper-Ruthenberg (New York) faction to the Foster-Cannon (Chicago) faction, denoted with an asterisk here. *Volkszeitung* editor Ludwig Lore was additionally in alliance with the Foster group.

rael] Amter be part of the delegation.

Substitute: That we send 10 delegates to include Comrades Scott and Amter, 4 from the Party, 1 from the YWL, and 3 from the TUEL. *Carried.*

Following were elected: Pepper, Ruthenberg, Foster, Lore, [John] Williamson [YWL], Tim Buck [TUEL], Kucher [TUEL], [Charles] Krumbein [TUEL].

The following substitutes were elected: Lovestone, Browder, Trachtenberg, and Burkhard.

Executive Committee of the CI.

Motion: That we proceed to designate the members from our Party of the Executive Committee of the CI.

Comrade Ruthenberg elected as representative of the EC of the CI.

Comrade Cannon elected as alternate.

Motion carried.

Motion: That we take up the question of permanent representation in Moscow.

Comrade Pepper nominated himself.

Comrade Amter nominated.

Comrade Pepper received two votes and Comrade Amter nine votes.

Motion carried.

Motion: That Comrade Scott remain as the representative of the TUEL in the Profintern.

Motion carried.

Foreign Born Protection.

Comrade Ruthenberg outlined the proposed campaign as follows:

1. All language branches in the large cities are to immediately initiate a United Front movement and draw all the organizations of their language groups into a United Front organization.

2. These language sections shall send delegates to local councils for Protection of the Foreign Born to which the trade unions and English organizations shall also be invited to send delegates. These local councils to carry on a campaign of mass meetings and literature against the exception laws.

3. That the Party issue a manifesto on the question of the Protection of the Foreign Born.

4. That the local councils issue a manifesto on the question of the Foreign Born.

5. That we attempt to form a National Committee to organize a National Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.

6. That the Federations be informed as to this plan and urged to cooperate in carrying it out and that meetings of the editors in Chicago and New York be held to familiarize them with the proposed plan.

Motion: 1. That the Political Committee define the attitude of the Party on the matter of immigration and the other exception laws, before the campaign begins.

2. That the Political Committee be instructed to adopt a position in support of free immigration.

3. That regular conferences of the Party editors in New York be held and of the CEC members in New York participating in the conference.

4. That the plan of organization of the campaign outlined by the Executive Secretary be endorsed.

Motion carried.

Conference for Progressive Political Action.

The Executive Secretary outlined the cities in which it would be possible to elect delegates to the Conference for Progressive Political Action, to be held in St. Louis beginning February 12 [1924], showing that about 25 delegates could be sent to this conference by the Party.

Motion: That we send delegates to the Conference for Progressive Political Action and make the fight for endorsement in the May 30th Conference. If McAdoo or any other capitalist candidate is endorsed by the Conference, we shall split and issue a statement on our position. The question of the method of the split shall be decided according to our strength in this conference.

That the Political Committee be instructed to take up the question of the presidential candidate the Party will support.

That the Political Committee be charged with

developing the general strategy of the Party in the conference.

Motion carried.

Minnesota Situation.

Comrades [Clarence] Hathaway and [Norman] Tallentire appeared before the Committee and submitted a report in regard to the Farmer-Labor situation in Minnesota, emphasizing the need of an organization committee to work among the farmers in order to build up strength against the petty bourgeois wing in the State Conference February 11, and requested an appropriation of \$1,000 for this work with the understanding that Comrade Hathaway be sent into the field. After discussion of the question *the following motions were adopted:*

1. That Comrade Hathaway be sent into the field as an organizer among the farmers and that we appropriate \$500 in support of his work.

2. That we issue a leaflet on the situation in Minnesota in which we shall demand a campaign against Shipstead and Johnson on the basis of their opposition to the May 30th convention.

3. That we shall endeavor to secure as many delegates as possible to the February 11 State Conference.

4. That we shall conduct an independent campaign in Minnesota building up an independent power while maintaining our alliance with [William] Ma-

honey.

5. That we shall arrange to have letters endorsing the May 30th Convention and the invitation to the Federated and the WP sent to Mahoney.

Convention Pamphlet.

Motion: That the documents of the National Convention be printed in pamphlet form and that the pamphlet include both resolutions on the Chicago situation.†

Motion carried.

Third Party Policy.

Comrade Ruthenberg raised the question of the method of submission of the Third Party issue to the CI and after discussion *the following motion was adopted:*

That a thesis presenting the position of each group be prepared and submitted at the next meeting of the CEC and that this thesis then be submitted to the Executive Committee of the CI with the request that action be withheld until our delegates arrive.

Meeting then adjourned.

[C.E. Ruthenberg]
Executive Secretary.

†- Published as *The Second Year of the Workers Party of America: Report of the Central Executive Committee to the Third National Convention: held in Chicago, Illinois, Dec. 30, 31, 1923, and Jan. 1, 2, 1924: Theses, Program, Resolutions.* (Chicago: Literature Department, Workers Party of America, [1924]). Reference to the "Chicago situation" relates to the bitter dispute between the Pepper-Ruthenberg and Foster-Cannon factions over the behavior of the Chicago WPA organization with regard to the defection of Fitzpatrick's Chicago Federation of Labor from the Farmer-Labor Party movement.

Edited with footnotes by Tim Davenport.

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