

**CPA Condensed Cash Statement, Feb. to May 1921, Including Federations,
But Not Including Payments to and from the National Office and the Federations:
Presented to the Joint Unity Convention, Woodstock, NY — May 15, 1921.**

A document in the Comintern Archive, f. 515, op. 1, d. 50, l. 71.

Cash Received.

	<i>Sundry</i>	<i>Dues</i>	<i>Initiation Fees</i>	<i>Contributions</i>	<i>Literature</i> †	<i>Miscellaneous</i>	<i>Totals</i>
N.O. [National Office]	\$19,500.00 ‡	\$ 292.50	\$ 702.00	\$3,468.08	\$ 4,078.69	\$ 31.40	\$ 28,072.77
Jewish Federation		415.80		864.15	1,418.29	150.00	2,848.24
Lettish [Latvian] Federat.		1,361.00		114.75	2,330.00		3,805.75
Lithuanian Federation		4,686.70		728.04	30,749.55		36,164.39
Polish Federation		643.55		842.18	30,313.70	473.45	32,272.88
Russian Federation		2,717.25		1,164.25	4,442.32	126.05	8,449.87
Ukrianian Federation		1,804.50		136.50	18,893.27		20,834.27
*** TOTALS ***	\$ 19,500.00	\$ 11,921.50	\$ 702.00	\$ 7,317.95	\$ 92,225.82	\$780.90	\$132,448.17

Cash Paid.

	<i>Central Salary</i>	<i>District Organizer</i>	<i>Special Organization</i>	<i>Defense</i>	<i>Literature</i> †	<i>Loans & Accounts</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Totals</i>
N.O. [National Office]	\$ 3,617.64	\$ 8,114.93	\$ 4,239.48	\$ 1,152.18	\$ 12,324.94	\$ 3,359.10	\$ 2,755.97	\$ 35,564.24
Jewish Federation	334.95				2,643.18	420.00		3,398.13
[Latvian] Federation	159.39		417.92		3,010.50			3,587.81
Lithuanian Federation	1,567.46	702.08			26,539.68			28,809.22
Polish Federation	382.90		494.64		30,776.30			31,653.84
Russian Federation	1,352.42		1,477.93		4,307.23	330.40		7,467.98
Ukrianian Federation	846.17	280.50	470.52		22,246.01		57.00	23,900.20
*** TOTALS ***	\$ 8,260.93	\$ 9,097.51	\$ 7,100.49	\$ 1,152.18	\$101,847.84	\$ 4,109.50	\$ 2,812.97	\$134,381.42

†- Literature is noted in the document "to include leaflets and legal & illegal pamphlets." ‡- "Special Organization Fund" — interpreted by the Editor as a Comintern subsidy.

Assets [and Liabilities].

	<i>Cash</i>	<i>Loans & Accounts</i>	<i>Real Estate</i>	<i>Equipment †</i>	<i>Stock ‡</i>	<i>Total Assets</i>	<i>Liabilities</i>	<i>Net Assets.</i>
N.O. [National Office]	\$ 2,319.56	\$ 2,859.48 §		\$ 1,296.50	\$ 5,000.00	\$ 11,475.54	\$ 3,127.63	\$ 8,347.91
Jewish Federation	61.26	600.00		300.00	150.00	1,111.26	1,610.20	(498.94)
[Latvian] Federation	690.07	1,500.00		12,000.00	2,700.00	16,890.07		16,890.07
Lithuanian Federation	6,277.64		9,000.00	20,000.00	3,500.00	38,777.64	7,500.00	31,277.64
Polish Federation	3,386.56		18,000.00	23,000.00	2,000.00	46,386.56	7,000.00	39,386.56
Russian Federation	2,920.49		5,000.00	10,000.00	5,000.00	22,920.49	2,250.00	20,670.49
Ukrainian Federation	8,155.79			12,000.00	31,000.00	51,155.79	410.00	50,745.79
*** TOTALS ***	\$23,811.37	\$ 4,959.48	\$32,000.00	\$77,596.50	\$49,350.00	\$188,717.35	\$21,897.83	\$166,819.52

“C. Dobin” [Charles Dirba],
Executive Secretary — CP of A.

†- “Includes <illeg.> & printing plant altogether.” [notation on original document.]

‡- Stock refers not to shares of public stock owned, but rather to inventories of raw materials and finished products produced by party printing plants as well as publications produced by others and other physical assets not included in other categories.

§- “Leaving out D. Damon [C.E. Ruthenberg] Account.” [notation on original document.] When C.E. Ruthenberg and his faction departed the old CPA in April of 1920, he absconded with \$7,095.16 in the party treasury, spending some of it during a short independent organizational existence and taking the balance with him to the United Communist Party in May of 1920, when his faction merged with the Communist Labor Party. Throughout the remainder of its history, up to this merger document, the old CPA continued to record these funds on its books as an “account collectible” from Ruthenberg, — dubious though the chance of collection was.

Additional Note: This is a very esoteric budget document, but specialists in the history of the early American Communist movement will probably immediately recognize its import. For me, at least, this document has led to a fundamental rethinking about the nature of the old CPA, for it shows that the organization truly was a “federation of federations.” Five of the old CPA’s 6 Language Federations possessed assets at least twice the size of the National Office of the organization. The same 5 possessed printing plant in excess of the National Office. Three of them retained substantial real estate holdings. Three of them spent more money than the National Office on literature production, and a fourth spent approximately the same amount as the National Office. These were clearly fully functioning political organizations in their own right, not tiny social groups of members speaking a common language. It is little wonder that the “Federation Issue” stood so large on the landscape as the primary issue impeding merger efforts between the UCP and the old CPA for so long and fueling the Central Caucus split that erupted in late November of 1921.

Edited with footnotes by Tim Davenport.

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