
Circular Letter to All Districts and Federations from John Ballam, Secretary of Central Caucus, Summarizing the Results of Meeting of Oct. 24-25, 1921.

Document in Comintern Archive, RGASPI, f. 515, op. 1, d. 60, l. 8.

From N.O. [National Office] Central Caucus to All Districts and Federations.

Comrades: Special meeting of Central Caucus was held October 24 and 25 at which whole policy was discussed and determined. Russian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Lettish [Latvian], Jewish, Polish Federations and representatives with definite instructions. Caucus leaders from Districts 1 [Boston], 2 [New York], 3 [Philadelphia], 4 [Cleveland], 5 [Chicago], 6 [Detroit], 10 [Buffalo], and 11 [Pittsburgh] were represented and came with definite instructions from district caucuses.

The basis of discussion was a statement and appeal to the Comintern to be signed by the 3 CEC members [Dirba, Ashkenazi, Ballam] on question of immediate formation of LPP [Legal Political Party], and against policies of CEC majority, to be published in US and sent to Comintern.

The question to be decided by Central Caucus was: the form, character, and extent of our opposition to CEC policies in US, and its effect upon our standing with, and relation to, the Comintern.

Reports of Federations and District Caucuses. (in condensed form)

Jewish: Approved statement as basis. No action to be taken which would give valid reason for expulsion from CPA and exclusion from Comintern.

Lettish [Latvian]: Statement not strong enough in criticism of CEC and too apologetic; but acceptable as basis for appeal to Comintern.

Polish: Absolutely opposed to LPP in any form.

Want to split away from party on this issue regardless of consequences or action by CI.

Lithuanian: Cannot oppose Comintern on question of LPP but absolutely against form proposed by CEC. No action to be taken which would give reason for being thrown out of Comintern.

Ukrainian: Solidly against any plan for LPP or any legal political organization. Against accepting statement as basis for appeal to CI.

Russian: Accept statement appealing to CI. Against any action which would cause us to be thrown out of Comintern.

District Caucuses.

Dist. 1 [Boston]: Opposed to any independent form of LPP. Want legal political organization to carry on elections, mass meetings, defense, etc.

Dist. 2 [New York]: Accept statement to 3rd [International] as correct position for tactics in opposing CEC and toward Comintern.

Dist. 3 [Philadelphia]: While solidly opposed to LPP cannot openly attack Comintern. Will support modified form of legal political organization. Statement to 3rd [International] can be accepted with certain changes and additions.

Dist. 4 [Cleveland]: Statement to 3rd [International] correct position. Opposed to sending any statement to Comintern which will oppose LPP in principle. Want stronger opposition to policies of CEC, and solidly opposed to plan of CEC on LPP.

Dist. 5 [Chicago]: Solidly opposed to organizing LPP at present time in any form.

Dist. 6 [Detroit]: Unanimously opposed to any kind of LPP. Want opposition to LPP to be made basis of policy regardless of consequences or attitude of CI.

Dist. 10 [Buffalo]: Want action on LPP deferred until after party convention. Opposed to any action which would lead to expulsion from CI. (Buffalo-)

Dist. 11 (Pittsburgh): Against formation of LPP, but because of attitude of CI on this question, opposed to leading split on this issue. Want to adopt tactics allowing us to fight within CI.

After lengthy discussion the statement was taken up seriatim and after many amendments was adopted. This appeal and statement to the EC of the CI will be signed by our 3 members of the CEC [Dirba, Ashkenuzi, Ballam] and printed and sent out to the entire membership.

The CEC has sent out resolution denouncing "Statement No. 1" to all groups with instructions for them to adopt it. The tactics should be (1) the group or branch to demand copy of Statement No. 1 from CEC so as to know what they are voting on, and (2) to demand from the CEC reason why 3 members of the CEC refused to sign resolution.

Comrades holding funds for Friends of Soviet Russia famine relief should turn them in. We have no right to withhold money collected for our starving

Russian brothers. Where our comrades have opportunity to go to meetings together with other side they should attend even if they only get a chance to ask questions. On all elective officials such as branch or section organizers in case of removal by higher body our branches should not recognize any branch or section organizer appointed by higher body. Constitution gives right to ELECT branch and section organizers.

Action is about to be taken by Central Caucus and by 3 members of CEC [Dirba, Ashkenuzi, Ballam] on the whole question of LPP and against centrists and opportunists in party. The crisis in the affairs in the party will come in less than 2 weeks. Need every effort NOW to organize all our forces. Prepare for action.

To All District Caucus Leaders: Send in list of affiliations, branches, sections, etc. that are with us. Send in a list containing estimate of membership that we can depend upon in a crisis. You have about 2 weeks in which to complete organization. GET BUSY. Keep us informed of developments in your district. Slogan to membership: "NO LIQUIDATION OF UNDERGROUND!"

*X.S. [John Ballam],
Secretary, Central Caucus.*

Edited by Tim Davenport.

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