
Testimony to the Executive Committee of the Communist International, March 18, 1922.

by John J. Ballam

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(March 18th, 1922)

Executive Meeting.

Comrade Moore.

Before you vote I want to make this project [report?] and I believe it will be the last one that we will make.

I represent 5,000 comrades who have not split away from the Communist Party, 5,000 comrades who have been disconnected from the Communist Party and who organize because they were disconnected. I am telling you, comrades, that I cannot subscribe to the findings of the Commission. I will not go back to the United States and carry them out. I say that emphatically. I would not be admitted upon the basis of these proposals to any branch of the party I represent. No member you may send from the Communist International would be admitted to the branches of the party I represent upon a proposal that we should again put our necks under the heel of our opponents. You say that you cannot carry on the negotiations any longer, and that unless these proposals are accepted we are outside of the Communist International. We do not believe that the time is opportune to organize a legal party in the United States. We are willing, however, not as a matter of principle, but as a matter of experience. It is not expedient to organize a legal party in the United States without having had some oppor-

tunity for a campaign of preparation amongst the proletarian masses for the organization of such a party. We are not opposed in principle. Since the Comintern thinks it must be organized, I might say we are willing to carry out the work, provided that the Communist Party of America shall not be liquidated in the process of organizing the Workers Party. The Communist Party is now being liquidated — this portion of it that Comrade Carr [Ludwig Katterfeld] represents. He represents the minority: i represent the majority. You may smile at that statement, but you will discover that it is true.

The Executive Committee seems to be determined that we must go back without guarantees as to our membership rights, that I must go back and insist on the waiving of these rights. I will not do so. We will not join the Fourth International. We will not join the Second International, nor the Two-and-a-Half International. We will stay outside the Communist International, if we must, and we will fight, but within one year the Communist International will recognize the Communist Party of America that I represent, or they will recognize nobody. The Workers Party, as at present led, will not last one year. Its divergent elements pulling against each other in all directions will split it in pieces without any assistance from us.

I can assure you that the 5,000 members I represent will fight the Workers Party, and try to kill it if we can.

Edited by Tim Davenport.

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