
Circular Letter to All Members of the Latvian Federation of the CPA from Central Committee Member “Zehkali,” circa May 1, 1920.

A mimeographed document in the Hoover Institution Archives, Jay Lovestone Papers, box 224, folder 15.

To All Members of the Lettish Federation:—

In the life of an organization, as in a social system, happens many kinds of upheavals, demanding explanations and adjustments. All the life of our organization from the very beginning has been stormy and full of struggle; from the first conference of last year to this day. The left struggle for communism; after that we had to repel all attacks from the “centrists” on one side, and “rights” on the other, in order to build up a communist organization. It was accomplished with unanimity. The organization was built up, principles were declared and brought to the notice of all the working class of America. No one will deny this. Tactics were formulated. Hardly had this been accomplished when there came an attack from the enemy — the capitalist system. Several thousand members of the party were arrested and party activity paralyzed. The organization had to look for new ways to carry on the work it had undertaken. The means were found. The work begun is continued. But the organization finds itself under conditions where all of its activities are not to be seen or approached by all the members, where all depends upon the group representatives, and the members very often receive only the one-sided conclusions of the said representatives, who are not responsible directly to the members but to their higher officials. There we also see that our “centrists” lift their heads and out of their mouths

we hear:

“The Federations do not stand for a unified American movement, but only for clearness in theory.” (Ruthenberg in Boston, April 21, 1920.)

At the same time we see articles in the *New York Call* voicing the same opinions and further talk that “the Communists and the Socialist Party must unite, for nothing separates them and it is demanded by our forthcoming struggle.”

About the same theme writes *The Toiler*, organ of the Communist Labor Party: “In many states the political candidates are nominated in primaries. We must participate in these primaries and we must nominate communists on the Socialist Party ticket.”

These quotations speak in plain language after what our “ex-centrists” and “me-too communists” are striving — no further commentaries are needed. They (“ex-centrists” or “me-too communists”) see opportunity and know how to use it in the new form of our organization and for that reason they say: “down with theoretical clearness, more practical work and unity with social-patriots” — splitting our organization, taking its treasury, and fooling its members with phrases about unity and one big movement.

Comrades! To communists unity can only be with those who recognized communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the soviet form of government as the indispensable future social system. It is not enough only to point at the mani-

festos issued by the Third International at Moscow, it is not enough to point at the decisions of the Third International. The genuine communist must realize these principles. For that reason they call down the “centrists and pseudo-communists.” They, not only in Germany and elsewhere have been the traitors of communism, but they also show themselves in America. They play at present, and will play in the future, the traitor’s role always when the parting moment arrives — the revolution.

The Third International calls for unity not only in name but also in deeds, and only with those who break all connections with the Second International and the social-patriots.

Comrades! Tear off the mask of those who come to you in the name of unity but who themselves split your organization, using the present moment to realize their traitorous aims.

They take the party’s treasury and paralyze your activities. Down with traitors! Prove once more that you have power which no counterrevolutionaries can break. Prove that the banner you raised 9 months ago stands high and that no machinations can pull it down...

LONG LIVE THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL and the COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

Zehkali [=???] (C.C.)

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