

Throughout the World of Labor

The Stalinization of the Mexican Party

The Communist Party of Mexico is no exception to the general crisis in the Comintern. For many years it was but a very small organization with little ideological foundation and an extremely weak organization. Due to the general development of the petty bourgeois and agrarian revolution, the party from the time of its foundation was permeated with more of a peasant's than worker's ideology, and its press always had a greater circulation among the peasantry than in the industrial centers. It was common in those times to hear members of the party Central Committee state that the Mexican Revolution and the Russian Revolution were almost the same thing. The party comrades were always the first to applaud the liberal petty bourgeois measures of the "Leftists" in the government, giving to these elements an almost unconditional support. Almost all of the party's work among the masses was done under some disguise or another, and party candidates never took part in elections although numerous party members occupied government posts as "agrarians", "laborites", "anti-clericals", etc.

At the time of the Sixth World Congress, the third period was discovered, and immediately the party right-about turned and loped off at the double quick. All of the reforms instituted by the government of the petty-bourgeoisie, which had until then been considered revolutionary gains, were now denounced as counter-revolutionary. The sell-out of the government to American Imperialism, meant that the bourgeoisie had "betrayed" the revolution, and it became a crime over-night for any party member to even sustain personal relations with anyone at all in the government, with which the party had so recently collaborated. It became then the chief earthly desire of every member, to see how often he could be arrested. Even the Mexican section of the I. L. D. converted itself into a simple instrument for attacking the government, driving itself into illegality before the party.

The party press, taking advantage of the objective revolutionary situation created by the bourgeoisie's capitulation to imperialism and the struggle between the government and reaction, announced that the proletarian revolution was at hand. The masses were called upon to seize the factories and the land; all power was demanded for the soviets (there were no soviets, and the party did not give instructions as to their organization—but these are only "details"). Many of us, intoxicated by the excitement of the moment, impressed by the unrest among the peasantry, and over-estimating the strength of the party, did not take into account the fact that there was not a single local of the party or Y.C.L. that was not in disorganization at the time. Fortunately for the Mexican workers and peasants, the C. C. talked and shouted until what was considered the moment for action had passed by. The government of the bourgeoisie, aided by Wall Street, managed to hold its seat and since then has dedicated its attention to the consolidation of its power.

The Communist Party, which due to its romanticism had already slackened up its fundamental work among the masses in order to dream of insurrections, now found itself deserted by the masses that formerly had looked to it for leadership.

Then the expulsions began. First came the agrarian leaders of the National Peasants League who are mostly elements that never should have been admitted into a Communist Party, because of the petty-bourgeois class interests that they represent. Shortly after, with the arrival of two "Third Period experts" in the form of the C. I. and Y. C. I. representatives, the true Stalinization of the organization began. Tendencies and deviations were discovered in the most unlooked for places, and where they were not discovered they were invented. Two ex-Right wingers that came as reps had to make themselves shine in Moscow. The political guillotine commenced to function with extraordinary regularity and precision cutting both to the right and to the left. Almost a dozen C. C. and ex-C. C. members of the party and many others have been expelled since last Sep-

tember. The last victim was Jose Gallardo, General Secretary of the Y. C. L. who was sacrificed last week because his report given in Moscow, where he attended the plenum of the E. C. Y. C. I., concerning the organizational strength of the Mexican party did not agree with the report rendered by the C. I. representative in Mexico.

Together with the "cleaning of the ranks" on the part of the C. C. has come an intensified repression on the part of the government. At a moment when the party's influence among the industrial workers is zero, and its influence over the peasantry has dropped more than sixty percent, the Y. C. I. representative together with S., the party C. C. Representative in the C.C.Y.C.L. "discovered" that anti-militarist work was not being carried on in Mexico. Half a dozen circulars were sent out demanding an eight hour day for the soldiers and calling on them to form regimental committees, and to send their officers to Hell. This was done in an abstract manner and without any relationship to movements among the proletarian masses. The concrete result was a general repression on the part of the government against the Y.C.L. organizations of the eight largest centers, including the imprisonment of most of the C. E. C. of the Y. C. L.; disorganization of all national youth work and also all youth work in the capital. Ten foreign comrades were expelled from the country and five natives have been interned in the penal colony of the Islas Marias. During these recent repressions, the "bolshvized" party has not been able to carry out a single real mass protest. It is also of interest to note that the valiant M., the Y. C. I. Representative, found that this was the best time to leave the country, which he did without even notifying the C.E.C.s of the Party or the League. For six weeks now the Mexican Y. C. L., which a short while ago was stronger than the party, has been unable to budge. Even its funds have been confiscated by the C. E. C. of the party. Money is scarce and the bureaucrats must eat.

This is, briefly, the situation existing today in the Mexican Communist movement. Since the beginning of the "third period", with the "radicalization of the masses," the Mexican party has lost eighty percent of its membership, most of its mass influence and contacts, and its weekly organ "El Machete". It is now almost completely "bolshvized". With a few score more members that get disgusted or are thrown out, it will be completely so.

The task of the Communist Opposition, of recent formation and still in its infancy organizationally and politically, consists in saving what is left of the party and Y. C. L. organization, regenerating the movement along true Bolshevik-Leninist lines. The saner elements of the party and youth realize this, and by one means or another we shall manage to build up in Mexico a real Communist Party, capable of leading the proletariat in its struggles.

Mexico City, February 8, 1930

ROSALIO NEGRETE

Mondism and Unemployment Grow in England

While MacDonald pursues his "world policy of disarmament and peace", like a great spectacle and with loud accompaniment, the trade union leaders are more discreetly pursuing their policy of class collaboration, the effects of which will be unfortunately more tangible and lasting: they are plunging more and more deeply into "Mondism".

Lord Melchett (formerly Sir Alfred Mond) is of course no negligible power by himself: he runs the imperial trust of chemical products whose domain increases without end. Still, his influence covers one industry. The big employers' organizations, which embrace most of the other industries invited by him to participate in the negotiations, begun upon his initiative, with the trade union leaders, have replied negatively. Not that they have not understood their interest in assuring conditions of a permanent social peace by the treason of the trade union leaders. They want to deal directly with them and disdain the good offices of Sir Alfred Mond. And that is what they are just about to do.

Preparatory meetings have been held in which there participated delegates of the national confederation of the employers' or-

ganizations, the Federation of British Industries, and delegates from the General Council of the Trade Unions. Towards the end of last December, a plan of consultation and cooperation was unanimously adopted, which established permanent and cordial relations between the representatives of the employers and the workers. "This in itself is something new", observed the Times. And it saw a striking proof of the change of mind that has taken place on the side of the workers in the fact that the resolution was proposed and defended by A. J. Cook himself, seconded by a representative of the confederation and a representative of the employers' Federation.

The organ of The City is entirely correct. But this new state of mind prevails primarily in the upper circles. The workers offer no resistance. They have not yet been able to overcome the demoralization engendered by the great defeats of 1926 and there is nobody and no organization to help them recover, for the Communist Party has been unable to gain their confidence; it has been unable to keep the thousands of workers who have flowed into its ranks.

In the meantime, the conditions of life of the workers remain difficult; they have not been improved under the Labour government; they have grown worse. Various corporations have imposed reductions in wages and unemployment has continued to grow. Here are the figures, from 1924 to 1929, on the date of December 16, for each of the years:

19241,158,000
19251,102,400
19261,309,700
19271,100,000
19281,271,000
19291,303,600

The bourgeoisie has no recognition for the men who betray their class in order to serve it. With the bankruptcy of the Labour government in this field before it, it overwhelmed with sarcasm the man who, in the ministry, is in charge of unemployment, J.H. Thomas forgetting the services that he has rendered it in the past. It is known that Thomas at first undertook an unsuccessful voyage to Canada to dispose there of the unemployed and coal at the same time. Today, he looks for the remedy in England itself. In the speech he has just made at Manchester, he denounced the chaos that still prevails in the principal British industries and declared that the rationalization of these industries must be undertaken methodically. He promised the industrialists the financial aid of the City. Towards this end, the Bank of England has created a private company called "Industrial Securities Management, Ltd.", the province of which is the establishment and examination of projects for rationalization and the contribution of financial aid to realize them.

This may yield results, for in the realm of rationalization, England is still very backward, even though fusions of concerns are frequently announced. It is hoped that in this way England will be in a position to fight under better conditions on the market and will be able to regain its lost outlets. That is possible. But on the other hand, rationalization has everywhere the effect of appreciably reducing the workers employed so that in the final analysis, there is no sign that these measures, assuming that they are seriously applied, can produce the remedy sought for unemployment.

On the other hand, the "financial aid of The City" signifies that the reorganization of industry will take place under the direction of the Bank of England, outside of all "meddling" from the State. It actually means full power ceded to the Bank in a field of capital importance. Thomas has spoken of a "new epoch", in which order is being substituted for chaos. But in the New Leader, Brailford observes that "the most singular feature of this 'new epoch' lies in the fact that it is a Labour ministry—which it opponents call socialist—that is opening it." He remarks that the initiative did not proceed from Thomas himself, but from the financial powers whose instrument he is, and he recalls that the Liberal project for reorganizing industry did not abdicate quite so completely to the Bank, for it confided the direction of this substantial enterprise to a "council of national development" and thus approached the project elaborated by the Labour party before the formation of a Labour cabinet. London, January 28 1930 —S. D.

After the French Socialist Congress

The socialist party in being disturbed a bit about the problem of participation (in a bourgeois cabinet—Ed.). Formally, it is a question of knowing if the socialist party can participate from now on in a cartel ministry. In other words: can the socialist party exercise capitalist power under such conditions that it will not even be able to realize its minimum program?

This problem is not peculiar to the French section of the Socialist International alone; it is raised for the whole international social democracy. Furthermore, the reply given to this question has already been given in the attitude of the principal parties of the Second International which are exercising capitalist power. The German social democracy is ruling for the German bourgeoisie. English Labourism rules for the king and the English bourgeoisie. Both display all their duplicity in order to enable capitalism to pass through a difficult stage, and by trying to bind the working class to bourgeois interests, to show the workers that their interests lie in class collaboration and the "re-establishment" of capitalism. It is certain that the French socialists are destined to play the same role. But their relative weakness, their insufficient roots in the working masses, have prevented them up to now from playing this role in the government, as they already play it in all countries, in economic conflicts, in municipalities, in the Chambers, etc. The problem of participation has already been partially resolved in practice.

The real fear of workers' discontent and of the Communist Party also exists for many, in the attempt at a legal "opposition" that the socialist Left is making in the North and Center.

At the Sunday Congress, the socialists discussed it in a very academic manner which reflected their numerous internal and external contradictions. The Right wing, led by Boncour and Renaudel, wanted the party to admit immediately the necessity and direct possibility of sharing power with the other parties of the "democracy", that is, with the Radical party. The "Centrists", like Leon Blum and Auriol, as well as the "Left" of Paul Faure and Zyromski, acknowledge the same possibility. But they want to choose the moment when to translate it into facts, and for that the present legislature does not seem to them so favorable. In 1932 we will see. The latter carried by a strong majority. But the contradiction will not continue to exist any the less between the quite radical petty bourgeois wing of the party and the workers' sections which the "Left" still retains.

This Left thinks that at the next elections, the socialist party will show such progress that it alone will be able to direct the "democracy" and that it will be able to assume power with an authority that it has not yet today. The Temps is of the same opinion. It calls this congress ironically: a revolutionary congress. That is to indicate that if it really wants to become a governing party, even in coalition, the socialist party must extend its clientele and also lose its "revolutionary" character, that is, quite simply to abandon its "Marxist" label which no longer corresponds to anything and can only embarrass it.

The victory of the socialist Left at the Congress in the Jean-Jaures Gymnase shows that the majority of the party still believes in its labels and its program of social revolution, and that it hopes to follow the open road of the Austrian social democracy: increase its members and its influence up to the time when it will represent the majority of the nation.

The crisis in the Communist Party, the decline of the confidence that the workers put in it, does not permit one to reckon that this situation will be exploited to the full, in favor of the proletariat. However, a situation favorable to the gathering of the working masses on a revolutionary basis may assume form. At the present moment, the Communist movement needs sincere, courageous and devoted cadres without which a new favorable situation will escape Paris, January 31, 1930.

—JA. VERITE