even become a permanent alliance. The pre-condition for an eventual collaboration with the social democratic town council fraction is the setting up of simple, comprehensible demands, their propagation at public meetings and factory meetings in the town in question.

15. The fight against the erroneous attitude of the Katz, Scholem, Rosenberg group should take the form of an open explanatory discusion. At the same time the Party must fight against the right tendencies and deviations.

16. The preparation for the forthcoming Party Congress should be accompanied by a comprehensive explanatory and discussion campaign.

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Bolshevisation and Immediate Tasks of the Mexican Communist Party.

By Bertram O. Wolfe.

Three things stand out in the third Congress of the Communist Party of Mexico which terminated on April 13: the **fight against American imperialism; the bolshevisation measures**; and the firm grasp of the **immediate tasks of the Party**, particularly in **the Trade Union** and **peasant problems**. All three of these represent great steps forward in the history of the Mexican Party.

Situated in a country of continuous turmoil, loosely called "revolutionary", it was nevertheless until a year ago, one of the most opportunistic parties in the Communist International. Its opportunism was due to three factors; its then leadership, the policy of corruption by subsidy which characterises the Mexican government in its dealings with labour organisations, and the absence of a social democratic party which might absorb the opportunistic elements. The bolshevisation of the Mexican Communist Party began somewhat before the slogan was adopted in the Communist International. At the meeting of the Enlarged Executive Committee called in April of 1924, one year previous to the Third Congress of the Party, all of the old Executive Comittee, with one exception, was thrown out of office or resigned. The Party had fallen to pieces under its guidance, had failed to take a resolute communist attitude in the De la Huerta revolt, had no press, no dues system, no meetings and no longer any of its one-time influence in the labour movement. Nothing remained but the influence it had in the Peasant movement, principally in the State of Vera Cruz. As a result of this situation, the masses of the Party had lost confidence in their leadership and the enlarged executive named an entirely new committee, with one exception.

The leader of the youth, Rafael Carrillo, was, in view of the emergency, taken from the Youth League and installed into the secretaryship of the Party. Without funds, without, press, without organisation, the new executive committee set to work to rebuild the Party. The third Congress was both the summing up of their work and the small beginning of a real Communist Party in Mexico. The delegates from revived locals, once more accustomed to meet, pay dues, obey discipline and carry on communist tasks, surveyed the work of the emergency executive and expressed their approval of it. Four of the five members of the executive were re-elected, including its young national secretary; and two new ones were added.

The **theses on bolshevisation** included, in addition to such points as reorganisation of the Party on the nuclei basis, education of the Party in Leninism and Marxism etc., precisely this concrete proposition: that all governmental support, whether local or national, shall cease, that all political trading with the "revolutionary" politicians of certain States terminate, and that the principal attack be leveled against just these "revolutionaries", as being the most dangerous misleaders of the proletariat. Such is the central core of the problem of bolshevisation in the peculiar conditions of Mexico.

The executive had already made good headway in **the fight against Imperialism**, having founded, in co-operation with the American Party, the Anti-imperialist League, begun the publication of the anti-imperialist united front organ, **"El Libertador"** and established connections and sections of the League in Cuba, Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua, Venezuela and connections of a preliminary nature in Peru, and Colombia. It had marched far ahead of the membership in this matter, and one of the tasks of the Congress was the orientation of the delegates from the locals on the importance of the fight against imperialism.

The third question, the question of the **immediate tasks of the Party**, took up the major portion of the time of the Congress and caused the most important discussions. Decisions were, in almost all points, unanimous. In no case was there more than one negative vote on any matter.

Some of the more important points in the programmme of immediate tasks are:

1. "Expose the Calles government as the Left arm of American imperialism, the right arm of which is fascism and intervention. Slogan: The labour government is the gendarme of the yankee bankers and petroleum companies."

2. Fight against the payment of the debt provided in the Lamont-De la Huerta Treaty and the indemnities for damages caused by the revolutions. This debt recognized by the Obregon government and then by the present "Labour" government of Calles, consists of over half a milliard dollars, and with its interest accrued and to accrue, for payment is impossible, it will saddle Mexico with a perpetual debt and make the financial domination of the Mexican proletariat sure.

3. "Fight for the retroactivity of article 27 of the Mexican constitution and its extension to the socialisation of the land and the instruments of production." Article 27 is the semi-socialist core of the constitution adopted in 1917. It provides that the soil and the subsoil (oil and minerals) of Mexico is the property of the nation and all alienation of such property by former governments is declared null and void.

4. In **the peasant field,** the immediate tasks are: a) The formation of a national peasant league, or rather a federation of the already existing state leagues, the most important of which are under communist leadership, and the affiliation of such federation with the Krestintern; b) Fight against the disarmament of the peasants, which the federal government is attempting to carry out; c) peasant aid to all workers organisations on strike; d) practical detailed campaigns among the peasants to force the government to make more land distriutions; e) To relate all such concrete campaigns expressing the immediate practical peasant needs with the slogan: "Only the workers' and peasants' government can solve the land problem"; f) Alliance of the peasant economic organisations with all workers organisations but organic independence from them.

5. **The Trade Union question:** a) Expose the leaders of the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana (CROM) as paid agents of the government and instruments of American imperialism in Mexico. (All leaders of this, the principal labour organisation of Mexico, are government employees and draw their salaries not from the workers dues — they pay none — but from the government payroll. Of this they make no secret whatsoever. Through their connection with the American Federation of Labour they serve the aims of the American State Department, not only in Mexico but also in Central America where they are now attempting to organise.) b) Campaign against their sowing of division in labour ranks, their attacks against the independent unions not affiliated with them, their betrayal of all strikes against American capital, their class collaboration and anti-strike theories and their servility to the government. Slogans: Independence from the government; leaders controlled and paid from below by the workers, not from above by the government; war on expulsion and splitting tactics; united front of the masses of the CROM with the other organisations.

As a general policy with reference to the CROM and the CGT (anarquo-syndicalist) was offered the slogan of Internal policy "Attacks on the leaders but never on the organisations or their masses".

For the communist activity in the railway Federation where the leaders are not always well-orientated and courageous but in general are of good faith, was adopted the policy of united front from above and below.

Plans were adopted for the construction not merely of Communist nuclei in the various unions of the three federations (CROM, CGT, Railroad) and the possible forthcoming fusion of all not in the CROM, but also a national organisation of all left wing elements similar to the Trade Union Educational League in the United States. Struggle for the Red labour International and for Latin-American labour organisation free from the control of the American Federation of Labour.

6. **The electoral question.** The theses on immediate tasks include a declaration that the party has not yet, neither natio-

nally nor locally entered under its own banner in a truly communist spirit into the electoral campaigns. They provide for strict control of such campaigns by the national committee and offer the slogan that would be taken for granted in most parties of the Comintern: "No participation in local elections without previous consultation with the national committee.

Other significant sections in the theses on "immediate tasks" are:

"No subsidies from or collaboration with bourgeois politicians. Slogan: Absolute break with the bourgeoisie and its "revolutionary" servitors."

Independence of all proletarian organisations from local and national governments.

Formation of an illegal framework.

Campaign for recruiting of new members. Slogan: "Every meeting is a failure which does not attract new members.

Formation of a department of education.

Proletarianisation of the press. "The communist press should be written and sustained by the workers and peasants."

Reorganisation of the Party on the basis of nuclei of shops offices, farms and agrarian communities.

Strengthening of the Pan-American Anti-imperialist League and support for the calling of a continental congress of the League at the end of this year in Buenos Aires.

The executive named by the congress consists of Rafael Carrilo, Executive Secretary, Xavier Guerrero. Bertram D. Wolfe, Alfaro Siqueiros, Carlos Rendon and Manuel Ramirez. The first four are re-elected from the previous Executive.