

THE PROGRAM OF CLASS STRUGGLE CO-OPERATION



Published By

**WORKERS' AND FARMERS'
CO-OPERATIVE UNITY
ALLIANCE**

The Program
of
Class Struggle Co-operation

AND
THE PLATFORM OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE
FOR THE CO-OP. CENTRAL EXCHANGE

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PREFACE

*These two documents were presented by the Left Wing Co-operators to the membership of the Co-operative Central Exchange during its annual Convention in April, 1931. The documents contain the general program and demands of those co-operators who want to preserve the co-operative movement in the Northwest as a movement of revolutionary workers and toiling farmers, and as a movement based on the revolutionary class struggle against the capitalist class and capitalism. -----
-----This program also includes the only conditions upon which the revolutionary Left Wing is ready to unite with the entire membership of the Co-operative Central Exchange, the part of it which is temporarily misled by Halonen & Co.*

Altho the Left Wing represents the actual majority of the active membership of the Co-operative Central Exchange, Halonen was able, by using expulsions, manipulation with shares of stock, aided by the capitalist officials, etc. in the election of the delegates in the local co-operatives, to get a mechanical majority to the Annual Convention and consequently, the program and demands of the Left Wing were defeated at the meeting.

But, in spite of this, the class struggle program herein presented has not been defeated and cannot be defeated. It has already rallied around itself thousands of workers and farmers in the co-operative movement and it continues to penetrate the minds of large and more numerous workingclass co-operators, who have hitherto been influenced by the Halonenite leadership.

The deepening of the economic crisis of American capitalism is resulting in ever-growing unemployment, lowering of the wages, worsening of the conditions of the

workers; pauperization of the toiling farmers, and generally depressing the buying power of the working masses. These conditions are bound to radicalize the masses of workers and the poor farmers. We must do our utmost to draw them closer to us, by exposing Halonen and the other betrayers of the working class; by making them thoroughly familiar with our class struggle program in the co-operative field, and at the same time getting the co-operators to participate in all general struggles of the workers and poor farmers under the leadership of the Communist Party, which has rendered us such valuable guidance in our struggle against Halonen and other betrayers of the interests of the workers and poor farmers in the Co-operative movement.

Every class conscious co-operator is duty-bound to aid in giving a wide circulation to this CLASS STRUGGLE PROGRAM and thereby helping to win over the masses, away from the betrayers and for the revolutionary class struggle.

The Program of Class Struggle Co-operation

THE course of events has fully confirmed the correctness of our previous analysis with regard to the development of the disintegration resulting from the betrayal of the workingclass by the Halonen-Alanne renegades from the class struggle in the co-operative movement.

In our resolution published last year (1930), it was pointed out that only co-operation that assists and is a part of the class struggle of the workers and farmers can grow and develop in this period of deepening economic crisis. All other criterions for the Cooperative Movement that are thrust upon the workers and farmers are false and designed in this period to serve the exploiting class.

While the economic crisis is ever deepening, of which the result is measured in additional misery and starvation for the workingclass throughout the country, compelling the workers and farmers into actual struggle against these conditions, the leadership of the Co-operative Central Exchange has established a policy which is every day resulting in further dissociation of our Central organization from these struggles. In the beginning of the betrayal of the interests of the workingclass by this leadership, they used such methods that concealed their intentions. Today however, as a result of the sharpening of the class struggle, their policy has been completely exposed.

It has been stated on our part from the beginning that the policy established by the leadership was contrary to the tried principle of the past in the Co-operative Central Exchange and that it was a policy from which

inexorably must result disintegration, that the objective could be nothing else but the driving away from the co-operative movement those elements which have been its builders and upon whom even today depends the successful development of the co-operative movement. In the beginning of the fight against the class interest of the workers and farmers, this leadership concealed its identity with radical phrases in order to deceive the membership. Today, however, they no more can conceal themselves; the logic of the class struggle has driven them into the open so that at the present time it is a matter of common knowledge among the majority of the supporters of the co-operative movement that the policy of Halonen and his accomplices is not only a program *with which the class struggle is disrupted favorably to the exploiter, but that it is a policy of destroying the Workers and Farmers Co-operative Movement.*

DESTRUCTIVE POLICY OF C. C. E. LEADERSHIP

For the candid consideration of every delegate and every member of the co-operative movement, we cite the following to prove our contentions: We have stated before and we reiterate again, that the ideological bankruptcy of the leadership of the Co-operative Central Exchange must inexorably be followed with economic decline of the organization itself. The course of events has fully confirmed this contention. Not only do we see today open struggle against the workingclass by the leadership with the white guard and bourgeoisie elements, but we see rapid economic decline on the one hand, and an accelerated process of shifting the institution onto a basis of pure business on the other.

From the moment that the leadership of the Co-operative Central Exchange adopted the anti-workingclass policy, from that moment the seeds of decomposition were sown. Today we have the figures which speak for themselves. In spite of the fact that the variety of

commodities distributed has been increased by addition of new lines in the past year, we find that the sales compared to the same months of the previous year, for the past months have decreased. In addition to this, there is resulting from the top heavy administration apparatus an alarming trend of increase of operating expense and gross profit. This renders the organization incapable of competition with even the meanest of private enterprises economically, consequently endangering its very existence. Thus we have a process of divorcement of Central organization taking place from all potential sources of support, a dissolution from the workers and farmers struggles for which the co-operative movement is a means to an end on the one hand, and the growing impotence of the organization itself on the other as an institution of service to the workers.

As a result of the anti-workingclass policy of the leaders of the Co-operative Central Exchange, a disintegration process is also taking place in the local societies, which, if allowed to persist by the membership of the co-operatives, will inevitably destroy the local organizations. We can cite numerous examples where the conduct of the stores in which the Halonenist leadership is in control are on the verge of insolvency as a result of the anti-workingclass policy in which they persist.

In Brookston, Minnesota, we have a good example where the real supporters were driven out with the aid of lackeys of the Central Exchange leaders, who were recruited to the annual meeting to vote down the program of the farmers. In Brookston the farmers that were driven out were the basic supporters of the store, the real economic foundation. These farmers having no other recourse, held a meeting and decided that they will not give a penny for anti-workingclass activity, the result being that the sales of the local co-operative dropped from between four and five thousand dollars per month, to less than two thousand. Thereafter, they petitioned a special meeting to redress the situation

which had been brought about where the problem would be taken up in open discussion, but the Halonen controlled leadership refused to call the meeting. As a result of this illegal policy of rule or ruin the Brookston store is facing the same fate that all the stores under the thumb of this social fascist clique will experience sooner or later.

In the co-operatives which this leadership controls, a policy has been instituted through which every proletarian who recognizes the class struggle has been driven to a point where he has no other recourse than to withdraw support. The stores that they have not been able to wrest from the workers and farmers to carry on their social fascist policy have been compelled to discontinue their support of the Central organization.

SOCIAL FASCISM IN PRACTICE

For the consideration of every proletarian co-operator, we set forth the following reasons for this situation:

To carry out this policy of disruption of the workers and farmers struggles it has been necessary for this leadership to use every method at its disposal, even to the extent of establishing new counter-revolutionary organizations. Within the Exchange itself, there has been established a secret apparatus under the leadership of Halonen and his accomplices, with the purpose of penetrating even into the political movement of the workers. This organization is composed of reliable followers of these renegades from the class struggle, through which machine meetings in the various localities are organized. It also has a wider political purpose as is exemplified by the letters that they send out. For instance in one of these letters they urge these disruptors that belong to this secret circle, to circulate a book under the title of "Political Bankruptcy of the Comintern", written by known renegades from the class struggle.

They have aligned our central organization with the

leadership of the Co-operative League of the U. S. A. into which in the course of the betrayal of the workers and farmers in the Co-operative Movement, the blackest reactionaries of the Labor Movement have entrenched themselves, against whom the constituency of the Co-operative Central Exchange has fought for years. Through this alliance with Warbasse and his machine, they have caused the Co-operative Central Exchange to become a supporter of the International Social Fascist leadership which today is negotiating to make of the I. C. A. a part of the Imperialist League of Nations of which the basic task is to make war on the Soviet Union.

They have aligned the Co-operative Central Exchange organization to help the social fascist leadership of the American Federation of Labor in shifting the burden of the economic crisis arising from the capitalist system itself, onto the shoulders of the workers and farmers. In this their role has been identical with the A. F. of L.

Charity paid for by the workers themselves even going so far as to withhold a day's pay each month from the employes for up-keep of a soup kitchen sponsored by the A. F. of L. leaders in Superior has been their policy. They have fought in every way all real organization for the purpose of struggle for relief to be paid for by the exploiters, for the unemployed workers. In this fight they have not only used their own apparatus and the help of the A. F. of L. but they have utilized the most reactionary newspaper of the capitalist class in Superior, the "Evening Telegram" for this purpose, as their mouthpiece.

In February during the unemployed demonstrations where thousands of hungry unemployed workers came out onto the streets to demand immediate relief from the City of Superior and social insurance from the national government, a part of the personnel of the Co-operative Central Exchange was there to ridicule these demonstrators and the speakers that spoke for the unemployed workers.

This leadership directs and conducts an insidious

campaign of lies and slander at the expense of the constituency, through numerous agents among the membership of the local co-operatives against the workers and farmers class interests and their organizations. They mobilize all the petty bourgeoisie forces in every community against the communists in particular and the class struggle in general. Weeks before the annual meetings of the local co-operatives, agents are sent to prepare the membership against any progressive measures and especially against the element that recognizes the class struggle as the basis for the Co-operative movement. As a result of this procedure we have today many examples where the membership has been agitated to vote directly against its own class interest.

In the Cherry Farmers Co-operative, the association in its annual meeting voted down the sending of delegates to a conference of unemployed which was held in Chisholm, Minnesota; these workers and farmers were misled to do this by an intense campaign of lies and insinuations against the unemployed organizations and unemployed workers which was conducted under the direction of the leadership of the Co-operative Central Exchange.

In other places these organizers have gone to the limit in this social fascist organization and machination. We have instances where the Board of Directors have been turned against the majority of the membership by tricks of their agents on the Boards. They have gained a majority by deception and trickery after which transfers of stock and expulsion of left-wing members has taken place, thus insuring the policy of the Halonen renegades from the class struggle in these stores.

They have instituted a policy of driving into bankruptcy through the aid of capitalist legal action those left wing stores that have not accepted their disruptive methods.

They have continuously and systematically opposed and fought the organization of the unorganized workers, while they sponsor summer camps for themselves into

which huge amounts of the workers' and farmers' money through the co-operatives is squandered.

They have opposed the Trade Union Unity League, the only trade union organization in the country that is seriously carrying on organizational work among both employed and unemployed workers.

They have organized a counter organization to the Women's Section among the Finnish people, the sole purpose of which is to fight the class conscious Finnish women of the country.

They have built a Youth organization into the apparatus of the Co-operative Central Exchange which is based on the illusion of pure co-operative principles, the object of which can be nothing else than the counteraction of the development of the youth into capable fighters for the class interest of the workers and farmers. The purpose of this organization is no other than to fight the Young Communist League and other organizations which are today organizing the youth on a class struggle basis.

They are putting out an anti-workingclass Finnish newspaper at the expense of the constituency, which has and can have no other object than that of fighting against the workingclass, to confuse the class struggle, to make the workers and farmers in the co-operative movement impotent in the face of the deepening crisis.

They have and are spending large sums of the money of the constituency by spreading leaflets such as the one entitled "What It's All About", that are based on lies and of which the object is to conceal their betrayal of the workers and farmers in the Co-operative Movement and mislead their struggles into harmless channels for the capitalist class.

THE PROGRAM OF "UNITY OF ALL GROUPS"

All of this is done under the misleading slogan of "Unity" for the sake of unity itself, which is an outgrowth of the policy of "neutrality" which Warbasse has

attempted to foist on the workers and farmers co-operative movement for many years but has previously failed because of the resistance of the class conscious element in the Co-operative Movement. In the name of this false unity, the leadership of the Co-operative Central Exchange has split many of the local co-operatives. The policy of unity for the sake of unity has resulted in a situation where the stores are divided into two camps. On the one hand the supporters of the Halonen policy to which has been recruited all the known enemies of the workingclass, and on the other, the element that has been driven out, which composed the real economic and ideological support for the local enterprises.

In their effort to terrorize with the red menace the membership of the co-operatives, they have resorted to open fascist acts and are today playing the role of agent provocateurs for the infamous Fish Committee. This leadership has spread lies in the same manner as all capitalism does about the workers' movements being financed from Moscow.

As a direct result of their policy, open fascism in physical forms has appeared in numerous cases which is supported by the leadership of the Exchange, where property of workers' organizations has been broken up. The followers of this clique in the leadership of the Co-operative Central Exchange have through physical means and with the help of local shyster government officials attempted outright robbery of the Finnish Workers' Clubs of their property.

FASCIST POLICY OF WRECKING THE CO-OPERATIVES ECONOMICALLY

They have conived with the blackest reactionaries to make it impossible for the workers and farmers to protect their interests in bankruptcy proceedings which they themselves have brought about through legal pressure on the left-wing stores as for instance in New

York Mills, where through the aid of the representative of the Co-operative Central Exchange, a trustee who received a minority of votes in the creditors' meeting was appointed by the court.

In their eagerness to help the capitalist class get rid of its goods at a high price at the expense of the workers and farmers, this leadership has dumped large stocks of merchandise into some of the stores in the course of the last year to the extent that it endangers their very existence. This has been done at a time when prices must decline as a consequence of the economic crisis. This has resulted from the fact that this leadership has never recognized the crisis because it was foretold by the Communists. Instead, they have in every instance indirectly supported the Hoover illusion of prosperity coming back.

They have made of the accounting department of the Co-operative Central Exchange an instrument through which political espionage is carried on for the leadership while at the same time exorbitant salaries are paid to the irresponsible personnel.

They have completely ignored the need of the farming population in the face of the deep-going crisis in agriculture.

They pay exorbitant salaries to the administrative personnel which is paid for through high prices of commodities by the constituency.

All of these things have a direct bearing on the situation as it is today in the Exchange. While the prices of commodities have declined generally in every field and the sales have decreased in our Central organization, the gross profit and operating expenses increase at a rapid rate. This brings on the situation which we have: that the membership is leaving the co-operatives because of exorbitant prices where the Halonen policy prevails.

INSTIGATION OF LEGAL ACTION TO WRECK CO-OPERATIVES

As a result of the policy, the local organizations have been drawn into capitalist law courts as houses divided among themselves which inexorably must result in losses to no one else but the local organizations.

In many local co-operatives this social fascist leadership has become a spy system for the employer through which scores of workers have been blacklisted and thrown out of the industries on the basis of being reds.

Fellow delegates to the annual meeting of the Co-operative Central Exchange, members of the Co-operative movement:

We, the delegation representing the workingclass on the basis of the class struggle in the co-operative movement appeal to your sound judgement, your praiseworthy traditions of the past years. The Co-operative Central Exchange is an organization that has been built through our class unity, to serve the workingclass in its struggle for emancipation. On this question everyone of us will agree. In the past year and a half however, this purpose has been trampled into the dust by the present leadership.

The question arises, shall we let these wreckers of our movement accomplish their task of tearing asunder the organizations that we ourselves have built, through this policy of social fascism? In short, are we going to let the Warbasses, the Alannes, the Halonens and their accomplices destroy our class unity and with it our co-operative movement? This policy foisted upon the workers and farmers co-operative movement by the leadership can only result in destruction. If the policy persists it must inexorably be followed on the one hand by disintegration and on the other by the co-operatives becoming more and more a part of the capitalist system. Both of these are trends that are absolutely contrary to the principles of workers' co-operation. This policy if allowed to prevail by the membership will on the one

hand divorce the movement completely from the struggles of the workers and farmers of which the co-operative movement is a part, thus dissociating it from the basic support ideologically as well as economically. On the other hand, the trend of becoming a pure business institution, toward which our central organization is going with ever increasing speed is no less dangerous, resulting in the end in the same thing.

In the deepening economic crisis of the whole capitalist system of which the result is a sharpening of the class struggle between the exploiting class and the working class, this leadership has completely exposed itself. It has today become an instrument in the hands of the exploiter with which the workers and farmers are deceived to fight against their own class interests. This policy is based on the illusion of co-operative socialism as interpreted by modern reformists, on the illusion that through co-operative activity, the system of capitalism can be overcome while at the same time repudiating the class struggle, which in this period of economic crisis can result in nothing but the defense of the exploiting class.

We, who represent the workers and farmers class interest in the co-operative movement emphatically repudiate this kind of a policy. We declare to all co-operators that only co-operation that is based on the class struggle for the class interest of the workers and farmers means unity. All other programs foisted on the co-operative movement are instruments of betrayal of the worker and farmer constituency and will result in this period of crisis in disintegration of the movement and a consequent strengthening of the position of the exploiting class in its exploitation of the worker and farmer masses of the country.

This policy of the leadership of the Co-operative Central Exchange is not only social fascism, it must lead deeper and deeper into open fascism to which the organization is sinking.

Fellow co-operators, we must demand a complete

change of policy in order that we may again unify our forces which have been torn asunder by this leadership.

We who represent the class interests of the worker and farmer masses declare to all co-operators that unity is possible if it is based on the class struggle. That even those organizations that have been driven out of the Exchange, will support and build it as before if the anti-workingclass policy is repudiated and the organization is conducted according to the policy of the Co-operative Central Exchange previous to the betrayal by the leadership.

The aim and intent from its inception of the Co-operative Central Exchange has been the aiding of the class struggle and from this the leadership has departed. This, we representatives of the class interest of the whole membership emphatically condemn and submit the following conditions on the basis of which unity in our movement can be again re-established.

We demand that the annual meeting of the Co-operative Central Exchange will be conducted on a democratic basis where equal consideration must be given to every delegate on these principal questions. We condemn the method used in the last annual meeting as undemocratic and against the best interests of the co-operative movement as a whole.

We demand that the records and minutes of the meeting shall reflect the proceedings as they are brought for consideration, that in no case shall they be recorded with partiality as was the case in the last annual meeting.

In view of the fact that the element which we represent entails the majority of members and supporters of the co-operative movement, we demand that elected minority delegations from those co-operatives that have been driven into a split situation as a result of the policy of the leadership, be seated at the meeting with consultive rights of voice but no vote on all questions.

We demand that every delegate be given the right to present from the floor resolutions and motions of what-

ever nature they wish; that these motions and resolutions be thereafter discussed and voted upon according to accepted parliamentary procedure.

As a prerequisite to solving the problem with which we are faced in the annual meeting of the Co-operative Central Exchange and in order to re-establish unity of the organization we present the following order of main points to be incorporated on the agenda.

1. A thorough discussion of the principles of cooperation on the class struggle basis about which resolutions can be submitted to be voted upon.
2. Discussion on the commercial aspect of the cooperative movement as subordinated to the question of principle.
3. Election of officials, committees and boards for the coming year.

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH CO-OPERATION CAN DEVELOP IN THIS PERIOD

To establish the unity in the ranks of the co-operative movement, we submit the following principles to be applied at present and in the future as the basis for building of our co-operatives and the co-operative movement.

The co-operative movement is a part of the class struggle for emancipation of the workers and farmers from the thralldom of capitalism in capitalist society. Its aims and ideals are the same as the aims and ideals of the whole workingclass. It is a movement arising from the class struggle in capitalist society, from the condition of oppression of the workingclass. Therefore, it is a class movement basically to serve the class interest of those that compose its membership.

Co-operation among workers and farmers to serve their class interest, to insure its economic development, to render it capable of facing the economic competition of individually owned and chain enterprises, must be

based on the principle of *class struggle*. Any other interpretation given to it is false and eventually results in the deception of the worker and farmer masses. Workers' Co-operation must always have as its highest purpose only the class interests of the workers and farmers, it shall not compromise with any movement on this question. This shall apply in everyday activity as well as in the general struggle of the workingclass.

The purpose of workers' co-operation is to unite on the basis of the class struggle all worker and farmer co-operators as well as workers and farmers co-operative institutions and enterprises to aid in the general workingclass struggle for emancipation. Its aim must be in the present society the abolition of capitalism and the capitalist system and establishment of a workers and farmers society. It must seek the alliance of all workers and farmers organizations which participate in the class struggle for the benefit of the whole workingclass on the basis of their fitness and ability to realize the immediate and final aims of the workers and farmers according to the above principles.

NEUTRALITY CONTRARY TO BEST INTEREST OF MEMBERSHIP

The proletarian co-operative movement therefore, cannot be neutral with regard to the capitalist class nor can it be neutral towards organizations of workers of which the purpose is to mitigate the class struggle, to confuse the class front of the workingclass nor can it be neutral towards tendencies in the workingclass movements that have as their purpose the defeat and deception of the workers and farmers in the class struggle, which inexorably must result in the aid and strengthening of the class front of the exploiters.

It is this policy of aiding the capitalist class that the Warbasse-Halonen and Alanne leadership has foisted on the workers co-operative movement. It therefore becomes just as important to fight these bourge-

oisie opportunist tendencies and the leadership that foists them on the movement, as it is to struggle against the capitalist class itself whose agents these misleaders are.

The events of the past year and a half set forth in the beginning of this program confirm fully this fact. This leadership has brought about a situation through its anti-workingclass social fascist policy in the co-operative movement where it is threatened with destruction. Therefore we call upon the co-operators to mobilize all their force to safeguard the interests of the workers and farmers in the co-operative movement. We call upon all the worker and farmer members of our Co-operative Central Exchange organization to smash this social fascist clique in the leadership.

We declare that the Warbasse-Halonen policy is a policy of disruption for the benefit of the exploiter and therefore urge all honest workingclass elements to unite on the only basis that will insure unity of our movement; that will render it capable of fighting in the deepening economic crisis where the class struggle inevitably must sharpen.

Unite on the "basis of the class struggle" against the exploiter as well as all their agents, the Warbasses, Halonens, Alannes and their accomplices!

Unite on the basis of the class struggle with the whole working class to fight against the worsening conditions and the starvation which is facing our membership as well as all workers.

It is only on this basis that the movement can be saved from the destruction that has been prepared for it by the capitalist class and carried into effect by its agents now in the leadership of our Co-operative Central Exchange.

The Platform of the Class Struggle for the Co-op. Central Exchange

In order to preserve the unity of the Co-operative Central Exchange and bring it back to serve the class interests of the workers and farmers, what it originally was intended for, we here present our demands and conditions on the basis of which real unity can be again re-established.

1. It has been shown clearly in the past year that the policy of the Co-operative Central Exchange leadership has been inconsistent with the basic principles of workers' and farmers' co-operation. Therefore we demand the complete change of policy in the Co-operative Central Exchange.

2. In order to accomplish this it is necessary that the whole leadership be changed. Therefore we propose to the annual meeting that all of the members of the Board of Directors shall be recalled by the annual meeting and workers and farmers from the rank and file membership, who support co-operation on the basis of the *class struggle*, be elected in their places.

3. Knowing also that as the ringleaders of this disruption policy there is a small group of high salaried employees who have turned their backs to the workers and farmers. We therefore demand the immediate expulsion from the employ of the Co-operative Central Exchange George Halonen, Henry Koski, Eskel Ronn, and others who have made themselves enemies of the workingclass.

4. We declare that the last annual meeting of the Co-operative Central Exchange was void of all dem-

ocratic character even to the extent that the minutes do not reflect the truth but were doctored to serve the purpose of the leadership. Therefore we demand that the meeting must be conducted on the basis of genuine workers' democracy and that every resolution and motion must be given consideration when presented from the floor.

5. As an instrument with which to force a split in every local member co-operative and drive out of these organizations their original builders, this leadership has established a Finnish language newspaper, the "Työväen Osuustoimintalehti", which has only one purpose and that is to fight all real attempts at organization of the workers. Therefore we demand that this publication be immediately discontinued and that the Työmies be again adopted as the official publication of the Co-operative Central Exchange.

6. Although the biggest portion of the sales of the Co-operative Central Exchange is in the rural communities, the leadership has done nothing to enhance the position of the farming population in the marketing of their products which we believe should be a part of the activity of the organization and which has been brought before annual meetings repeatedly by the farmers. Therefore we demand that the Co-operative Central Exchange immediately begins investigation of what farm products it can market and that marketing of farm products will be made one branch of activity.

7. The Co-operative Movement is a part of the Class Struggle, it therefore has duties to perform in the general struggle of the workingclass. One of its basic tasks is to seek the alliance of all workers' and farmers' organizations that are intended to benefit the whole workingclass, on the basis of their fitness and ability to realize the immediate and final aim of the workers and farmers in their struggle for emancipation.

The most important task of the workingclass today is the organization of its own ranks for the class struggle.

It being a known fact that the only organization in the trade union field that is seriously carrying on organization work for the organization of the workers into industrial unions as well as carrying on organization among the unemployed is the Trade Union Unity League.

In order to establish a close solidarity with the revolutionary union movement the meeting urges every member of the co-operatives who is eligible, to join the Trade Union Unity League unions in their respective trades. Further to demonstrate our solidarity towards the struggles of the exploited and starving workingclass of the country, we demand that the Co-operative Central Exchange annual meeting shall contribute from the last year's profits five hundred dollars to the Trade Union Unity League for the organization of the unorganized workers.

8. Knowing fully the acuteness of the unemployed situation, we therefore demand that a program be adopted whereby the local co-operatives and Co-operative Central Exchange should give relief in the form of goods to the Trade Union Unity League Unemployed Councils to the extent of their ability for distribution to the unemployed workers, and further that the co-operative institutions and enterprises give all possible assistance to the political struggle of the unemployed workers for SOCIAL INSURANCE, and immediate relief from government institutions.

9. Recognizing the fact that the economic crisis has brought about a situation where our membership in many instances is in acute need, many being compelled to go without even the most elemental necessities of life, and many actually starving because of the lack of employment in the industries and the low prices of farm products, we demand that to help our member-

ship during this crucial situation, the Co-operative Central Exchange must immediately begin developing a program of credit for the worker and farmer members who are in need of assistance. That the program be arranged in such a way that the local Boards of Directors arrange collective guarantees from among the membership to secure credit for those that are in need, from the co-operatives.

10. The program of the leadership of the Co-operative Central Exchange has been to refrain from all price competition with the individually owned enterprises, thus they have been in league with the capitalist class in keeping up prices of commodities for the consumer. It is known that through the efforts of the American bourgeoisie the general commodity prices have been kept up thirty percent above the world market. Thus the Co-operative Central Exchange, under the present leadership, has been a part of this program of the Chambers of Commerce by refraining from competition and price wars with the bourgeoisie class even in cases where it would have been economically possible. Therefore we condemn the policy of the leadership of the Co-operative Central Exchange on this question.

11. It has been proven with many examples that the prices of commodities have been higher in the Co-operative Central Exchange than in individually owned wholesales which is partly accountable to the fact that the administrative expense is high because of the high salaries of the employees and the large number of them that is necessary to keep up the fight against the workingclass and the workingclass organizations. Therefore we demand that all of the unnecessary employees used for the above mentioned purpose be discharged and that the annual meeting decides that no employee of the Co-operative Central Exchange shall receive more than forty dollars per week as salary.

12. The leadership of the Co-operative Central Exchange has organized and is today organizing Women's

Guilds and Youth organizations of which the sole purpose is the building of support for the betraying leadership and to fight against all real class struggle organization of women and youth. Therefore we demand that all of these organizations that are foreign to the purpose of the workingclass co-operative movement be repudiated by the annual meeting, and that no support be given hereafter to the anti-workingclass activity of the Co-operative Central Exchange leadership.

13. The eyes of the international workingclass now suffering from deepest misery and privation are on the glorious success of the five year plan of the Soviet Union. The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union through planned Socialist production have succeeded in eliminating unemployment and constantly improving the standard of living of the working masses, which stands as an inspiration to the entire workingclass.

They have built the most powerful co-operative movement in the world with forty million members and such a variety of activity that no other co-operative movement can compare.

The international imperialists are armed to the teeth and are conducting a vicious campaign of slander in an attempt to promote war hysteria against the only workers' government.

We condemn the leadership of the Co-operative Central Exchange which has conducted through its press, the "Työväen Osuustoimintalehti", an identical policy with the imperialists of war against the Soviet Union, in keeping with the program of the leadership of the International Co-operative Alliance.

It is the duty of the co-operative movement in solidarity with the international proletariat to stand by and be ready to defend the Soviet Union against the common enemy of the workingclass, the international bankers and bosses.

14. American capitalism confronted with the militant movement of the workingclass that refuses to

starve, is instituting a system of terror in the form of beatings, jailing and deporting of revolutionary workers.

The plan of the Fish Committee is the capitalist program of attack against the workingclass to make the workers pay for the economic crisis, as a result of it already a system of raiding of offices, and wholesale arrests are being conducted by the Federal authorities.

We condemn the attitude of the Co-operative Central Exchange leadership in their attack on the militant class struggle organizations thereby giving aid and support to the program of the Fish Committee.

The Co-operative Movement is composed of a great number of foreign born workers, therefore it becomes the duty of the co-operative organizations to join with the militant class struggle organization to fight against the growing fascism of the government and for protection of the foreign born workers.

On the basis of these demands and conditions, and that the Co-operative Central Exchange with its member stores adheres to the revolutionary class struggle program, that every member and functionary who has been expelled from the organizations because of his devotion to the workingclass be reinstated, *we are ready to unite for the building of a strong United Proletarian Co-operative Movement.*

Statement of the W. & F. C. U. A. Executive Board June 4th, 1931

TO ALL PROLETARIAN CO-OPERATIVES
AND CO-OPERATORS:

In viewing the present situation in the co-operative movement generally, the Executive Board of the Workers' and Farmers' Co-operative Unity Alliance notes a more open betrayal of the workingclass by the social-fascist leadership of the Co-operative Central Exchange.

That which was pointed out in the class struggle program of the Workers' and Farmers' Co-operative Unity Alliance at the time of the Co-operative Central Exchange annual meeting is now more fully confirmed than ever before.

We reiterate again that the policy of Halonen and his accomplices is not only a method by which the class struggle is disrupted favorably to the exploiter, but it is a policy of destroying the workers' and farmers' co-operative movement as an instrument of the class struggle.

The expulsion of the Työmies Society, in number of members and unquestionably from a class struggle point of view, the most important organization affiliated to the Exchange; the refusal to seat legally elected delegates from the Mass and Marengo Stores; the utilization of the capitalist press; the use of police and courts; the continued and systematic fight against real relief for the unemployed and starving workers; the systematic resistance in alliance with the Farmer-Labor Party, the I.W.W., the A.F. of L., the Lovestones, the Trotskyites, Alannes, Sulkanens, the social-democratic Raivaaja, the Industrialisti and other white guard newspapers to the militant Trade Union Unity League

and the United Farmers' League are but a part of the social-fascist service they render to the exploiter of the workers and farmers.

Their direct attacks through the "Osuustoimintalehti" and through the numerous agents employed to move around the country to villify and slander the Communist International, the Soviet Union and all workers' organizations that fight for the class interests of the workers and farmers has created a situation in the co-operative movement whereby the best element, those that have been the builders of the Co-operative Central Exchange have been driven out.

The recent appointment of H. V. Nurmi, a man known to have always supported the Warbasse-Alanne policy of "neutrality", as manager, the more open alliance with the bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the economic decline of the Co-operative Central Exchange organization on the other, shows to the whole working-class what is really happening in the Exchange organization. From this policy of the leadership of the Co-operative Central Exchange is resulting disintegration of the whole movement; a division of the ranks of the co-operators in every locality, because the workers and farmers will not and cannot accept this leadership that fights against their class interests.

While the Executive Board notes that large masses of the proletarian co-operators have come to realize the anti-workingclass character of the Warbasse-Halonen policy of "unity of all groups" on the basis of "neutrality", there are still large numbers of co-operative masses being betrayed by this leadership.

With the above facts in mind, the Executive Board of the Workers' and Farmers' Co-operative Unity Alliance further emphasizes that the only unity attainable in this period of imperialism and the deepening of the economic crisis is **UNITY ON THE BASIS OF THE PROLETARIAN CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT**. All other programs foisted on the workingclass co-operatives are but means

of betrayal of the workers' and farmers' co-operative movement and playing into the hands of the capitalist exploiters.

On the basis of the above situation the Executive Board appeals to all workingclass co-operators throughout the country to further intensify their activity in exposing among the rank and file this betraying social-fascist leadership.

To the attempts at expulsion from those co-operatives that they still control and use for their anti-workingclass machination, we must answer with more determined exposure. Every member store and co-operative affiliated to the Exchange is a part of the accomplishment of the workingclass, a part of our work, we who have built them.

Instead of withdrawing our struggle on provocation of these social-fascist betrayers we must and will fight to the last for the masses that are being fooled in the local societies as well as the Co-operative Central Exchange itself.

In order to consolidate the ranks of the workingclass in the co-operative movement for the program of the CLASS STRUGGLE in the co-operatives, the Executive Board of the Workers' and Farmers' Co-operative Unity Alliance in its last meeting on June 4th, took an additional step organizationally and in accordance with the decision of the April 16th conference. It was definitely decided to establish a central apparatus incorporated under the laws of the State of Wisconsin to take care of all aspects of co-operative activity including the supply of commodities to those co-operators and co-operatives which have been driven out of the Co-operative Central Exchange organization as a result of the Halonen social-fascist policy.

The Workers' and Farmers' Co-operative Unity Alliance Executive Board with the above explanation of the situation at the present time, submits its action for the candid consideration of every workingclass co-operator and the whole workingclass.

While we consolidate our forces we must expose the betrayers of the co-operative movement and the class struggle. We must rally around the proletarian co-operative center, the Workers' and Farmers' Co-operative Unity Alliance.

We must make of the co-operatives instruments in the class struggle serving only the class interests of the workers and poor farmers. The only unity possible of accomplishment in the co-operative movement of the workers and farmers is unity based on the PROLETARIAN CLASS STRUGGLE. That is what the Workers' and Farmers' Co-operative Unity Alliance stands for. All Cooperatives join it!

For the building of a strong proletarian class struggle co-operative movement,

EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE WORKERS'
AND FARMERS' CO-OPERATIVE
UNITY ALLIANCE.



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For Unity on the Basis of the Class
Struggle in the Co-operative
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