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The Soviet Union and the League of Nations.

By A. I. Rykov.

We publish below a verbatim report of that part of Comrade Rykov's great speech on the activities of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Russia at the party conference in the Moscow governmental district, which deals with the relations between the Soviet Union and the League of Nations. Ed.

The League of Nations — an Instrument of War and not of Peace.

Judging by the expressions of opinion of a number of responsible statesmen of the bourgeois world, plans have been made for a whole series of conferences of an economic and political character in the immediate future. The bourgeoisie is endeavouring to bridge over in some way the antagonisms which exist and those which are maturing, in order, as they love to express it, "to establish peace in Europe".

This enormous number of conferences, treaties and agreements between the separate States do not and cannot in any way solve the questions of vital interest to capitalism, neither can they, in the slightest degree, prevent the danger of war.

It is very symptomatic that in recent times, the bourgeois and Menshevik Press as well as statesmen of great repute have begun to invite the Soviet Union also to join the "League of Nations". It was especially pleasing to read invitations of this

kind in English newspapers, which have hitherto regarded the government of our Union as a gang of robbers. Only a year ago, the Conservative party won the election by means of the forged Zinoviev letter and under the slogan of the fight against the Soviet Republics. If one of us were asked whether he believes in the sincerity of such an abrupt right about turn, I do not doubt for a moment that he would answer "no" without any hesitation.

When our enemies begin to speak so kindly of us, we must ask: "Does this not mean some change in their tactics; do they not wish to attack us from another side and beat us by other means?" In the present political circumstances the newspaper campaign for including the Soviet Union in the League of Nations aims at discrediting us in the eyes of that part of the working class which still cherishes pacifist illusions.

The "MacDonalds" of the whole globe are persistently spreading amongst the working class the version that the League of Nations is an institution which is to ensure peaceful development to mankind. As long as there are sections of the working class who, in their hatred for war, place any kind of hopes in the League of Nations, it is more advantageous, from the political point of view, for our enemies to carry on the discussion with us just in this direction, in order to represent the Soviet Union as an enemy of peace. For this reason, Chamberlain in his fight against the Soviet Union, for this reason the 2nd Inter-

national in its fight against our Party, are endeavouring to find ways to stir up even part of the working class against us, to influence even isolated groups of workers in their favour through agitation. Every step in this direction, however small it be, naturally represents for Chamberlain, for MacDonald, for the 2nd International, a great victory.

On principle we take up and carry through a fight for the point of view that the League of Nations is an instrument not of peace but of war, not of liberation but of oppression, further that the propaganda for the opinion that capitalist countries might find a remedy for war within the capitalist society, is a crime and not an error on the part of the 2nd International. In our opinion, war was, is and will be inevitable under the rule of capitalism; war is insolubly bound up with capitalism, is part of its very nature.

Locarno.

The chief significance of Locarno is that Germany has once more been forced on to her knees, that she has once more been compelled to take her oath on the monstrous Treaty of Versailles, that Germany has been dragged into the League of Nations, in which, in view of the present situation, she cannot carry on any independent policy. To-day, after Locarno, there are two governments in Europe which have maintained complete independence in their foreign policy: the British Government in London and the Soviet Government in Moscow. All the other governments are in the bonds of the Anglo-American Bloc and are dependent on the treaties dictated by this Bloc which, for the sake of form, are registered under the League of Nations, the League of Nations however being a direct instrument of the policy of imperialism. The last (6th) autumn session of the League of Nations showed sufficiently clearly that in this institution, England is the mistress of the situation.

An American newspaper correspondent describes the policy of England in the League of Nations, as follows:

"In any conflicts which may occur, Great Britain trusts more to her navy, her air force and her army than to obligatory arbitration procedures. The arbitration agreement is binding for all except London which intends to be the arbitrator in conflicts between other countries."

("New York Times").

In Locarno also, England carried on this policy. In spite of its being an advantage to the bourgeoisie to advertise Locarno in every possible way, in order to deceive the vigilance of the peoples, in order to mitigate the mistrust of the masses in the present governments, even the bourgeois journalists reveal part of the truth about Locarno. Thus, one of the English newspapers of best repute, which is closely connected with the diplomatic world and with the English Foreign Minister, writes:

"It must not be believed, that permanent equilibrium in Europe can be achieved or war prevented by means of new treaties and guarantees. Neither the drawing up of documents, nor a protocol, nor guarantees can turn that which by its nature is unstable into something stable. There are many and various European questions which have already become dangerous and which may lead to sharp controversies in the comparatively near future.

For Great Britain it is at any rate very important that, at the time when these questions come up for decision, she should have a completely free hand. (September number of the "Round Table").

In all our newspapers and in a considerable part of the foreign Press, it was pointed out that Locarno was aimed against the Soviet Union, although nothing was said about the Soviet Republics. In order to put this assertion in a more concrete form, I quote the explanations that were given by England and France in connection with the entrance of Germany into the League of Nations in the question of article 16 of the constitution of the League of Nations. This article states that every country which belongs to the League of Nations, is, on the basis of the resolutions of the League and in proportion to its own strength, under the obligation of participating in the armed conflicts of the League, i. e. in carrying out military sanctions for enforcing the resolutions of the League of Nations. In the present international situation and in the present relation of forces, we can be sure, from the beginning, that, if any bourgeois country which is a member of the League of Nations, begins a war

against the Soviet Union, the League of Nations will find the necessary formula for representing us, and not its member, as the attacking party. Through her membership of the League of Nations, Germany will automatically be under the obligation of carrying out the resolutions of the League of Nations even if they be directed against us.

Germany tried to make reservations for herself with regard to this article. In our opinion however, she did not achieve anything positive. In the letter to the Allies, the following concrete explanation was given:

"The obligations which the said article (article 16) imposes on the members of the League of Nations, must be understood in the sense that every Power which is a member of the League of Nations, is under the obligation of co-operating loyally and in fact to ensure the observation of the statutes of the League of Nations, and of resisting any attack in a measure which corresponds with the military and geographical situation of the country in question."

The Treaty of Locarno is signed, consequently Germany has placed herself under the obligation of fulfilling the regulations of the League of Nations in the direction indicated above, that is to say that, thanks to Locarno, Germany is threatened with the danger of becoming an instrument of English policy.

Moreover, through the Treaty of Locarno, the Entente was dissolved, i. e. the war alliance between England and France lost its force and significance. England has freed herself from the fetters of the Entente but, being in a situation in which, thanks to the dictatorship of the League of Nations and thanks to the circumstance that she is in the nature of things the intermediary between Europe and American capital, she still remains the dictator in Europe.

All this together points to the fact that a re-grouping of forces is taking place in Europe under the hegemony of England. When we take into consideration England's endeavours to keep a free hand for herself in the solution of various questions concerning Eastern Europe, and her antagonism to the Soviet Union, we have every reason to be cautious.

Why Do We not Join the League of Nations?

What significance does the bourgeoisie itself attribute to the question of our joining the League of Nations? I have read in a bourgeois paper a very exact political characterisation of what the bourgeoisie expects from our joining the League of Nations. In this characterisation it is stated that it is expected that the entrance of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations will bring about a "political capitulation in the East and an economic capitulation in the West." This is expressed very clearly and exactly.

The League of Nations is a shop which deals in peoples and sells them as it sees fit, in the form of "mandates" to the so-called States of high culture. The latter however defend their rights of mandate by force of arms and mercilessly enslave the peoples under their tutelage. For this reason, the East would naturally regard us as traitors if we were to stand behind the counter of this shop. We shall not agree to this. We shall continue to rejoice in the development of the movement for national freedom among the oppressed colonial peoples.

Joining the League of Nations would mean for us an economic capitulation in the West, because we should then be bound by the resolutions of the bourgeois majority in economic questions also.

I do not believe that those governments or those papers which propose our joining the League of Nations, or at least write about it, are honest. I believe that they know from the beginning that we shall not join the League of Nations and I am convinced that the only object of these invitations is to enable MacDonald and his comrades to say to the workers, whom they continue to deceive by maintaining that the capitalist world is capable of avoiding war and by representing a conference which prepares for war, as a peace conference, that: "The Soviet Union, by refusing to join the League of Nations, is responsible for its own isolation", as was said in the resolution of the 2nd International.

They hope to bring about a political and economic renunciation on the part of the Soviet Republics of everything they have done hitherto, a renunciation of their programme, of the October revolution and of the most essential principles of their existence. They have not achieved this in open fight, they now hope to do it through an enveloping manoeuvre.

New Wars Are Being Prepared Under the Mask of Pacifism.

The present period can be characterised as one of a fresh attempt to consolidate imperialism under the mask of pacifism. This attempt is dictated on the one hand, by the extremely strained financial situation of the most important imperialist countries of Europe, on the other hand by America's attempts to have her debts in Europe paid more or less punctually, further by the fear of new wars which prevails among the peoples, but also by the unsuccessful endeavours of last year to ensure the rule of imperialism by the method of direct military action (occupation of the Ruhr, Morocco, Syria, events in China, anti-Soviet Bloc etc.).

I believe that the task of the day for the Communist International and the revolutionary trade unions is to reveal the danger inherent just in this pacifism, for under the mask of pacifism, new wars have been and are being prepared.

A notice recently appeared in the papers on "Red Imperialism". This theme was first brought up by Kautsky who invented "the danger which threatens from Red imperialism". This idea now crops up from time to time in other foreign newspapers. We must combat this stupid calumny with all the means in our power. It must be pointed out that as long ago as at Genoa, the Soviet Republic was the first country to propose the only possible plan for the complete disarmament of all States. We did the same in 1922 in the negotiations with our Baltic neighbours. Every worker within and without the Soviet Union should thoroughly understand that our Party is absolutely in favour of disarmament, that the Soviet Government will be the first to declare itself prepared to dissolve the armed forces of our country and to destroy our whole war industry, on the one and only condition that other countries do the same.

I recall a conversation I had with Lenin about peace and disarmament in which, in referring to some international conference or other, he said that the bourgeois governments are making all kinds of hocus pocus in the questions of disarmament and of limiting the construction of large and small warships, and that by such measures they will deceive one another and the workers.

"Is it not better", said Lenin, "to propose the limitation of military expenses on the condition that there be a real, genuine and objective control as to whether these limitations are observed? In carrying out this control, the workers ought to participate to such an extent as to guarantee that the classes which are interested in war cannot practice deception in this connection."

If such measures are proposed for disarmament and the limitation of armaments in Europe, the Soviet Union will be the first to support and defend consistently such an initiative.

It would be stupid beyond words to believe that the economic stabilisation and a so-called "political pacification" of the bourgeois countries would solve the questions of vital interest to capitalism. Capitalism is, in its true stronger to-day than it was in 1920/21 — in the period of the most serious crisis — in the period of the most radical fight for power of the working class in a number of countries. The stabilisation in itself is transitory. The whole period of stabilisation will be accompanied by crises of varying intensity, by crises which the Labour movement in the West must make use of in order to organise the revolutionary forces, to prepare itself for the period when further attempts to stabilise capital will prove impossible.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Opening of the XIV. Party Conference of the C. P. of Russia.

Moscow, 18th December 1925.

Today there was opened in the Kremlin the XIV. Party Conference of the Communist Party of Russia. There are present 651 delegates with decisive and 602 delegates with advisory votes, representing 591,000 members and 433,000 candidates, as compared with a total of 736,000 members and candidates at the XIII. Party Conference.

Comrade Rykov opened the Party Conference in the name of the Central Committee. In his speech of welcome he made reference to the enormous advance in the work of construction since the last Party Conference, which has contributed to a

further strengthening of the sympathies of the workers of all countries for the Soviet Union, this centre of socialist construction, this stronghold of the international proletariat and symbol of the emancipation of the suppressed peoples. On the basis of the rapidly progressing process of reconstruction, the political activity of the working and peasant masses has greatly increased, which in turn is helping the Party to overcome all the obstacles in the way of State administration. These hindrances are not in the last resort to be attributed to the lack of experience in the systematic leadership of the economic life of the country, to the imperfect solution of complicated economic questions, but the errors connected with this, as for example in the collection of corn and in the working out of industrial plans, are only partial failures which do not cause any change in the general growth of the Soviet economy. It is true that the rate of development of the national economy has proved somewhat slow in comparison with the optimistic expectations, yet this pace suffices in order to continue greatly to strengthen the socialist elements of the Soviet economy.

The question of the relations of the working class to the peasantry and the question of the extension of the co-operative system remain cardinal questions. The decisions of the XIV. national Conference regarding these questions and of the Plenary Sitting of the Central Committee have proved to be fully justified. Since the XIII. Party Conference the Party has passed through the discussion against Trotzkyism, which was one of the most serious periods in the life of the Party since the death of Lenin. On this occasion the Party displayed the greatest unanimity and determination. The present Party Conference will investigate another group of questions which arise from the process of our economic construction. The Party has proved itself worthy of its teacher, it has not only kept pace with events, but has even proved itself to be in advance of them. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Thereupon the Conference unanimously elected the 47 members of the Presidium. These include: Comrades Stalin, Rykov, Bucharin, Tomsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Trotzky, Kalinin, Dzerzhinsky, Molotov, Voroshilov, Krupskaya.

The agenda of the Party Conference is as follows: 1. Political report of the Central Committee. 2. Organisatory report of the Central Committee. 3. Report of the Revision Commission. 4. Report of the Central Control Commission. 5. Report of the representatives of the C. P. R. in the E. C. C. I. 6. Actual questions of economic construction. 7. Tasks of the trade unions. 8. Work of the Communist Youth. 9. Proposed amendments to the Party Statutes. 10. Election of the Central institutions of the Party.

Thereupon Comrade Stalin, who was greeted with long and enthusiastic applause, rose to deliver the political report of the Central Committee.

* * *

Today's leading article of the "Pravda" welcomes the XIV. Party Conference of the C. P. R. and characterises the situation in which the Party Conference meets, as follows:

On the one hand there is an indisputable general growth in the economic life, a strengthening of socialist industry, increase of the state budget etc.; on the other hand, at the present moment specific difficulties have cropped up, particularly in connection with the miscalculation as to the amount estimated to be yielded by the collection of corn. In the background of the present economic development there is taking place a redistribution of class forces, and it is natural that the Party cannot undertake to draw the balance of the work accomplished and to outline the perspectives of the near future without a certain amount of inner friction.

In connection with the tremendously rapid development of Soviet economy the question of the relations of the working class to the peasantry has assumed new features. The two discussions against Trotzkyism were, as a matter of fact, discussions on the important peasant policy. In these discussions the Party unanimously maintained the Leninist position, and, for example, precisely the correct solution of the policy of prices as regards industrial products, has secured the successful economic development, the further course of which now confronts the Party with fresh tasks in the solution of the peasant question. In spite of the phenomenal growth of industry it cannot completely meet the increased demand.

Further, as a result of the economic strengthening of the country, the activity of all classes has increased, from the proletariat to the peasantry, up to the bourgeoisie. Within the peasantry there is ripening a process of differentiation and the

struggle between the big, little and middle peasants. On the one hand there has become necessary in the villages the further development of goods' economy and the revival of the activity of the village soviets etc.; on the other hand, on the basis of this developed goods' economy, the problem of the class differentiation in the villages has come to the fore. The Party must establish a firm alliance with the middle peasants, employ new methods in supporting the village poor, and counteract the new tendencies to exploitation of the relatively strengthened big peasantry.

As a result of the growth of industry, the composition of the town proletariat has altered, it has absorbed new sections, who do not yet clearly understand various questions of principle. Under these circumstances it is natural that differences of opinion have arisen, i. e. in the discussion on State Capitalism, the co-operatives and the middle peasants, big peasants and poor peasants. The Party has grown so much in the last few years, it has become so strong, it has become so thoroughly permeated with Leninism, that no liquidatory canker can seize it, no demagoguery can shake it. The party Conference will furnish its friends and enemies in all countries with a fresh proof of its unshakeable unity.

POLITICS

The Wave of Fascism in France.

By A. Bernard (Paris).

The month of November has enriched the political life of France with a new element. Various organisations of a Fascist character, the majority of which were founded a year ago, displayed considerable activity during last Winter but then quietened down; now they are once more beginning to show signs of intensive activity. The first "Fascio" in France was ceremoniously founded on Nov. 11th, at a meeting in the Lunapark. About 10,000 persons took part in these ceremonies. A week later, the same group organised a grand parade of "blue shirts" (costume of the French Fascists) in front of the "Arc de Triomphe" at the grave of the "unknown soldier"; 6,000 blue shirts took part. Blow followed on blow. There was the meeting of the "Jeunes patriotes", a meeting of the "Action française" (royalists) and meetings and demonstrations in the provinces. Two great Fascist newspapers "l'Avenir" and "l'Eclair" amalgamated, in order to "unite forces for the coming fight". A new great Fascist daily paper is being founded, the "Nouveau Siecle"; giant posters have covered the walls of Paris for days, millions have been spent for this purpose. Two great "neutral" papers for the information of the public, "Journal" and "Matin" are opening a campaign for the glorification of the success of Fascism in Italy.

This new wave of Fascism was called forth by the event which has for weeks been determining the whole political situation of France — the crisis of the petty bourgeoisie.

The further reasons for this crisis are the decline of imperialist France, the dissolution of the ties which for decades bound the petty bourgeoisie to the imperialistic policy of the banks which export capital. The economic basis of the old small investors' State, has disappeared. The new economic powers, the new financial capital, which is entering into an alliance with the new heavy industry, have not yet been able to carry through a re-grouping of forces. France is in a serious crisis of transition.

The more immediate reasons for the crisis of the petty bourgeoisie are to be sought in inflation, in the increase in the cost of living and the colonial wars, which are unpopular because they do not maintain the level of private incomes, but decrease them.

The crisis finds economic expression above all in the transition to the practice of hoarding; the small property owner, especially the peasant, no longer invests his money in State bonds but in material values (purchase of land, increase of his stock of cattle, agricultural implements, buildings, artificial manure). Beyond this, there is a general tendency to avoid State investments. These two phenomena have produced the result that the difficult but not insoluble financial position of France has become a serious financial crisis; the petty bourgeois masses of creditors of the National Debt are pressing for payment!

The crisis first expressed itself politically in a tendency of the parties of the Left Bloc to move towards the Left. At first

the socialists and then the radicals formulated a vague "radical" programme; taxation of capital, immediate peace. The swing of the petty bourgeois masses to the Left however, took place with greater rapidity. The backward masses of workers and small peasants in particular, urgently demanded a decisive change of policy. The consequence of this was a break up of the Left Bloc. Under the pressure of the masses, the socialists were forced to take up a more and more "radical attitude".

The multitudinous "re-arrangements" of the Government have not solved the crisis in the least. The Government is still, as it always was, under the dictatorship of the banks, and all its financial projects are unvaryingly directed towards the same aim, that of fleecing the middle classes and the working population through inflation and enormous new taxes.

The masses of the petty bourgeoisie (when we speak of the "petty bourgeoisie" we always include that part of the working class which is bound to the bourgeoisie economically, personally and also ideologically and politically as a result of having followed its lead for decades) — these masses are on the move. Their movement has split up the Left Bloc. In what direction are these masses pressing?

Their movement has so far no definitive direction!! They are trying to find one. A socialist paper (Vicent Auriol's "Midi socialiste") was perfectly right when it recently wrote: It is the "striving for new methods, for new principles of Government" which inspires these masses!

What is the attitude of the socialists to this wave of discontent and seeking after new methods which is sweeping through the bourgeoisie? They are juggling with revolutionary phrases. For one moment they were intoxicated with the plan of taking over the government all by themselves. (This was immediately after the second fall of Painlevé). But when the bourgeoisie declined the socialist adventure, these knights of the doleful countenance unmasked themselves; they declared that the bourgeoisie would one day regret having declined to put to the test the "moderation and loyalty" of the socialists who had "offered their help in order to save them from plunging into the abyss." This policy of empty words is now beginning to bear fateful fruit; for many long weeks, the movement of the discontented bourgeois who are seeking a way of escape, has crystallised round the programme of the socialists: taxation of capital and immediate peace. But this programme is merely empty sound! It is not followed by deeds!

This is the moment when disappointment is seizing the masses of the petty bourgeoisie! And this is also the moment when the soil is being prepared for Fascism.

The various organisations which at present represent in France the germ cells of the Fascist movement, have shown that they quite understand their task. The first signs of commencing disappointment among the masses called them on to the scene. The cadres of Fascism which are still weak but are liberally supported by industry, are now carrying their demagogic propaganda to the petty bourgeois masses. The various organisations of which we first spoke, are devoting themselves to this aim.

What are the prospects of the development of Fascism in France?

Two essential factors are in its favour: 1. the need of heavy industry to change over to a policy of violence with regard to the workers; 2. the commencing disappointment of the petty bourgeois masses which are beginning to stir.

Other important obstacles however interfere with the development of Fascism.

1. It is only a part of the bourgeoisie which thinks that a return to stabilisation and the inauguration of a policy of violence as regards the workers, will solve the crisis. The part which is probably at the moment the more powerful, wishes to carry on a policy of concessions to the proletariat.

2. The mood of the petty bourgeois masses, even when they are disappointed, is not directly favourable to Fascism. Democratic traditions are a serious obstacle to Fascism penetrating into these masses. Furthermore, their discontent is to a large extent determined by the colonial wars, and they are well aware that Fascism means the continuation and extension of these wars. Finally, the peasant is not immediately accessible to Fascism, for Fascism gives nothing to him. The catholic religious demagoguery of which one part of the Fascists makes use in the villages, creates internal contradictions.

3. America and England have no interest in a Fascist adventure in France; it might too easily burst the frame-work of Locarno.

Finally, the action of the Communist Party is of decisive significance. The awakening of Fascism was for it a signal; it took as the centre of its activity a wide action for a united front and chose as its aim for the fight in a united front, the central points of the programme formulated demagogically by the socialists: taxation of capital (solution of the financial crisis at the expense of the rich) and immediate peace, supplemented by the demand for the dissolution and disarmament of the Fascist leagues.

This action, in which the united front represents the "new method" which the masses are seeking, and in which the worker and peasant government appears as the "new form of government" to which we must fight our way through, may prevent Fascism developing into a mass movement.

The Change of Dynasty in Persia.

By Irandust.

The new Shah, Riza Shah Pahlawi, ascended the throne on 16th December. He has carried out in every form a definite stage in the development of the Persian State, for which the Dynasty of the Kadshars had in the last two decades been an actual corpse. The republican movement, which had repeatedly flared up in Persia in the last few years, was in its very nature an anti-dynastic movement and had put forward almost no economic and social demands. The lessons of the republican movement in Persia show that there did not exist in the country sufficient forces for a real bourgeois revolution, for a republican upheaval.

The real basis of the republican movement in Persia was the struggle for power between two hostile camps, between the old and the new Persia. In this struggle the slogans of the Republic were made use of as one of the tactical methods. This does not mean that the demand for the Republic does not now constitute a real programme for certain social groups in Persia. But up to the present these groups do not possess a sufficient political and social basis. The present political struggle in Persia has centred round the question of power and the struggle between the Shah's court and Riza Khan.

The regime of the Kadshars was based upon the feudal traditions, and therefore condemned Persia to remain decentralised, with an almost complete independence on the part of the provinces, with anarchy in the sphere of administration, with a constant financial crisis and dependence upon foreigners, mainly upon the bank of England. Riza Khan, who first came upon the political scene in Persia in the year 1921, was at the head of the movement for centralisation, for the subjugation of the feudal lords, for the setting up of a strong state power in Persia. Thus an obstinate struggle between the two camps was unavoidable. The main forces of Riza Khan consisted in the army which had been reorganised by him, and his method of work was that of an almost undisguised military dictatorship. The energetic activity of Riza Khan in destroying all the remnants of feudalism, compelled all the forces of the old Order to rally together for the protection of the regime of the Kadshars.

The most important social forces of the camp of reaction consisted of the following groups: hereditary feudal lords — leaders of tribes, and, connected with these leaders by bonds of political and economic privileges, the feudal land owners, nobles by birth, Court dignitaries and the higher clergy. The overthrow of the regime of the Kadshars meant for all these groups the end of their political power and privileges. The city bourgeoisie, the business people and craftsmen, the clerks and numerous officials joined the camp of Riza Khan. It was just here that the republican slogans corresponded with the demands of the most advanced sections of these groups. The main body of these groups, even if they were interested in the centralising work of Riza Khan, in the consolidation of the finances and in securing the safety of the commercial routes, feared, however, that on the other hand the further strengthening of the State power would impose heavy burdens upon the urban population, which endeavoured with every possible means to escape the burden of taxation and of other financial obligations. For these groups the slogan of the Republic meant a hesitating commencement of a movement against a possible strengthening of the dictatorship of Riza Khan. The vacillating attitude of these groups in the Republican movement was one of the causes of this crisis.

The outbreak of the Republican movement in the early part of 1924 and in 1925 consisted, in its very nature, attempts on

the part of the military dictator to overthrow the Kadshar dynasty, under the cloak of republican slogans. In this attempt he found no real support in those advanced sections of the Persian public whose interests are contrary to the regime of the Kadshars. The republican demonstrations revealed the extraordinary political and social weakness of these groups and their complete organisational confusion.

On the other hand, the attempt at a Republican insurrection met with the strongest resistance of the combined forces of reaction, which succeeded in opposing to the military dictator a firmly-welded organisation, and bringing into movement against him all the forces of the feudal regime. Immediately after the republican movement of the year 1924, the whole of South Persia was involved in the revolt of the feudal lords against Riza Khan, under the slogan of the throne of the Shah and Islam. At the same time the influential leading section of the Persian clergy commenced a furious campaign against the heretical aspirations of the Persian reformer, thereby speculating upon the fanaticism of the masses, and did not even shrink from provoking the recent murder of the American Consul in Teheran. The result was that the diplomatic corps, with the English Ambassador at the head, expressed their lack of confidence in the political maturity of the regime of Riza Khan, while the clerical members of the Persian parliament brought forward an interpellation with regard to his bad foreign and domestic policy.

A similar situation arose in Persia in the Summer of 1925, when all the reactionary elements of the country not only brought about the defeat of the new wave of the republican movement, but even promoted the plan, according to which the Shah, who had spent the last two years in the pleasure resorts of Europe, should be brought back to Persia in order to subjugate, and afterwards to remove the dictator who was so dangerous to them.

It was in such circumstances that Riza Khan carried out in Teheran the October overthrow, by removing the Kadshar dynasty without in any way determining the future form of government in Persia. It has now transpired that the overthrow was preceded by long negotiations of Riza Khan with individual groups in the camp opposed to him. Riza Khan, by intimidating the latter with the threat of a military putch and the growth of the republican movement, succeeded in getting some influential groups to come to a compromise, according to which he apparently undertook certain pledges regarding the latter being allowed to maintain their privileges.

All the circumstances of the October overthrow in Persia go to indicate that it was the result of a compromise between Riza Khan and the conservative camp. Riza Khan maintains that the form of government in Persia is without importance, provided real power remains in the hands of those who continue to lead Persia along the path of progress. Objectively considered, however, the situation is more complicated. The Pahlawi dynasty came to power by a compromise with the powers of the Past. This ties its hands in the sphere of economic and social reforms which young Persia requires.

The partial deflection to the Right of the social basis of the regime of Riza Khan renders probable the organising of the advanced elements of Persia outside the frame of the new regime, if the latter does not meet their demands. The events and the economic reforms of the last few years, which have given rise to fresh social sections, have already created the conditions for the further growth of new forces. The Republican movement in Persia has not only not come to an end, but it is only just commencing, and its further strengthening will proceed side by side with the economic development of Persia and the growth of the young Persian bourgeoisie.

The International Union of the Oppressed Peoples of the East.

By G. Lai-Shou (Hongkong).

The imperialistic deeds of blood in China have roused a powerful wave of indignation and revolt among the peoples of the East. In carrying out their sanguinary crimes, the French and English had employed, directly and indirectly, Hindus and Annamites — especially in Shanghai and Shantung.

The revolutionaries in the colonial countries have realised that the imperialists in Asia wish to continue the fratricidal system which they have applied in Africa, that of turning mem-

bers of the same race and class loose on one another and inciting them to kill each other. Two years ago, the French incited the Annamites in Indo-China to boycott the Chinese. This year, the Americans have egged on the natives of the Philippines to anti-Chinese demonstrations. Now the imperialists are trying to rouse the Chinese against the races of another colour.

In order to frustrate this cynical plan, the Chinese, Hindus, Annamites and Koreans have united and formed an anti-imperialist committee of action, from which has developed the "International Union of Oppressed Peoples".

In the summer of this year, the first conference was convened in Canton. This conference issued the following proclamation:

"The imperialists have slaughtered innocent Chinese students and workers. We the oppressed peoples of India, Annam (Indo-China) and Korea, who have suffered and still suffer under the yoke of the imperialist tyrants, cannot refrain from expressing our indignation and wrath at these abominable slaughters.

The imperialists are unmasked. The whole world can now see that their only object is robbery and plunder. Their civilisation is based on guns and bayonets. It is their custom to treat the natives of their colonies with brutality. Nowadays they are treating the Chinese in the same brutal way, because they already regard China as a colony.

Chinese brothers! You see how we are oppressed by the imperialists. You must fight with all your strength lest you fall victims to a similar oppression. Do not let China become a second India and a second Korea; do not let it be converted into a second Annam!...

It is time for us to organise, to join the exploited and oppressed of all countries, in order to set up together a united front against the oppressors.

We revolutionary Hindus, Koreans and Annamites, who have remained in China, would rather die with you in the fight for freedom than see you also become slaves!..."

This proclamation found immediate response. At the second conference the following joined the International Union of the Oppressed Peoples; the Kuomintang party, the Union for the Emancipation of Women, the Union of Revolutionary Women Telephone Operators, the National Trade Union Federation of China, the Peasants' Association of the Province of Kwantung, the Association of Young Revolutionary Soldiers, the Cadets of the People's Army.

Thereupon the Union was officially founded. In its constitution, the object of the Union is stated as being that of gathering together all the forces of the oppressed nationalities in order to carry through a liberating revolution. Furthermore, any member being guilty of an anti-revolutionary act, should not only be excluded from the Union but should be severely punished.

After the inaugural conference, the following proclamation was issued:

"Oppressed brothers of the whole world!

All small or weak countries — especially those of Asia — are subjected to the economic and political rule of imperialism.

The imperialists have turned our territories into colonial or semi-colonial countries. They compel us to buy their surplus goods. They compel us to supply them with raw materials. They rob us of our wealth. They exploit our labour. They deprive us of our political and social rights. They slay our innocent brothers. They not only enslave us, they threaten our race with annihilation.

The only means to save us from this oppression is to gather together all oppressed peoples and the exploited proletariat of the whole world and to overpower our common enemy, imperialism.

As our masters have united to oppress us, so we must gather together to defeat them....

We revolutionaries of China, India, Korea and Annam have today founded the "International Union of Oppressed Peoples". In this historic moment of the awakening of the oppressed masses of Asia, we appeal solemnly to you.

Oppressed peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries!

The imperialists can exploit us and treat us worse than cattle so long as we are disunited. Let us therefore unite! Union will be our strength, and we shall be as strong as lions. We are hundreds of millions against the small minority of tyrants! Do not fear! Even with their poison gas and their guns they can never kill all of us. Unite your forces

with ours in a fight for justice and fraternity and the annihilation of imperialist tyranny!

Workers of the whole world!

You know that those who exploit and oppress us are the same who exploit and oppress you. The capitalists make use of you to oppress us; they make use of us to oppress you. In the late war, they brought Negro and Asiatic troops to Europe to kill Europeans. And now they are introducing white proletarians into our countries, to assassinate the Negroes and the Asiatic proletariat. You will not be free as long as we are under the imperialist yoke. And we shall not be able to emancipate ourselves until you are free. Help us to emancipate ourselves! By helping us you help yourselves! Our cause is yours. In fighting for our own freedom we fight at the same time for yours.

Comrades! Let us break the imperialist power by our revolutionary energy!

The emancipation of the exploited and oppressed must be the work of the exploited and oppressed themselves!

Comrades! Unity is strength! Let us unite!

Down with imperialism!

Long live the international unity of the proletariat and of the oppressed peoples!"

During the time of the strike, the activity of the "Union" limited itself to China and the neighbouring countries. For the time after the strike, a plan of work has already been elaborated. It consist in getting into direct touch with the associations of Japan, the Indian National Congress, the nationalist and revolutionary organisations of the Philippines, of Java and other colonies, "the Inter-Colonial Union" in France, the African Brotherhood and other Negro organisations in the United States and Africa. It was also resolved to enter into close relations with proletarian organisations in the capitalist countries, in order to establish an anti-imperialist united front.

Parliamentarism in America.

By J. Louis Engdahl (Chicago).

For more than a century and a quarter, the American Congress has been meeting punctually, according to the constitution adopted on Sept. 17, 1787, on the first Monday in December. This year is no exception. Reclining in the lap of the world's richest capitalist state, the American parliament will talk a little during December, then adjourn for the Christmas holidays, after which it will continue its debates until it is time for the senators and representatives to rush home for the 1926 congressional campaigns that are held in every section of the nation and come to an end with the elections in November.

In fact the electoral struggle may be said to be already under way, just as there is already considerable manoeuvring in anticipation of the 1928 presidential election; American capitalist politics move by the calendar, rather than by the acuteness of any particular problem that may be confronting the nation.

This fact that the American Congress that was elected in November 1924, only now goes into session 13 months after its election, is proof of the strength of the executive power of the government lodged in President Coolidge and his cabinet. It also exposes the breakdown of the American form of capitalist "democracy" that has been held up to the people of the world as ideal, a form that even Russia was arrogantly urged to adopt after its 1917 revolution. This form has been characterised by its so-called "checks and balances". Instead of acting as a medium of popular expression, however, as it is claimed, its whole tendency is to counteract any influence that the masses may seek to exert upon legislation, even within the bourgeois state. The framers of the American Declaration of Independence and the federal constitution had an extreme distrust of the masses.

The present Congress meets 13 months after its election because the colonial forefathers inserted this provision in the constitution, so that newly elected legislators would have a chance to cool off after the heat of an electoral campaign before being called upon to frame laws in the interests of private property. When laws are passed by both houses of Congress they do not go into effect immediately. They must be sent to the President for his consideration. He may either approve the legislation or veto it. If he vetoes it, Congress may pass it over his veto by a difficult two-thirds vote. But still that does not

put the law into operation. It may be challenged in the courts and through years of litigation may be carried up to the highest tribunal — the United States Supreme Court — that may declare it "unconstitutional". That completely wipes it out.

There are nine judges on the U. S. supreme court, presided over by the arch-reactionary, William Howard Taft, defeated for president in 1912, only two out of the 49 states voting for him. Since a majority vote of five to four in the court may determine a decision, one judge has the power to overthrow, by casting his vote either way, any legislation adopted by the 500 senators and representatives in the American parliament.

This power has recently been used to outlaw the women's eight hour day, at the same time upholding so-called anti-syndicalist laws, that may be used to declare workers' organisations illegal. Thus while refusing the shorter work day as a protection to women in industry, the supreme court through its decision sends the Communist, **Ben Gitlow**, candidate of the Workers (Communist) Party for mayor in New York City in the recent municipal elections, to prison for his activities in organising the left wing in the American labour movement.

Still the workers in the United States have faith in this Congress. Labour voted overwhelmingly for Coolidge last year. It has not protested because Congress has not been called into session to consider vital questions like the growing campaign of wage cutting, the anthracite coal strike involving 158,000 miners, and the farm crisis. Resentment arises among only a few of the farmers because no attention is paid to their needs.

Instead, the press is full to the brim concerning the ineffectual attempts being made to enforce the prohibition law. Boot-legging of liquor becomes the greatest national problem; blinding the workers and poor farmers to vital issues affecting them.

Under cover of a plea for "economy" in government, taxes are to be reduced. But it always turns out that the reductions are to affect principally the rich and the profit-glutted industries, while the burden upon the backs of the workers is to be increased rather than lightened.

In fact, workers and poor farmers in the United States are supposed to know so little about their own problems that President Coolidge, in a speech before the New York chamber of commerce on the eve of the opening of Congress declared, that the cost of living had decreased since he had become president, while wages had increased. The figures of his own department of labour, presided over by a Pittsburgh multi-millionaire, gave the lie to this claim.

Although Coolidge was elected as a republican, he will depend on both democratic and republican votes to help him put his measures through congress. This is especially true of his effort to secure approval for the world court. This move in Congress was inaugurated by a democrat, and more democrats than republicans are expected to vote for it. Thus the same economic interests are seen operating in both capitalist parties.

Similarly, with regard to the question of recognition of the **Union of Soviet Republics**, Coolidge is opposed to recognition, like Harding and Wilson before him. But the republican head of the senate committee on foreign relations, Senator **Borah**, is in favour of recognition and will urge it, although in doing so he will be compelled to fight the American Federation of Labour.

The last convention of the American Federation of Labour again endorsed the policy of "punishing enemies and rewarding friends" in the two Wall Street parties. Labour's so-called "friends", however, among the capitalist politicians, especially the members of the so-called **LaFollette** group, are turning their backs upon their "labour" connections, and crawling as close as possible to the Coolidge bandwagon, if they are not permitted to get upon it. As a result of the A. F. of L.'s hostility to independent political action, and its betrayal of the Farmer-Labour Party, there will be only a small group of farmer-labour members in this Congress. It is almost impossible to distinguish some of these from Wall Street's democrats and republicans.

Militant labour, therefore, in the United States, is again feeling the ground under its feet. It will attack Congress from the outside. Although the Workers (Communist) Party is not yet strong enough to send its representatives into Congress, it will work steadfastly in the months ahead for the building of the Labour Party based on the broad masses of the industrial workers organised in their trade unions. This session of Congress will furnish the workers a multitude of lessons teaching them the necessity of class political action. Chief among these will

be the effort to enact legislation forbidding strikes in the coal-mining and other basic industries; also laws against the foreign born workers, providing for finger printing and registration of alien workers, and their deportation for participation in strikes or other movements seeking the betterment of the conditions of the working class.

Thus the workers in the United States, in spite of intensive and continuous "Americanism" campaigns, appealing to their 100 per cent patriotism, are beginning to realise that they are confronted with a class government, dominated by the great capitalists. That realisation will bloom into greater class struggles; greater victories for the American working class.

The Class Struggle in Finland.

By K. Manner.

Finland is a country in which, in immediate connection with the Russian revolution of 1917—1918 a revolutionary movement developed on a vast scale, which however ended with the defeat of the proletariat because it was under the leadership of a vacillating Left social democracy. The period which followed 1918 was a time of the tensest uninterrupted fight of the Finnish proletariat for its elementary rights.

Since 1920, when the revolutionary elements assumed a firm position in the **united trade union organisation of the workers**, the White Guardist Government has kept a particularly careful watch on the organisation. The aim of the policy of the bourgeoisie was to ensure that the influence of the social democratic leaders should prevail in the trade union movement. Thanks to this cooperation of the reactionaries, the social democratic leaders gained for themselves the leadership in the trade union movement all the more easily because, in the difficult times, some of the leading elements which had previously sided with the Left became turncoats. The attitude of the masses organised in trade unions however is quite a different one, especially in recent times. Thus for instance, in the question of the unity of the international trade union movement, the workers almost unanimously agree with the point of view of the **Anglo-Russian Unity Committee**. Hundreds of resolutions which were passed by the local trade union organisations and even by trade union congresses, as well as resolutions of larger mass meetings, are evidence of this.

A second example of the class attitude of the masses organised in trade unions, is offered by the storm of protest which arose against the social democratic and centralist majority of the leaders of the trade union Federation because, in defiance of a resolution of the trade union congress, it had sent a delegate to the conference of the **Labour Office of the League of Nations** and invited **Oudegeest to Finland**. Oudegeest's visit however did not take place because the workers would have given him anything but a warm reception.

A further proof of the activity of the workers was the circumstance that the question of trade union unity, which the leaders of the trade union Federation did not at first include in the programme of the campaign of trade union agitation, which was organised for the first week in November, had to be included in the programme later, because of the demands of mass meetings of workers. Such an increase in the force of the fighting spirit and intensification of the principles of class war in the trade union organisations, promoted also a **change in the numerical strength of the trade union organisations**. In the last years, when the internal conditions were so unstable, the membership had either not changed or had even somewhat decreased. Now however, the membership has begun to increase. The social democratic leaders must behave with more reserve, especially in view of the fact that the membership of their party has, in the course of five years, decreased from 64,000 to 18,000.

During the whole period since the revolution, the class-conscious young workers have taken the lead in the fight against the White Guardist Government. The bourgeoisie is just as well aware of this as is the proletariat. In 1923, the mass organisation of young workers was forcibly dispersed, but they immediately formed a new organisation, the **socialist Youth League** which has not affiliated to any international organisation. In Finland, the mere fact of belonging to the **Communist International**, the **Young Communist International** or the **Red International of Labour Unions** is punished with the utmost rigour of the law. (It should be mentioned in this connection, that apart from the

said Youth League in Finland, there is also an illegal Youth League which is affiliated to the Young Communist International.) The White Guardist Government kept a careful watch on the socialist Youth League, prevented its activities and persecuted its organisations and members.

It had always been expected that a general attack would be made on the Youth League which numbers 9000 members, a remarkable fighting force in view of the conditions in Finland. This attack has now begun. The secret police of the Government took action at the beginning of November. The leaders of the League were arrested. In the same way, the responsible members of the district central committees of the League throughout the country, were arrested. Even individual active members did not escape arrest. Altogether about forty juveniles have been arrested up to now, but the arrests are still going on.

Why these persecutions? The semi-official organs could give no other reason for them than that the arrests were made with the object of "obtaining material for bringing the accusation and for dissolving the League". Consequently there was no material, there could be none. Efforts are being made to discover material in the confiscated minutes and papers of the management and the committees of the legal union. We very well understand why the White Guardists are in such a hurry. The socialist Youth League has developed into a mass organisation which is following the lines of class war and the influence of which extends both to the urban and rural proletarian youth, to a certain extent even to the peasant youth; the League is the most active organisation of the working class wherever it is a case of advocating the cause of the proletariat. The active members of this union also took part in the Workers' sport, abstinence, and trade union movement.

The fight between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat to win over the peasantry is also characteristic of the class war in Finland. The bourgeoisie is trying to drive a wedge between the workers and peasants. Furthermore it is trying to attach the peasantry to itself by "reforms". As a matter of fact though, the position of the working peasantry has become worse than ever, and this circumstance is preparing the soil for an approach between the workers and peasants. At the two last political elections since 1923, the Workers and small peasants have taken their stand in one election Bloc against the bourgeoisie and against social democracy. The Congress of the union of small landowners which was held recently, welcomed a delegation of industrial workers. In the elections for the municipal councils which are to take place in December, the workers and peasants will once more, in dozens of rural districts, stand on a common platform and in alliance with one another. At the same time, a disintegration, which has already led to organisatory resignations, is noticeable within the peasant party which is led by the bourgeoisie.

Whilst the above described process has been going on within the revolutionary movement, the leading strata of social democracy are constantly revealing themselves more clearly and more definitely as the Left wing of the bourgeoisie. For the forthcoming municipal elections, the leading sections of the social democrats have joined with the bourgeois parties and with the large peasants' party in an election bloc, thus forming a general Bloc against the revolutionary workers and the working peasants. In Helsingfors, the social democrats have proposed to the Finnish national parties a bloc against the Swedish national parties for the election of the Lord Mayor, on the basis of a Finnish nationalist programme. The social democratic leaders speak of arming against Russia. They are members of the White Guardist, militarist volunteer associations etc. The social democratic leaders are also the most infamous informers, who deliver up the revolutionary workers and communists to the secret police.

The social democratic leaders are trying by every possible means to pave the way to a coalition government with the bourgeoisie. The most important political question for the social democrats is how to organise a "democratic Centre". In spite of all this, and in spite of the decrease in the membership of the social democratic party, the latter still has considerable influence especially among the rural proletarian and semi-proletarian groups.

Thus the bourgeois front, including the social democratic leaders, is fairly solid in its opposition to the revolutionary movement. In the bourgeoisie there are indeed signs of internal conflicts, thus for instance in the question as to which groups should have political influence and who should occupy the richest posts in the organisation of the voluntary defence corps and in

the army of the Finnish republic, which has been built up with the help of German imperialism and with the money from England and America. These internal differences of opinion have, here and there, almost led to a **punch on the part of the officers**. There is at the same time a certain amount of friction on a national basis arising from the contradictions on both sides between the Finns and Swedes.

Various imperialist Powers are making use of all these differences of opinion to serve their own purposes. At present, England's influence is undoubtedly decisive. The English are even making up a programme for the construction of a navy for the Finns. English capital ensures its influence by being the chief purchaser of Finland's most important export goods, wood products. It is no exaggeration to say that Finland is dependent on the mercy of the English pound. This also explains the partial stabilisation of Finnish capitalism which can at present be observed. Nevertheless this stabilisation is built on a very uncertain foundation.

The State finances which were put "in order", partly by Anglo-American advances of money and partly by enormous taxation of the workers and peasants, have been so shaken by the military budget that not only the grasping large peasants, but even the capitalist circles in trade and industry are afraid to go any further. The budget of the coming year will swallow up half the so-called capital savings of the Treasury, which amount to about 1700 millions Finnish marks, and were obtained in the course of the last few years by the measures described above. This explains why the so-called Great Commission of the Finnish Parliament or, to put it more exactly, of the First Chamber, at first refused the proposal of the Government to allocate money for the construction of a navy, which even threatened to produce a Government crisis. This was avoided through a compromise. At the suggestion of the agrarians, Parliament passed the following bill at the second reading: the Government is proceeding with the construction of a navy without previously determining the type of the ships, and for this purpose allocates a sum of 215 million Finnish marks, distributed over four years.

Unemployment was worse last winter than in the previous four years. It now threatens to become worse still.

The index of the cost of food is increasing continuously, and that in spite of the last good harvests.

It is difficult for the masses of workers to maintain their standard of living. If we add the political reprisals of the White Guardists, there is plenty of inflammatory material about. In spite of the difficult times, the activity of the workers has increased. The attack on the Youth League immediately led to a mass movement against the White Guardists. The Finnish workers will not desist from the fight.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Offensive of the Amsterdam Trade Union International in Mexico.

By F. Bellugue (Moscow).

During the course of the session of the General Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions in Amsterdam, it was agreed to bring the trade union movement of Mexico within the sphere of the reformists. It was decided to invite a Mexican workers' delegation to visit the European organisations affiliated to the Amsterdam International.

This decision is part of an offensive programme of the leaders of the Amsterdam trade union international. Greatly perturbed at the growing success of the Red International of Labour Unions, especially among the peoples of the East and of the Far East, the leaders have decided to make every effort in order to capture the American organisations which they have not yet got into their hands. This offensive can be divided into three parts.

1. A split is to be brought about in those organisation which do not belong to any International, as well as in those to which the Red International of Labour Unions could extend its influence, and new organisations are to be set up which will be prepared to affiliate to the reformists.

2. A delegation, under the leadership of Albert Thomas, is to be sent to the most important countries of South America. Nobody

can deny that the former French Munitions Minister, wherever he goes, works for the IFTU., just as little as one can deny that the leaders of the IFTU. work for the International Labour Office of Geneva, this centre of class collaboration which is controlled by Albert Thomas. It is known under what conditions the active champions, as well as the organisations of the various countries of South and Central America have been persecuted, who have adopted a hostile attitude to the aims of the IFTU. and to the beautiful class collaboration speeches of the delegate from Geneva.

3. To bring the American Federation of Labour into the IFTU., in order thereby to work against the Left wing in the Amsterdam International represented by the English trade unions.

There exists in Mexico a young organisation which has been formed as a result of many revolutions against the despotism of the big land owners. The membership of the CROM. (Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana, Trade Union Federation of Mexico) amounts to about a million. The statutes and the programme of the CROM. are, in many of the main points, opposed to the statutes and programme of the IFTU. The workers of Mexico, who are special victims of American capitalism, cannot agree to co-operate with the American Federation of Labour. On the contrary, with true class spirit, they direct their actions against the native as well as against the foreign exploiter.

Towards this trade union movement Amsterdam has employed various kinds of tactics. When the President of the Mexican Republic, Calles visited Europe, the newspapers of the Amsterdam International welcomed him with the most fulsome flattery. It was proclaimed with a great set out that this one-time school teacher and trade unionist, who, thanks to the enthusiastic trust of a patriotic and liberty-loving country, had become the head of the state, would soon induce the millions of Mexican workers to affiliate to the IFTU. Two years have elapsed since then and the CROM. still remains outside of any international, if one disregards the Pan American Federation of Labour — in which it occupies a special position — which defends the soil of Mexico against the hegemony of foreign capital, especially of the United States.

Amsterdam, regarding its wish as a reality, has included in its Year Book in the list of names of organisations which are true to it, or which share its standpoint of international inactivity, the CROM. And thus, by chalking on a few extra figures and adding a few millions, one becomes an international organisation with an imposing number of members.

As, however, the inclusion of the CROM. in the Year Book has not led to any membership contributions or to a decision on the part of this body to affiliate to the IFTU., Ondegeest has taken his finest pen in hand in order to present himself as the protector of the workers of Mexico, the victims of United States imperialism; connections have been established; a delegation of Mexican workers will be invited to come, to whom will be pointed out the advantages of affiliation to the IFTU.

At the first International Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions the CROM. was represented. And only recently one of its most influential members took part in the decisions of the revolutionary Textile Workers International; categorical declarations on his part leave no further doubt possible that "if the CROM. is not affiliated to Amsterdam, it is because this international is not regarded by us as an international of the class struggle and we are unable to affiliate to it." He stated, in addition, that he now desired ever closer connections between the RILU. and the CROM.

Communist Successes in the Swedish Trade Union Movement.

By Smolan (Stockholm).

Since the secession of Höglund, the communist influence in the Swedish Labour movement has considerably increased. This is particularly evident in the trade unions where the communists have developed an indefatigable activity with obvious success.

The communists advocate the rapid establishment of industrial unions, the setting up of a united front of the trade unions and a systematically organised fight against Fascism and strike breaking. Their demands are scorned and sabotaged by the social

democratic trade union bureaucrats, but it is just that which has opened the eyes of thousands of social democratic workers and driven them into the opposition.

The social democratic workers recognise more and more that the resolution passed three years ago, providing for the establishment of industrial unions, is being deliberately sabotaged by their leaders. The Trade Union League in Sweden consists of 34 craft unions; according to the brilliant suggestion of the president of the League, these are now to be reduced to 33 and to be re-christened "Industrial Unions". This mockery of the members was even too much for social democratic union leaders; at several conferences of the unions they have expressed their disapproval of this kind of "reform". The Trade Union League for instance, wishes to maintain the various existing unions of woodworkers, whereas the raftsmen and foresters pronounced themselves, at the last conference of their union, in favour of amalgamating with the unions of saw-mill workers and paper-makers.

The leaders brusquely reject a united front with the syndicalist "Central Organisation"; they are trying to rid the world of the syndicalists by refusing to "recognise" them and denying their right to existence. The communist workers regard the syndicalist trade union as a sectarian organisation but do not believe that its 35,000 members can be wiped off the face of the earth by mere "non-recognition". In actual industry, the syndicalists have altogether no influence, but among the workers in the railways, building trade, mines and forests they are to a certain extent as strong as the reformists, so that, especially in the gigantic forests of North Sweden, malicious reciprocal attacks have taken place.

It is just in North Sweden that the predominant influence of the communists has led to the syndicalist organisations being accepted on equal terms in the trade union cartels. This united front from below has largely contributed to the smoothing over of existing contradictions. The fact that voices have lately been heard among the syndicalists, demanding common action with the object of amalgamating later on with the free trade unions, shows how correct is the attitude of the communists.

The social democrats however wish to prevent this, for they are afraid that an amalgamation of this kind would strengthen the Left wing. Thus they have revealed themselves to the whole world as being really responsible for splits. The Federation Executive in a circular letter, has demanded that all trade union cartels break off relations with the syndicalists. It is true however, that it was thoroughly defeated. All the meetings of delegates of the cartels indignantly rejected this attempt on the part of their leaders to cause a split, many of them proceeded with their agenda without discussing it. The Federation Executive however was not daunted. Whereas it has done nothing in the fight against the exploiters, it has circulated a second letter, calling upon the unions to compel their local groups to carry out the split demanded!

The metal workers trade union in Göteborg which, with its nearly 8000 members is the second largest local trade union in the country and has for a long time been led by the communists, although they are in the minority, recently drew up a fighting programme and sent it to all the trade unions in the kingdom, as an "appeal to Swedish workers".

In this appeal it is stated that the strike-breaker guards are becoming more and more dangerous to the organised workers because they are being formed into firm Fascist shock troops by the exploiters under the very eyes of the "Labour Government". In several strikes, the armed strike breakers were invested by the authorities with the rights of special police, and with their fire-arms, they seriously wounded numerous people and murdered a few workers. In several strikes of municipal workers, the trade union leaders, under the pressure of the "Labour Government", have permitted the Fascists employed by the reactionary magistrate to be retained when the fight was ended, so that the organisations of strike breakers are being fostered at the expense of the community.

The class-conscious metal workers of Göteborg who, under the purposeful leadership of the communists, have brought things so far that in all the metal works in the town, membership of the organisation is obligatory — syndicalists and unorganised workers must join the union or leave the works — are determined to suffer such conditions no longer, and demanded that all the organised workers of the country agree without delay to their fighting programme. The latter, among other things, provides for:

Registration by name of all strike breakers and Fascists. Written and verbal propaganda amongst the whole of the working class for an unrelenting fight against Fascism and strike breaking.

Investigation into the possibilities of forming a strong workers' militia to protect the organised workers against the armed strike breakers.

This programme met with general agreement in the circles of the free workers and with unbounded rage among the social democrats and the bourgeoisie. It made a perfect triumphal advance through the whole country, during which the slogan that the communists should remain and continue their activities in the trade unions, bore fruit. In almost every meeting, where even only a few communists were present to advocate the programme it was adopted unanimously. Although here and there, the workers who were strongly infected with social democracy, hesitated, it was only in the question of the last point because, being under the spell of democratic illusions, they consider a workers' militia superfluous; even they however voted for the rest of the programme. The Metal Workers' Trade Union of the capital, which is dominated by the Social Democrats, also accepted the programme and elected an executive committee. Numerous trade union cartels as well as a district conference of the syndicalists expressed themselves unreservedly in favour of the slogans of the appeal. Thus, in a short time, more than 130,000 organised workers, or 35% of all those organised in trade unions, have expressed their approval of the fighting programme of the "insignificant communist sect", indeed, in some parts of the country, such as Norrbotten, it was accepted by practically the whole of the working population.

The metal workers' trade union of Göteborg twice called upon the leading organisations to place themselves at the head of the movement it had inaugurated and, relying on this mass demonstration, to take into their hands the carrying through of the programme. When however the Trade Union Federation finally condescended to give an answer, it was in the negative.

The Federation Executive, all the members of which are Parliamentary deputies and consider themselves merely delegates of social democracy and the Government, has no desire to fight except against communists and syndicalists.

Following on this, a second general meeting of the metal workers' trade union of Göteborg, in which the social democrats numerically far exceeded the communists, decided to call a general national conference for January 23rd and 24th next year. This step also meets with the approval of wide circles of workers.

THE WHITE TERROR

Appeal of the E. C. C. I. and the R. I. L. U. against the Mass Murders in Chile.

To the Workers of all Countries!

Already some months ago news arrived regarding the persecution of workers in Chile. But so long as the government of General Alessandri was in power, all reports which would enable one to gain an actual knowledge of the facts were suppressed. From the news which has come to hand it appears that the facts are as follows:

In June last a number of workers in the saltpetre district in the North were dismissed, because they belonged to a trade union organisation. The workers replied to this insolent provocation with a protest strike. During the strike collisions occurred in Alto de San Antoni with the police. The latter attempted to break up a meeting of strikers, a tumult arose and two police were killed. This incident was seized upon by the government as providing a welcome opportunity to deliver a long prepared blow against the labour movement.

Soldiers proceeded with machine guns and cannons, just as if they were in a war, against the concentration camps where the dwellings of the workers are situated, surrounded the huts and dwellings and trained their guns upon the crowd of people gathering there. A progrom mood had been provoked among the soldiers by spreading the report that the leaders of the organisation had been bribed with Peruvian money in order to stir up unrest in the country and to render more difficult the situation

of Chile which is at present engaged in a dispute with Peru regarding the question of frontiers.

When the workers saw the approaching troops, they organised a group of women and children whom it was intended to send to meet the soldiers in order to dissuade them from attacking them. But the commander of the troops gave the order to fire. The bullets poured into the ranks of the women and children tearing the bodies of these unfortunate victims. The soldiers then attacked the workers. Over 200 workers were slaughtered.

When the news of this "heroic deed" was received in Santiago, the capital of Chile, the bourgeoisie rejoiced. The provocation had succeeded! The Minister for War sent to the Military governor of Iquique who had conducted the slaughtering of the proletarians, a telegram of encouragement: "I hope you will carry on the work you have commenced. Mete out the severest punishment to those guilty of the revolt". That was the signal for a legal mass murder. From now on, every day, workers were arrested and shot. Others were beaten, thrown into prison or deported to the South, to the island of Tierra des Fuego. Over a thousand of the best and most active comrades in the trade union movement were murdered. Whole families of workers were gathered together in groups and mown down with machine guns. In the province of Tarspaka alone, over 3000 persons were slaughtered.

What was the object of the government in carrying out these murders! It wished to annihilate the trade unions and the Communist Party, which in Chile is the leading Party of the proletariat. The reactionary press openly wrote of a "campaign of annihilation" against the Communists.

Workers! Comrades!

The governments in Chile were and still are nothing else than lackeys of the all-powerful saltpetre trust. Yesterday it was Alessandri, today it is Figueroa a Larrain.

The offensive against the workers in Chile is an offensive against the gains which the Chilean trade union organisations have won in more than twenty years of struggle. The attempts of the employers to depress wages and working conditions continually met with obstinate and well-organised resistance.

During the last few years the price of Chilean saltpetre has fallen. Owing to the increased employment of chemical substitutes the Chilean saltpetre capitalists are compelled to sell their products more cheaply.

Hence this offensive against the working class. Profits have to be saved. Hence this blood bath, hence the slaughter of the most revolutionary elements, hence the destruction of the premises and the printing presses of the trade unions and the Communist Party. The voice of the revolutionary proletariat is to be stifled, the centres of resistance are to be annihilated.

Workers of all countries!

The massacre of proletarians in Chile is part and parcel of the offensive of international Capital against the gains the workers have won in long years of severe struggles. This offensive is directed against the existence of the trade unions themselves, against the eight hour day, against the workers' present wages and working conditions.

There is only one means of repelling this attack of international Capital: International solidarity of the working class! United Front of all the oppressed and exploited! Uniting of all organised forces into a single steel-like, bloc, into one great army, in order to ward off and beat back the attacks of the capitalists.

Workers!

Consolidate your positions, fight for the United Front! Proclaim your solidarity with the workers in Chile who are engaged in a revolutionary struggle!

Long live the International Class Solidarity of the Proletariat!

Long live the International Proletarian United Front!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

A Great Stride towards the Electrification of the Soviet Union.

By G. Krshishanovski,

President of the Commission for Planned Economy in the Soviet Union.

On December 6th, an electric power station, constructed for the consumption of peat, the largest so far in the whole world, was opened at Shatura, near Moscow.

The opening of the Shatura power station is a great event, for it is the completion of a period of the work of electrification of the central industrial district of the Soviet Union and of Red Moscow, its heart. With this, we are making a complete transition from the period of restoration to the period of fresh development and construction, for with this we leave far behind us both the figures and the norms of the pre-war times. The electric supply of Moscow already exceeds double the maximum of the pre-war time.

The Shatura power station has recently been visited by many commissions and delegations. Foreigners, whose names are distinguished in the world of science and technics, have also come to see it. Their unanimous verdict is evidence that we have in Shatura a power station which is an unsurpassed model of its kind, not only for us, who are still novices in the domain of electrification, but also for all foreign countries with their developed industry. Our gifted leader, Lenin, the founder of the plan for the electrification of the Soviet Union, can, it is true, not witness the realisation of his creative conception.

The power station of Shatura is one of the most important of that series of thirty district power stations of the Soviet Union, provided for in the first place in our plan of electrification. As is well known, this plan was passed at the 8th Soviet Congress in 1920, thanks to the indefatigable support on the part of Lenin. At that time he declared that the enormous work of reconstruction which is being carried out by communism, is closely bound up with the question of electrification. The great undertaking of the 8th Congress coincided however with the beginning of a series of hard years of economic devastation. Only the last two or three of the past five years represent the transition from desolation to the process of reconstruction. For the first time, in the present economic year 1925/26, we see before us the prospect of positive economic work in the sense that we pass directly from the struggle for quantity to the struggle for quality.

In this process, it becomes clearer and clearer to the masses of what great significance just for the qualitative improvement of our existence, of our political life and our economics, are our successful results in the domain of electrification. Not many years of work at our economic front will pass, before the significance of electrification as the special socialist basis of the whole of our economic construction, will have ceased to be a question of dispute, and have become a generally accepted doctrine. This is why the opening of a model district power station such as that at Shatura, the work of which is now equal to the harmonious activity of an army of 300,000 men perfectly capable of work, is such a remarkable impulse for the coming renewal of our whole life.

We only have to consider the economic situation of our day, the urgent necessity with which we are faced of building a number of new factories and works, and the necessity of re-arranging all the relations between our industry and our agriculture; we only have to think of the enormous work which lies before us in the field of the industrialisation of our agriculture, and of all the complicated relations which are concealed behind the slogan "the face to the village!" in order to realise at once the special significance which our works of electrification will acquire in a very short time.

The Shatura power station, when it is in full work, will, even in the immediate future, demand the production of more than 20 million poods (1 pood = 16 kilo) of peat. Hardly five years ago, the production of such enormous quantities of peat in such a comparatively limited space, would have meant the greatest difficulties for us. To-day, we are absolutely convinced that we can meet this demand. We know that the technics of the production of peat has made such tremendous progress in the

last five years, that we might boldly advance, and undoubtedly will advance, to a much larger annual output.

Three years ago we took for granted in our technical calculations that for every kilowatt electric power, 2½—3 kilo air-dried peat must be burnt. The electric power station of Shatura is now being worked with the excellent furnaces of engineer Makarijev, which in view of their heating power make it possible for our peat to compete with crude oil, the most powerful and most suitable heating material, by which the expenses can be reduced by 30—40%. Now we have come so far that foreigners can study the method of burning peat in the plant of the Shatura works. The result is that already the cost of production of electric power at the Shatura works now amounts to about two pre-war kopeks which corresponds to one American cent, so that it is just about equal to the American price of electric power.

In the immediate future, a steam plant of 35 atmospheres is to be constructed at these works; the quantities of peat used will amount to about 1½ kilo per kilowatt hour, so that the mighty turbines of the Shatura power station in the future, will produce the cheapest energy in our country. Thus we have already solved, not only theoretically but also practically, one of the tremendous economic tasks of turning to account the energy slumbering in our enormous stores of peat. The Shatura power station is an electric peat combination which shows in a telling way that, in the future, peat will play as important a part in the whole of the Northern and central districts of the Soviet Union, as did coal in the economic development of England.

The mechanisation and electrification of the production of peat further creates the possibility of a new method of turning to account the areas that remain after the peat has been extracted. This offers us a new field for agricultural improvement. The combination of producing electricity from peat, not only turns the energy of the peat into electrical energy, but also wins new surfaces for cultivation from the bogs.

The opening of the Shatura power station is an important stage in the whole creative work of the Red central industrial district of the Soviet Union. Similar achievements are on the programme in the North West near Leningrad, in the Donetz basin, near Shterovka, in the Urals etc. These will be followed by the Caucasus and Turkestan. At the same time, our constructive work is multiplied tenfold both in other urban centres and in our enormous rural districts. The growth of the electric network ensures ever increasing harmony in our whole economic system and facilitates its systematic reformation. We have already left behind us the most difficult stage of the work of electrification, which was begun in the conditions of the storm of war and of economic devastation. A gigantic field of work still stretches before us. The industrially developed countries are still far in advance of us in the domain of electro-technical practice and with regard to the capital which they have invested in the work of electrification. It is the proletarian dictatorship however which for the first time gives our country the possibility of placing the mighty waves of electrical energy at the immediate service of the workers. It is only here, in our country, that they consolidate the alliance between the workers and peasants which is destined to overthrow the old world.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

Destruction of the Italian Co-operative Societies by Fascism.

By Algo.

The three years' bloody rule of Fascism in Italy has destroyed the co-operative movement. The "Lega Nazionale", the National Union of Italian Workers' Cooperatives was completely dissolved on Nov. 15th. This League which was founded in 1886 and previously embraced about 8000 Cooperatives, had declined to 4600 at the beginning of 1924 in consequence of the Fascist destruction, plunder and incendiarism. In the end, there were not more than 1000 Cooperatives still in connection with the League. All the others were already destroyed or had submitted to the Fascist rule.

There is system in the Fascist attacks on the Labour movement. It is not only the Communist Parties that are destroyed, its attacks are also directed against other Labour organisations, especially against the trade unions, and Cooperatives. This was also the method of procedure of the blood-thirsty Horthy and the executioner Zankov. Mussolini has been

carrying on a campaign of destruction against the Italian Co-operatives for three years.

In view of the complete destruction quite recently of the Italian Central League which was under the leadership of the social democrat Vergagnini, the Co-operatives have a serious reason for examining the theory and the attitude of the Reformist leaders. It has become evident that, in spite of the solemn declarations of "political neutrality" which have constantly been made by the petty bourgeois leaders of the Co-operatives, our class opponents destroy the co-operative organisation. The cloak of neutrality does not prevent them from regarding the Co-operatives as proletarian mass organisations which are formed to promote the struggle for existence and emancipation of the workers and peasants. On the other hand this policy of neutrality nevertheless prevents the Co-operatives from taking their part in the proletarian class war and developing themselves into suitable fighting bodies. Italy is again furnishing evidence that the Reformist co-operative policy is a wrong policy for members of the proletariat! Instead of organising with the Communists an energetic campaign against the Fascists, the social democrats have turned against the Communists, have carried on an opportunist policy with regard to Fascism, and negotiated and weakened the Labour movement until it is incapable of fighting.

The Italian Co-operative policy of social democracy is a model example of the goal to which opportunism leads. How often have the leaders of the Italian co-operatives been warned by the Communists against continuing their policy of reconciliation with the Fascists because it meant nothing more nor less than the surrender of the workers co-operatives to the Fascists. We would remind our readers of the Co-operative Congress at Milan in 1923, the prevailing idea at which was "reconciliation with the Fascists". In spite of the fact that at that time deeds of violence and Fascist terror had destroyed the majority of the co-operatives, Vergagnini carried on a policy of "friendship" and declared that the "Lega Nazionale" had taken up the attitude of waiting confidently, in order to avoid anything worse.

At that time we wrote that this opportunism of the Reformists was no less a danger for the co-operative movement than the open policy of the Fascists, and that moreover the co-operative movement would again be discredited in the eyes of the workers. This prediction has come true. Step by step, the co-operatives have been conquered or destroyed by the Fascists. The "Lega" has been condemned to insignificance. The "political neutrality" and the "political innocence" of Vergagnini and his comrades were thus no protection against Fascist destruction but, on the contrary, all the force was taken out of the co-operative movement which it would have developed through close solidarity with the other workers' organisations in the fight against Fascism.

The "International Cooperative Alliance" in London was largely responsible for the fact that the co-operative mass movement failed to carry on a fight against the Fascist offensive. Although the needs of the international proletarian co-operative policy demand that the nonsense of "neutrality" should be abandoned, the Alliance cultivates this opportunism of neutrality which paralyses all the political forces of the co-operative movement. At its last world congress in Ghent it did not even dare resolutely to mobilise the whole co-operative movement in all countries. In the case of Hungary and Bulgaria, as well as of Italy, it contented itself with petitions and protests against the white executioners.

The proletarian masses in the co-operatives are again faced with the question whether they are going to look on calmly while the co-operatives are handed over by the reformist policy to the mercy of their class enemies and while the Fascists destroy the co-operative movement of the workers and peasants without meeting with any resistance. The fresh deeds of destruction in Italy ought to act in all countries as an impulse to the Communists to appear on the scene, in common with all class conscious co-operators, in order to put an end to the reformist policy of the opportunist leaders. The Red Trade Union International in Moscow, with which the Alliance (at the last meeting of its Central Committee in Paris in October) resolved to form a union for work in common against war and in the vital interests of the working class, has given the initiative for summoning an international conference of trade unions and co-operatives, in order to agree upon common measures in the fight against Fascism. This is the only possible way to save the co-operatives!

Co-operative Section of the E. C. C. I. against the Fascist Destruction of the Italian Co-operatives.

To all Proletarian Cooperators!

Comrades!

The Fascist regime in Italy of three years standing, under whose domination thousands of proletarians have been tortured and murdered and all organisations of the working class systematically destroyed, started upon a new wave of terror during the last weeks. Even the tamest, "most peaceful", "unpolitical" co-operative movement of Italy has this time not been spared by the dictator's hand.

Competing with Zankov, the Bulgarian Hangman, who a year ago wiped out the workers' co-operative union "Osvoboshdenie" in Sofia, Mussolini has now dissolved the "Lega Nazionale", the central Organisation of the Italian Cooperatives in Milan that once included 8,000 Cooperatives, occupied its headquarters with military forces, and sequestered the property of the organisation.

The protestation as to the "non-political character" of the cooperatives did not succeed in dissuading Mussolini from making them a target for his destructive mania. Instead, this reconciliation policy toward Fascism which had its source in the "neutrality" of the cooperative leaders, led to the isolation of the cooperative movement from the dynamic broad current of the revolutionary labour movement, contributed to the weakening also of the political organisations and the workers' forces, and thereby aided Fascism in its attack upon the individually declining organisations of the working class.

The latest attack of Mussolini must therefore impel every cooperator and every class-conscious worker and peasant in general to a thorough reconsideration of the policy hitherto followed by the cooperatives. The new offensive of fascism must be a signal for determined struggle by the cooperatives of all countries for the vital interests of the cooperator masses. The national federations of the cooperatives number many thousands and millions of members. The Cooperative International includes in 32 countries more than 100,000 cooperatives and 50,000,000 members. To make mobile these tremendous masses for the struggle, relentlessly to use their might — this must be the task of the national and the international cooperative federations.

Instead, the Cooperative International contents itself with subserviencies, appeals and lame protest telegrams to Mussolini, and this time also fails to muster the courage, as after the destruction of the Bulgarian cooperatives by the Tsankov soldatiska, to bring the entire cooperator masses into action.

Mussolini's action must be countered by the organised co-operators and the working class of all countries. Already the Red International of Labour Unions in Moscow has called upon the Alliance to take the initiative in convening an International Trade Union Cooperative Conference in order to agree upon joint measures against Fascism.

In support of this campaign the immediate mobilisation of all Proletarians and Peasants united in the cooperatives and trade unions must be begun. The proletarian cooperators must, without delay, call upon their local organisations to arrange protest demonstrations of the cooperatives jointly with the trade unions. Millions upon millions of protest voices must raise themselves and show Mussolini that the cooperative movement is no non-political movement, separate and apart from the general revolutionary development, with which he can do as he pleases. The force of the storm of protest raised against him must prove that the cooperative movement is a part of the living revolutionary labour movement, borne by class conscious militant workers and peasants who have the determination and also the power to put a stop to the handiwork of this mad Fascist chief.

Proletarian cooperators! Raise your strongest protest!

Down with the Fascist destructions — down with the capitalist offensive!

Down with the "political neutrality" of the cooperative leaders!

Fight for the proletarian united front and the international battle alliance of the cooperatives with the trade unions!

Long live the revolutionary class and fighting cooperatives.
The Presidium of the Cooperative section of the Comintern.