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## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Basic Problems of the International Trade Union Movement

by A. Losovsky.

The international labor movement has far from recovered from the wounds which the working-class received during the war. We are not speaking of physical wounds, nor of material losses; we are speaking of the moral setback which the entire working-class underwent during the war. National limitations and national patriotism, the hope for an improvement in living conditions through the conquest of new markets by the national capitalists, the support of war-policies and communal work—all of these were principles which characterized the labor movement in the most important countries during the war. The war was able to last four years only because in all countries the trade-unions constituted the main support of the war policies, inasmuch as the trade-union leaders held the discontented masses in check by promising them great reforms after the victory had been won, and on the other hand persuading the ruling classes to make concessions voluntarily in order to prevent a revolutionary mass-movement. Jan Oudegeest, the secretary of the Amsterdam I. T. U. F. has admitted this quite frankly in the July issue of the "International Labor Movement". He writes as follows: "We should not forget that especially in the warring countries, the governments, being unable to carry on war without the co-operation of the working-class, made various concessions to the trade-unions, which enabled the latter to get through certain reforms which under other circumstances would have required years of activity on the part of the trade-unions". In this manner the labor unions, which came into existence as organs of self-defense for the working-class against the capitalist exploiters, became a part of the capitalist machine. These strained relations between the labor unions and the capitalist governments became particularly clear immediately after the war when after the slaughter had come to an end, all the pent-up hatred of the working masses against their oppressors came to the fore. At this point the trade-union organizations became the saviours of the capitalist economic system. After the November revolution in Germany the leaders of the capitalist organizations openly admitted that the trade-unions protected "the state against anarchy". The trade-unions of the Entente also acted as the saviours of the bourgeoisie.

Immediately after the war the trade-unions of all countries appeared on the international stage; they were permitted to participate in the drawing-up of certain articles of the peace of Versailles, they extended their holy "united front" from the national to the international stage, and were thus grafted into the capitalist state and the "League of Nations". In this manner the progress made by the trade-unions during the war came to a dead stop. Quite formally the trade-union organizations thus become organs of the capitalist state and supports of the capitalist regime.

Until now the trade-unions have in no way been international. Even before the war, there existed between them only an artificial outward unity; they were merely a number of national organizations which were not closely connected either through uniformity in tactics or through a common understanding of the class struggle. National interests outweighed class interests.

Congresses and manifestoes were a sort of tribute which had to be paid to international solidarity. Outside of this they were nothing but a certain manifestation of a Sunday spirit. In its essentials, however, the trade-union movement was confined to national limits. Rarely did the struggle exceed these limits. If before the war, the trade-union movement was only formally international, during the war this internationalism completely disappeared and made itself felt only in those small international groups and organizations which from the very first day of the war came out with all their energy against the war ideology. The wild-fire spreading of the war, the unceasing slaughter and waste and the constantly growing misery of the masses which these caused brought down the protest of the workers against them. The greater the discontent became, the more likely did the revival of international thought become. In spite of this the trade-union movement remained confined to its national limits even after the war.

The Amsterdam International consists of a number of national organizations, every one of which (with the exception of revolutionary minorities) is ready, in case of a conflict with another country, to defend its "fatherland" to the bitter end. So for example, the Polish organizations which have joined Amsterdam consider Upper Silesia as belonging to them, whereas the German organizations which have likewise joined Amsterdam, consider Poland's seizure of Upper Silesia a contemptible robbery.

The organizations which are nationally limited and which are based upon trade-unionism are thus unable to form any international organization. Equally un-international are the industrial organizations of the metal-workers, miners and textile workers. This was most clearly to be seen in the greatest recent strikes and conflicts. We thus see that *the main problem of the international trade-union movement consists in creating a true international of trade-union organizations*. The most that can be expected of the old and new international unions is to register events. They do not lead the movement; they hop after it. They do not search for new ways and means; they trot about in the old place. They attempt to reconcile the interests of the national organizations but they never approach the working-class with general proletarian class-problems. Indeed, they cannot possibly do otherwise. Due to its nature, the Amsterdam International can never become an international organization. Only when its national components determine to place the general class-interests of the proletariat above their individual national interests, can an international organization come into existence and grow. But there are no such organizations in the Amsterdam International. All such organizations have joined the Red Trade Union International.

The struggle between Amsterdam and Moscow is thus *essentially a struggle for the creation of a real international organization*, a struggle for placing the interests of the international proletariat above the interests of the proletariat of any particular country; it is a struggle for the creation not of a formal but of an energetic international union of the working masses against international capital, it is a struggle for the introduction and carrying out of national and international actions in particular trades, a struggle for the consolidation of the international proletariat as a class and for its bitter opposition against the international bourgeoisie. It is only a question of fight, of struggle. It is just this which is the cause of all the differences of opinion between Moscow and Amsterdam; it is the struggle, the fight, which differentiates the trade-union movement in all countries into followers of Moscow and followers of Amsterdam.

In order to create a truly international organization, we must conquer the trade-union organizations of various countries, and break the national spirit of isolation, characteristic of them; we must inculcate new ideas into them and finally transform a tool in the hands of the social-reaction into a tool of the social revolution.

We shall now discuss the second problem which at present confronts the trade-union movement in all countries. This problem is put in the form of a question, "Will it be possible to direct the trade unions into new channels or is it a hopeless task—necessitating the destruction of the old and the building of new organizations?" Fortunately there is only an insignificant group in the trade-union movement which is in favor of destroying the unions; this group argues that the unions constitute a capitalist machine which must unconditionally be destroyed, if we hope to achieve success in the social struggle.

We are inclined to believe that the proponents of this viewpoint consider the unions from a metaphysical point of view. Unions do not as a fact consist merely of governing cliques or of the trade-union bureaucracy; the unions essentially consist of the working masses themselves, formed into an organization. At the present moment the total trade-union membership of all countries amounts to 50,000,000. It would therefore be a clear case of suicide to abandon these millions of workers and to form "pure", revolutionary unions; it would mean isolating ourselves from the masses and would amount to the forming of a sect. It is characteristic of the adherents of this point of view, that notwithstanding the fact that they hope to destroy powerful international imperialism, they designate the victory of the revolutionary groups over the trade-union bureaucracy as hopeless. The supporters of this viewpoint have no faith in the working masses. Their position is founded upon a pessimism which we must work against with all our might. We oppose this idea of destruction, which is itself dangerous to the revolutionary movement, with the declaration that the working masses must be conquered. This means however, that we must not abandon the unions. "Into the masses!" is our watchword. And if the upper layer has grown into the capitalist state, the same cannot under any circumstances be true of the masses. The ever-growing clash of interests drives the masses against the capitalist state and against their own conservative machine. Our task consists in increasing this pressure of the masses and in freeing them of the ideologic and organizational influence of the capitalist and socialist reformers. This emancipation is progressing rather fast, particularly now, under the ruthless capitalist offensive.

Two occurrences are at the present moment becoming noticeable on the whole front of the international labor movement, in connection with the capitalist offensive; on the one hand a certain stagnation, a certain hesitation and unsteadiness in the front ranks; on the other hand we notice an active fermentation, a growing rebellious spirit and a general hatred and contempt for the existing social order. The vanguard is standing still while the army is advancing further on the lines of the class struggle. Through its offensive, capitalism draws the working-class together and thus clears the ground for a united proletarian action. We now come to the third problem which the international trade-union movement faces, namely, to the question of the ways and means of destroying the attacking enemy.

What means of combat and what methods has the Amsterdam organization at its disposal? For several years they were continually promising social peace? They worked together with the capitalists in the International Labor Bureau of the League of Nations in drawing up social laws. Their policy as a whole was based upon the presumption of a liberalism of the ruling classes. And here everything comes to naught. The working hours are increased, the wages reduced; working-contracts are abolished. The bourgeoisie which until the middle of 1920 was retreating, has now again mobilized its forces and is starting a well-organized attack. The old trade-union organizations are yielding to this pressure; they voluntarily agree to reductions in wages. Under the pressure of the masses they sometimes participate in their actions, but they always strive to bring these actions to an end as soon as possible. In short: the capitalist advance has broken the backbone of the Amsterdam International. The capitalist attack must be met with a determined resistance or must be yielded to. But is the Amsterdam I. T. U. F. capable of resisting? No! for the fight which it is carrying on is confined not only to strictly national, but even to narrow professional and trade aims. How can it actually call the working masses to an international strike, when its affiliated organizations consider this question from the standpoint which their individual national industrial interests in the international market demand? Amsterdam is compelled by necessity to limit itself

to a national scale and not to extend its activities on an international scale.

The Amsterdam International has 8,000,000—10,000,000 workers more than we, but in spite of its colossal membership, it has not yet outgrown its childhood in the labor movement.

This was established by the giant long drawn-out class-struggles of recent date, as for example the miners' strike in England and the textile strike in France. When one trade strikes in a given country, the others which do not wish to endanger the capitalist economic system, do not join in, and instead of a fight of the entire working-class, only small skirmishes take place between isolated divisions of workers and the mighty enemy which is armed to the teeth.

The essential difference between the Red Trade Union International and Amsterdam, is to be found not only in the different conception and comprehension of the ways and means of the social conflict, but is chiefly to be found in the fact that the old unions look upon every trade-union organization as an end in itself, whereas we consider them as a means to an end, that is, as a tool in the hands of the Social Revolution and the social reconstruction. When an isolated fighting group finds itself in a critical situation, the Amsterdammers are not able and do not want to bring up the reserve troops, that is, those groups of workers which could have a decisive influence upon the struggle, as for example: the railroad workers, the gas workers, those employed on the electric railway, those employed in the food industries and the like. We, on the other hand, consider the action of the workers in the public service and state enterprises as the main weapon in the present struggle against the capitalist offensive. The one means the domination of the spirit of collaboration, the other the maintenance of the viewpoint of the class-division even in the smallest conflicts. We thus have compromise as the objective before and during the fight on the one hand, and the sharpening of the social conflict, and the attempt to draw the greatest possible masses into the fight on the other.

The most difficult problem now confronting the trade-union movement is the creation of a united front against the attacking capitalists. Notwithstanding the outer stimuli in the political struggle, and in spite of the existence of two or three political labor parties in every country, the trade-unions, in most cases, still retain their uniform structure. This cannot be an accidental occurrence. There must therefore be important reasons and interests which, in spite of the intensity of their political desires, compel the working-class to strive for unity in their trade-union organizations. The reason for this continued unity is to be found in the fact that in spite of all their mistakes and defeats, and in spite of repeated betrayals by their leaders, the trade-unions as such continue to defend the immediate material interests of the working-class. In the unusually difficult and complicated situation in which the working-class at present finds itself, a victory without a united front is not only impossible, but the working-class is not even in a position to repel the capitalist attack.

But in what manner is this united front to be organized?

The Amsterdammers suggest that the united front should be organized on the basis of a refusal to intervene in the trade-union movement of other countries, and of silence upon certain vital points which split the working masses. As reformists, they demand the recognition of class-co-operation as the basis for unity. As far as we are concerned we are decidedly for a united front. We are ready to organize it together with the Amsterdammers and other trade-union organizations, but only on the basis of defending the conquests of the working-class, and not on that of voluntary retreat. It is the task of the revolutionary unions to utilize the concrete and practical questions of the everyday struggle as a starting point for a united front. We are not to content ourselves by merely putting the abstract question as to whether this one or that is for or against the class-struggle; but we must ask whether he is for or against revolutionary resistance against advancing capitalism, and whether he is for or against the struggle for the retention of past conquests, for or against the struggle for the social laws which the proletariat is about to lose. In short, it is the task of the revolutionary trade-unions to concentrate the attention of the broad masses upon the question as to the means at present to be employed in repulsing the attack of the class-enemy, and at the same time to prepare the ground for assuming the offensive.

And finally the fourth question, that of the present relations between the Red Trade Union International and the Communist International. The transformation of the trade-union movement into a truly international movement means at the same time transforming it into a Communist movement, for only then can the working-class be international in spirit, in character, in its methods of struggle and in the ways and means in which it

solves all its problems, when it is at the same time Communist. Being substantially a Communist movement, it cannot remain separated from the Communist International. In this manner it is compelled by its course of development to create a real international headquarters, which is fired by the spirit and the ideas of Communism, and which leads it to become one with the Communist current and to create a united International comprising all forms and sections of the labor movement. The Red Trade Union International and the Communist International in no way represent two parallel lines; that is just why the trade-union organizations and the Communist Party of every country do not constitute two parallel organizations which never cross each other in their activities. On the contrary, they must be compared with two lines which frequently cross each other and which find their meeting point in the united International. It is difficult to say how long it will take for these Internationals which are still separated by their programs and tactics, yet so closely related, to unite. The labor movement still has to overcome so many prejudices, not only that of the advantage of the reformist trade-union movement, but also revolutionary prejudices. These prejudices are chiefly expressed in the separation of politics from economics, in the attempt to isolate the unions from the political parties of the proletariat and in the desire to play these two forms of the labor movement against each other. Of course, these prejudices will be overcome. The labor movement will be cured of its reformist disease and of a number of infantile diseases of the left, only through the growth of the revolutionary movement in all countries only when the struggle against the bourgeoisie becomes more acute and pressing necessity leads to a concentration of all the forces at the disposal of the working-class into a weapon which will repulse the class-enemy.

If we examine the history of development in the trade-union movement from the end of the nineteenth century up to the present day, we see what colossal progress it has made. From a subjective viewpoint the process goes on at an exceedingly slow rate; from the historical viewpoint, however, the labor movement has taken a colossal step forward, and with every year it approaches its goal at an accelerated speed. The greater this acceleration becomes and the greater and the bitterer the class-struggles become, the nearer the international trade-union movement comes to a solution of its fundamental problem. No matter how difficult the times we live in are, no matter how heavy the burden is which at present threatens to crush the working-class of all countries and no matter what ideological effects this pressure by the international bourgeoisie may have—we nevertheless have every reason for facing the future with optimism. The wounds which the war has inflicted upon the labor movement are gradually healing. National isolation is disappearing. The Amsterdam International is gradually losing ground. The prerequisites for truly international unity are coming into existence. The old trade-union movement is slowly but surely dying out. And in its stead, a revolutionary class-trade-union movement is coming up, which is embodied in the Red Trade Union International!

## The French Syndicalists and the Special Federal Congress

J. W. The French Syndicalist movement is at present facing a critical turning point of its history. The split which the majoritaires of the C.G.T. (Confédération Générale du Travail — General Federation of Labor) have been systematically preparing for the last few months is on the eve of being accomplished. One may recall that last year at the Congress of Orléans, the majoritaires brought in a motion tending to exclude from the C.G.T. all the syndicalist organizations adhering to Moscow. However, facing the unequivocal opposition of the militant membership who would not hear of a split, the majoritaires dared not put their plan into execution. That was also because at the time of the Congress of Orléans the revolutionary syndicalist minority did not seem to them yet very threatening. The majority of over one third which they obtained at the Congress seemed them a sufficient guarantee against the efforts of the minority.

But the situation has changed since Orléans. The minority, hardly organized, has strongly developed. In the midst of the C.S.R. (Conseils Syndicalistes Révolutionnaires—Syndicalist Revolutionary Councils). The latter has slowly but surely undermined all those trade-unions upon which the reformist leaders of the C.G.T. depended for their support. The results of this were seen immediately. One after another the organizations were turning away from the reformists and were accepting the program of the revolutionary syndicalists. The largest federations were won over to the minority: the federation of the building

trades, the federation of the railroad workers, kept under the tutelage of Bidagaray, that of the metal workers where Merheim reigned. After the Departmental Union of the Seine, other departmental unions joined the minoritaires. Thus, despite the manoeuvres of the reformists during the two months preceding the Congress of Lille, the latter showed an immense progress of the minority which doubled at one blow the number of votes it obtained the previous year at the Congress of Orléans. The reformists succeeded in maintaining their rule thanks to a slight majority of two or three hundred votes.

It was then clearly evident that the fate of the majoritaires was sealed and that this was their last victory. They themselves made no mistake about it. It was necessary at all costs to exclude the revolutionaries from the C.G.T. before they took complete possession of it. At the meeting of the National Confederation Committee which followed the Congress of Orléans, Dumoulin by a false interpretation of the motion voted at Orléans which made no mention of exclusions, undertook to exclude all unions adhering to Moscow. Beaten once he returned to the attack at the Congress of Lille. But he obtained no greater success than at the Congress of Orléans. Moreover, since the minoritaires put certain reservations upon their adherence to Moscow, something else had to be found. It was declared then that all organizations adhering to the C.S.R. were thereby breaking syndicalist discipline and excluding themselves from the C.G.T. In virtue of this decision which was in flagrant contradiction to the motion of unity voted at the Congress of Lille, certain members of unions and of federations in the province were excluded from the Chambers of Labor. Thus despite the clearly expressed will of the militants the leaders of the C.G.T. were methodically pursuing their work of disunion.

But what finally put the spark to the fuse was the famous "conflict of the railroad workers". It is known that Bidagaray, put in a minority at the Congress of the Railroad Workers' Federation, left the Congress and created a reformist executive with the intention of retaining the direction of the Federation against the will of the majority. The revolutionary bureau led by Semart, Chaverot and Dejockève, took possession of the office of the Railroad Federation in virtue of the decision of the Congress. The reformists then applied to the bourgeois courts with a claim upon the premises from which they were chased. The C.G.T., took their side, excluded the unions adhering to the revolutionary bureau of Semart, in all 300 unions with a membership of 68,000. The Departmental Union of the Seine and the Federation of Railroad Workers then took the initiative of convoking a special Congress to settle the conflict and protest against the exclusion. This Congress is to open the 20th of December at Paris. The committee charged with the calling and preparation of this Congress addressed to all syndicates the following questionnaire:

- 1.) In voting for the resolutions of the Congress of Lille, were you voting for exclusion?
- 2.) Do you approve the exclusion of 299 Railroad Workers' unions which constitute the Federation Semart—Chaverot—Dejockève forming the majority of both members and branches grouped about the two bureaux?
- 3.) Do you approve of the exclusions made by the Unions and Federations?

The calling of this special Congress was a surprise to the leaders of the C.G.T. who certainly did not expect it. In the name of discipline they forbade affiliated unions all participation in this Congress. In a note sent out to the press they declare that the calling of the Congress "was an act of open secession". Recently, they adopted the following resolution drawn up by Dumoulin:

"Article 9 of the statutes of the C.G.T. stipulates that the National Federal Committee is the executor of the decisions passed by the National Congresses, that said Committee intervenes to settle all emergencies in the labor movement and takes a stand on questions of a general nature. Therefore the Administrative Commission of the C.G.T. considers that the organizations which called a similar Congress are in a state of rebellion against the regular organs of the General Federation of Labor (C.G.T.). The Administrative Commission declares that if the planned Congress takes place, the organizations that took the initiative in calling it, will thereby automatically exclude themselves from the General Federation of Labor".

This text speaks clearly. It means that whatever the decisions of the next special Congress, the leaders of the C.G.T. will not accept them, and that they will prefer to provoke an open split in the French Syndicalist movement rather than yield their place to the revolutionaries.

What do the coming days hold in store for us? Shall we see the split, desired by the reformists but to which all revolutionary syndicalists rise in opposition, finally accomplished? Will this Congress which is intended by those who called it to be a Congress of Unity, become the beginning of disunion. It is difficult to foresee that. But everything is to be expected from the renegades of the C. G. T. There are no limits to treason.

## The Great Hunger Demonstration of the Vienna Workers.

by V. Stern (Vienna).

On the 1st of December the Vienna proletariat rose quite spontaneously and without the least preparation or direction from above organized a mass-demonstration the like of which in respect to size and momentum poor Vienna has not seen for some time. In the *metal factories of Floridsdorf*, where the January strike of 1918 originated, the workers simply laid down their work in the morning and declared that they were going to march before the Parliament building in order to demonstrate against their hunger and against the high prices. The outward stimulus for this demonstration was the order issued that day by the Social Democratic official *Renmann* which raised the price of a loaf of bread from 34 to 74 crowns. The Social Democrats no longer dared to prepare the masses for this rise in prices. They therefore attempted to put over a surprise which due to its suddenness caused a more violent reaction because it coincided with an *unusual fall in the buying power of the crown* which was unusual even for Austrian conditions, and at the same time with an *unusual rise in the prices of necessities*. Swiss francs rose from 1300 to 1600 crowns and the price for a kilogram of beef rose from 500 to 600 crowns. All this was too much for the Floridsdorf workers. And fired with the excitement which had been storing up in the masses, their move was like a spark to a barrel of dynamite. In a moment all the factories in Floridsdorf and in the neighboring *Stadlau* were stopped. Then the Social-Democratic shop-committees attempted to put the brakes on the movement and to isolate it. It is very probable that they were advised to do so by the leaders. When they failed in their attempt they tried to steer the movement into Social-Democratic waters. First of all they besought the Floridsdorfers to adjourn the demonstration. This interval served the purpose of making the other districts believe, at least for a short time, that in Floridsdorf everything was calm again. This contemptible trick was naturally opposed by the Communists with all the means available to their small party. But the movement could under no circumstances have been held back. Indeed, the Floridsdorf workers stood alone for several hours in front of Parliament, but then *district after district* marched up. Over one hundred thousand workers, with the Communists all there of course, filled the streets and the squares around the Parliament. *Not a wheel was moving*. The Floridsdorf workers' council succeeded in one thing however, namely, in adulterating the demands which a deputation chosen at a meeting in Floridsdorf presented to the government with a *great deal of Social-Democratic spirit*, inasmuch as they pigeonholed the demands until after the Social-Democratic financial plans would be carried out and until after a "gradual" reduction of the government food subsidies. This, however, did not correspond to the spirit of the demonstration. How could workers who were rebelling against the price of 74 crowns per loaf of bread, possibly demonstrate for the demand that from now on the same loaf of bread should cost 600 crowns? The other demands for *property tax, the confiscation of valuables, and also of the church's gold*, were more reasonable though insufficient. Communist speakers, who were the first ones there, pointed out the necessity for *definite aims* and for a *clear recognition of the right way to achieve those aims*. It was not to be the Social-Democratic method of letting themselves be out-voted, but the method the masses themselves originated in spite of all the appeasing speeches from above. This method is to be continued. The demands to be put and enforced through a struggle, are: a *property tax, the insuring of a living wage and the unconditional prevention of a rise in prices*, by means of no reduction in the subsidies, until at least the actual pre-war wage will again be secured. The majority of the Social-Democratic workers also signified their approval. Only a part of the masses could not yet get rid of their deep-seated distrust, and opposed our speakers. But that part of the masses which rebelled in a most passionate manner against the Social-Democratic speakers was in a great majority. *Seitz* was almost hooted down. Of the Social-Democratic leaders almost no one was to be seen.

The Social Democrats, of course, applied every bit of their energy to bring the movement to an end. But here again it becomes clear why the Social Democrats try to avoid even the most

necessary struggle for the most moderate demands. *Every day of struggle unmasks them before the masses a thousand times more completely and effectively than many months, nay, years of quiet*. The very outbreak of this movement was a *slap in the face* to this leading party of the International 2½. Only a few days before at the party convention *Bauer* volubly attempted to make the masses understand that in Austria only *parliamentary means* of struggle could be applied, and a few days later, the mass answered with such solidarity and with so powerful a move. In their fury, the Social Democrats join the bourgeois parties in their *lamentations over the rioting*, as if they themselves did not share the guilt for the spreading of the misery and despair. Moreover, the plundering, which no one by the way approves, was, even in the greatest proportions which it assumed, only a secondary phenomena to the great action and, in view of the great misery, certainly not *unexpected*.

But the worst part of it is the *betrayal after the strike*. The *district workers' council* of Vienna was to direct the struggle further. So, at any rate, did the Social Democrats promise in order to bring about "peace" and "order" as soon as possible. *When they succeeded in doing so, they absolutely refused all demands for a continuation of the struggle*. Our comrades then demanded a fight for the minimum of what was absolutely necessary; mainly, what we had demanded at the National Workers' Council. Our motions were defeated. One progressive step however was effected. The Social Democrats *no longer dared to give a flat refusal*; they rather chose to refer the matter to a committee. The Communist motion for a date to be set when the committee is to bring in its report, was defeated (!). But our comrades persisted. They demanded that the district workers' council which had un-animously accepted the Social Democratic demands, should present these demands to the government in the form of an ultimatum, and in case the latter rejected the ultimatum, to call the masses together again. This was also refused. *This refusal enraged many Social Democrats*. It is interesting to note that *Bauer* used the argument that the *property owners did not possess enough to have anything taken away from them*. What is still more noteworthy is the fact that on a motion brought in by the Social Democrats in Parliament, nothing was said of the occurrence which made entire Vienna hold its breath, because the Social Democrats declared that a debate would disturb the efforts to establish "peace" and "order".

Under these circumstances one need not wonder that in spite of its first fears the government is becoming bold. It gathers troops and protects the banks and the stock exchange, it arrests starving workers, ransacks Communist offices and private lodgings, arrests indiscriminately, confiscated the "Rote Fahne", and proceeded to confiscate any and everything in the slightest degree suspicious. It refused the demands of the workers, even the Social Democratic ones, and all this notwithstanding, it receives the praise of the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" (which was of course not confiscated) because it let drop a few phrases against the profiteers.

All this will naturally advance the cause of the proletariat very quickly. Only we must refrain from promising ourselves too much, for our party is small and lacks organization. But in the struggle, to which the hunger riot was only a prelude, our party will surely gain in strength.

## The Textile Workers of Northern Bohemia

by Eugen Paul (Prague).

The conflict which we reported a short time ago between the Reichenberg textile workers and the leaders of the textile workers' union has now entered upon a new phase in which the leaders have been forced to throw off the mask and to come out into the open, according to the well-known method of the yellows. As is known, the Reichenberg textile workers have demanded in any number of workers' meetings the readmission of 13,000 textile workers excluded from the union on account of Communist leanings. They have also demanded the calling of the union convention so long awaited. The union leaders who were of the typical kind, replied that they were willing to re-admit the workers, but without their freely elected leaders, of whom there were 86. It goes without saying that these gentlemen consider the calling of a convention as useless as ever before. Demanding that the workers cast aside all their leaders is a fighting method of the genuine yellows, and indeed, these yellow organizations no longer dare to demand such a thing from class-conscious workers. Only employers, exploiters, are used to force defenceless workers to cast aside their leaders after a lost strike.

Naturally, it is not a question of the *persons* of these 86 leaders. It is a question of *principle!* And on this account the Reichenberg case deserves the attention not only of the entire working-class of the Czech-Slovak Republic, but of the proletariat of all countries. We are dealing here with a highly interesting case in which the *very good principle of no split*, when falsely interpreted, can be turned from a means to the furtherance of labor interests to exactly the opposite.

How does the thing stand here? The union has about 80,000 members. Of these about 13,000 textile workers comprising a number of locals were expelled during the last year on account of their Communist leanings. The entire *Friedland* local union, and also a part of the workers of Mildenau out on strike, 2000 workers in all, joined those excluded. In addition 5000 of the Reichenberg textile workers have joined the others recently. This means a membership of at least 20,000 or a quarter of the entire number of textile workers in the Union. The textile workers excluded from the union have not ceased appealing for a rejoining with their fellow-workers still left in the union.

The Reichenberg textile workers themselves demand from the leadership the reorganization of all textile workers within and without the union, that is to say a *rectification of the crime* committed by the split of the textile workers and the exclusion of those among them with a Communist leaning. But the excluded workers, going further than a mere broadening of this split, demand *unity with the Czech organization of textile workers.*

The question then is: Does the activity of these excluded workers and all those who have joined and are joining them fall under the conception of a "split" that is very justly to be avoided at all cost? It is a disconcerting fact that the union chiefs and with them all right-thinking Social Democrats demand the exclusion of those 86 leaders and the unquestioned submission of over 20,000 textile workers to the despotism of the bureaucrats. All in the name of this forbidden split. It is clear that the foregoing case can not be passed by in a stereotyped fashion by a reference to the danger of a split. It is not merely a question of the *entire character* of this "split movement", which is in reality *a fight of 20,000 textile workers for the revival of the fighting ability destroyed by the thoroughly rotten union bureaucracy.* The Reichenberg textile workers are not Communists yet. Nothing would be more foolish than to assert the contrary. Nothing would be more criminal to-day than to lead the Reichenberg textile workers into battle for political Communist aims. The movement against the union leaders which has lasted nine months and which the latter have fought by a systematic exclusion of all rebelling members, was born of the need of improving the workers' condition through *struggle.* The Communists were excluded from the union because they were demanding the struggle which the bureaucrats neither could nor would lead. The Reichenberg textile workers who have joined the excluded comrades and who are about to join them are also impelled thereto by a realization that the methods of struggle must be employed. In the textile trade as in every other the aversion to every struggle, so clearly characteristic of trade-union leadership, is followed by a boundless arrogance and eagerness to exploit on the part of the employer. *The textile workers are among the worst paid workers of the republic, which is not surprising when one recalls that all agreements are not the result of struggle, but of haggling conducted by the bureaucrats behind closed doors. Whatever was done to exercise pressure on the employers and to demand improvement in the lot of the labor was the work of the Communists. The sole agreement made by the Communists alone, that of Gabel, is much more favorable to the workers than all agreements made by the bureaucrats. The workers know that, they have noticed the procedure of the Communists and they understand that the exclusion of the Communists from the union is equivalent to a removal of all those elements that represent the proletariat in its fight against the employer for a better livelihood. That is why the movement against the leadership of the union is so long and bitter! The battle which the Reichenberg textile workers have joined is therefore a fight of the workers against the employers' allies whose leadership the workers refuse henceforth to accept.*

Whether or not is the offer of the union bureaucrats to be accepted? It is from this angle that the question should be viewed. What will the acceptance of their stipulations mean? It will not mean merely the abandonment of 86 leaders, who might be readily sacrificed if it were really possible to create a united front thereby. *It would mean that over 20,000 workers who had come to see in the class-struggle, and in the methods of the International of Red Unions, the only means of their emancipation from starvation and slavery, would be delivered over to the union bureaucrats who are avoiding the class-*

*struggle on principle and who strangle it when they cannot avoid it. The Communists would thereby agree to the principle of being completely excluded from active life in the unions. The Communists would thereby openly assent not only to the exclusion of the 86 Communist leaders, but also that of all other workers leaders that might not please the union leaders. Not only at present but also in the future would everyone preaching the class-struggle be expelled, and the union would become an asylum for all counter-revolutionary chiefs. No obstacle would arise to the election of some manufacturer to the presidency of the union. Not only would the Communists be excluded on principle, but that would happen will the full consent of the Communists themselves, who by their acceptance of the union conditions would recognize as just their own exclusion and the necessity of a united front free from Communists! The workers, and not alone the 20,000 textile workers, would consider the acceptance of the conditions made by the yellow union leadership as open treason.*

It is evident that the Communists who until the present have been doing all in their power to form one union of all textile workers of the republic, *must not slacken their efforts in the future* to maintain this union. But the Communists cannot let the 86 and many more communist leaders fall, in order that the employers *might count upon the submission of the entire union* wherever they wish to reduce wages or lengthen hours. Every sacrifice must be made to restore that united front of the proletariat which guarantees the continued fight for the workers' higher standard of living. Every thing must be done to create this united front within the existing union and in co-operation with its leadership. Should it become evident, however, that this leadership will co-operate only for a united front of the bureaucrats and negotiations with the employers on the back of the workers, *then the united front must be restored without the aid of the bureaucrats.*

## POLITICS

### Revolutionary India

by Sadananda Karsan.

The persecution and repression which the English government is ruthlessly employing in India demand the attention of the world. They are an indication of the extent of the movement which is rocking the very foundation of British rule in India.

That the Indian people have made up their minds to defy the suzerainty of the British Crown and its Parliament is evident from the fact that serious disturbances have occurred all over India at the arrival of the Prince of Wales, who is considered as a symbol of imperialism. Though the Indian people gave warning beforehand that the pet prince of England would be quite unwelcome, the Imperial government decided to demonstrate its strength by sending him amongst a people seething with discontent.

The people are organizing *Hartals* (closing of stores and cessation of activities of all kind) in every town and city which the prince is to visit. Before *Hartal* is declared, the public is notified in regard to the ensuing inconveniences. The following proclamation gives an idea as to the nature of the edict:

"The Town Congress Committee of Lucknow wishes to call the attention of the travelling public to the *Hartal* at Lucknow on the 9th inst (Dec.) on the occasion of the arrival of the Prince of Wales. Travellers arriving at Lucknow on that day will find it impossible to secure a conveyance or porter at the station. They are, therefore, respectfully requested to postpone their arrival until the next day."

When the Prince arrived at Bombay, *Hartal* was declared by the Congress Committee and consequently, he received a very cold reception. Very few stores were opened. A dark shadow spread over the beautiful city of Bombay and it seemed as if it had put on a mourning mask.

The Indian government could not tolerate such lack of loyalty. So, on the pretext that the National Volunteer Corps are preventing the store-keepers from expressing their allegiance to the British Crown, the British militia and police were called out. They began to fire upon the unarmed and defenceless people, and several were killed and wounded. The exact number of the casualties is not yet known. The Prince, finding India not a safe place to travel, has taken shelter in the territories of the puppet princes who have arranged an abundance of wine and women for his entertainment.

For the last few days, dispatches after dispatches signal the determination of the English government to destroy the desire of the people for freedom and independence.

Hundreds of people have been arrested and many have been thrown into prison. In Lahore, over 800 Sikhs are on trial. They are accused of conspiracy to collect arms and ammunitions to supply the national army which is being organized. Scores of the Khilafat workers are already rotting in jail. In Calcutta alone over 500 have been arrested. Even women—Mrs. Basanti and Miss Sarala, the wife and sister of Chitta Ranjan Das, president-elect of the Indian National Congress, have not escaped the wrath of the British government. The Congress leaders, the Khilafat workers and members of the Indian National Congress, have not escaped the wrath of the British government. The Congress leaders, the Khilafat workers and members of the *Alkali Dal* (a party in the Sikh community) have become especial targets for persecution. Mahatma Gandhi has not been arrested as yet. It is rumored that the government wants Lord S. P. Sinha, the only Indian Governor in Behar and Orissa, to do Britain's dirty work of arresting the popular leaders. Sinha has therefore, it is said, decided to resign.

Incarceration of prominent men like the Ali Brothers, Sirdar Gurudit Singh, Chitta Ranjan Das, Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Moti Sal Nehru, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, Jitendra Lal Banejee, the editors of the Allahabad "Independent" and many others is inciting the whole nation to abandon its pacifistic principles, though the Indian National Congress urges the people to be calm and cool and to assume a non-violent attitude. The British government may be anxious to bring about a premature revolution, but the signs seem to be very clear when we know that there are riots in Bombay, strikes in Calcutta and that the Moplahs are still fighting in a perfect military fashion.

The Indian soldiers have also become very restive. Several regiments of the Galdaut Sikhs have decided to resign from the government's service and to serve instead under the National Volunteer Corps as soon as it is established.

The magre news which filters through the strict censorship gives us only a clue as to the sensational and startling events which are happening in India. Every bit of bureaucratic action unites all the parties of India. There is not a single man or woman whose blood does not boil at learning of the suffocation of the Moplah prisoners in a closed railway carriage on Nov. 19th. Over 147 Moplah military prisoners were sandwiched into a small closed carriage without having any passage for ventilation and transported through the extreme heat of Southern India. Naturally, as the Surgeon-General states, death was "due to suffocation together with heat exhaustion". They were military prisoners, and as such could expect treatment in accordance with international usage. In no page of history, can such deliberate massacre be found. The Black Hole tragedy in the 18th century pales into insignificance in comparison with such atrocities which add fuel to the fire already kindled by the Amritsar massacre and the Khilafat wrongs.

In order to understand the events in India, we must have a peep into the inside workings of the Indian National Congress. Up to the present the Congress has been more or less a sort of debating society which presented grievances to the British government and cried for the crumbs of reforms. But since 1905, when the present renaissance and revolutionnary movement was born, a group of people forced the Congress to abandon its mendicant policy. The revolutionaries became very active, threw bombs and killed a few English officials. This opened the eyes of the people and a new chapter began in the history of the struggle for independence. The Congress leaders realized that the establishment of a government of the people, by the people, by the people and for the people should be the goal. The old group which wanted reforms and shuddered at the bombs and bayonets found the Congress camp too hot for them. To-day the Congress is undoubtedly controlled by those who identify themselves with the rank and file. Mahatma Gandhi on the one hand and the revolutionaries on the other have contributed in a very large measure to bring about a new lease of life in the Congress. Mahatma Gandhi in co-operation with the Ali Brothers have united the various elements, and revolutionaries have gathered their forces and pushed forward a definite program of action.

The National Volunteer Corps has been organized, and the National Treasury known as the Tilap Swarajya Fund established. Every village and hamlet has come within the sphere of the activities of the Congress. The plan of boycotting the British courts, schools and colleges, and British goods was adopted in the last Congress. As a result, many national schools and universities exclusively under national control have been

established. Recently it is reported that 51 per cent of the Manchester cotton-mills have been closed due largely to the non-co-operation movement in India.

The Congress has also laid down its own foreign policy. It has notified the neighbouring governments that hereafter any treaty of commerce or association made by the British government on behalf of India will not be recognized by the people. The Congress Volunteers have organized six million laborers and have helped to establish the Kishan Sabhas (peasants' associations).

The All-India Congress Committee has lately declared "civil disobedience" and "non-payment of taxes" to the British government. In other words it has been decided, not only as a matter of political speculation, but also as a plan of action, not to recognize the political and administrative rights of the English government in India. The leaders of the various parties are also determined to declare the complete independence of India at the next session of the Indian National Congress to be held at Ahmedhabad at the end of December.

These activities and open defiance of the Prince of Wales have been as red rags to Jahn Bull. The British government is pursuing the policy of persecution, so that the people through their only elected representatives may not have an opportunity of declaring independence. The struggle has just begun and the test of strength can only be made in the field of action.

The vanguards of Revolutionary India are the common workers and peasants who constitute 90 % of the huge population, no less than one-fifth of the whole human race. These people are not going to give their lives for abstract theories. They want land, they want bread, they want their rights. A plan of action is therefore, being mapped so that the real revolutionaries may know how to use their forces for the inevitable social and economic revolution which is bound up with the political revolution.

Now is the auspicious moment for all the peoples of the world to study the significance of India's fight for complete independence. They may find that India may bring about the collapse of the imperialistic-capitalistic system. India's movement cannot but be a movement of the masses for the masses. The privileged and propertied classes are enjoying the blessings of life under the British and many of them have been created by the British government. It is the common people who are suffering and it is they who will lead the movement to success. The recognition of these facts may throw a new light on what part India may play in the adjustment of the world's economic, social and political order.

## ECONOMICS

### The Crisis in Poland and Unemployment

by L. Domski (Warsaw).

The crisis crashed down upon the Polish working-class like lightning out of a clear sky. Even two months ago, there were no signs of the impending crisis. Poland, with its constantly sinking mark was one of the cheapest countries in the world. No matter how high the cost of production was, Poland was still a cheap source of imports for foreign countries which even caused something like an industrial boom. The prospects of gaining access to the Russian market also had a livening effect. Many manufacturers were stocking up. There was a downright scarcity of goods in the textile trade of Lodz. Even in August and September, a buyer who did not know the ropes in Lodz could buy goods for cash only if had he had good connections or if he paid graft.

In the enterprises affiliated to the Polish National Association of the Textile Industry, the number of employed workers was as follows:

	Cotton Mills	Woolen Mills
April 1920 . . . . .	24,170	6,064
January 1, 1921 . . . . .	30,873	11,271
October 1, 1921 . . . . .	49,790	14,606

The figures refer only to the organized large factories. All Polish patriots gave the assurance that as soon as the Polish mark would rise, real prosperity would set in. And in October the Polish mark rose by leaps and bounds, chiefly because of the Upper Silesian decision. But the effect of this delightful occurrence was most distressing.

According to the report of Darovski, the Polish Minister of Labor, all the Polish industries are suffering a sudden crisis since the 20th of November, 1921. This crisis hit the textile industry in particular, but the mining industry, the cement and glass industries and all other branches of production have also been more or less affected. Even in the coal industry a considerable stagnation has set in. Only recently there was a coal shortage in Poland. Now, the brown coal mines have had to cease producing because the ordinary coal supply covers the industrial demand.

According to the incomplete figures of Darovski, there were 146,000 unemployed in Poland on the 20th of November; 50 % of these are demobilized soldiers. In reality, however, the unemployment is very much more extensive, since in numerous factories the workers are on part time. So for example, in the organized textile industries (large factories only) the number of hours worked per week amount to 38.7 % as compared with the best post-war years. One may safely assume that the conditions in the smaller industries are still worse.

While the working-class is thus bearing the burden of the "blessed" rise of the Polish mark, the other classes are only thinking of shifting their losses upon the working masses. Food profiteering is blooming forth again. With the exception of bread, all the other food articles have not only not become cheaper, as the higher buying power of the Polish mark would warrant, but they are steadily rising higher and higher.

Even in the clothing industry where the buyers effected a drop in prices through a buyers' strike, the fall in prices is only felt by the direct producer. In the wholesale trade it is already less noticeable and in the retail stores the prices have only slightly decreased. As compared with the buying power of the Polish mark, they have rather risen. So for instance, a Warsaw newspaper at the end of November calculates that if we compare the prices according to their value in American dollars, we see that between the end of September and the end of November the prices have risen as follows: 33 % for clothing, 150 % for butter, 180 % for milk.

The employers, however, save themselves through the time-honored principle of wage reduction. They have already begun to do so in Posen and Pomerania. In Central Poland the headquarters of the employers' associations are still expressing themselves against reducing wages, but in reality wage reductions are already being proposed and carried out in many factories. Should the working-class be unable to defeat this move, as is most likely under present conditions, then we must be prepared for a considerable lowering of the standard of living of the masses and for a severe blow to the trade union movement.

What is to be done? The government is feigning a fight against unemployment. It calls conferences at which the P. P. S. men "represent" the working-class, and where the latter appeal to the wall before the capitalist class. But until now every government in Poland has had to dance to the fiddle of the agricultural lords. Moreover, the Witos government which recently abdicated and which was supported by the peasants' deputies, had contributed a great deal to the misery of the working-class, by completely abolishing economic control and by doing away with the Food Bureau and all the institutions which were fighting the profiteer. Is the very same Sejm now to aid the government in the struggle against the stripping of the working-class? Whoever believes this is mad.

The only party which can lead an actual fight of the working-class against this evil is the Communist Party. But the Communist Party is at present prevented from starting direct struggle, by the chains of the White Terror, and it must therefore confine itself just now to unmasking the bourgeoisie and social-patriotic sham, and to laying bare the deeper roots of the present evil. The time for positive action by the party will come when it will have succeeded in awakening the masses to action. Whether it will then confine itself to temporary demands like the undertaking of public works and supporting of unemployed, and will then seek to mobilize the mass movement for these demands in order to take advantage of this and create a representative body of the unemployed or whether it will proceed to direct action and to the seizure of the factories, will depend upon the tension of the mass-movement at that moment. The ruling classes have cynically discounted the coming Communist actions by forcing through the extraordinary measures in the Sejm. The conflict is thus driven to a point where half-action is impossible. The masses will either surrender to superior power or else they will have to act in an unmistakably revolutionary manner.

## RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

### The English Communists' Relief Campaign

by W. McLaine (London).

Immediately the call of the Third International to the Communist Parties of the world to rally to the aid of starving Russia was sent out, the Communist Party of Great Britain set to work to organise help in Britain. The Party Chairman attempted to secure the co-operation of all the working-class forces in the country in one joint famine organisation. The Labour and trade-union leaders were averse to anything being done on these lines and apparently they were of the opinion that association with the Communists even for the purpose of fighting the famine would be regarded as some concession to the Communist forces. The Party then decided to start its own Famine Fund immediately.

In the month of August a great famine campaign was commenced. A "Famine Week" was organized and all the organisational resources of the party were placed at the disposal of the newly created Famine Department. Approximately 2000 meetings were held and at these meetings not only was the Famine itself discussed but also the reasons why the Famine had come about, so that the lies of the press that the famine was the result of Communist rule could be effectively exposed. The information disseminated in the course of this "Famine Week" was very valuable, and from time to time we have been asked to supplement it by additional information on the matter.

During the "Famine Week" the party members threw themselves wholeheartedly into the work. The result of this work was that our fund received good publicity and was opened in good spirit. 250,000 special appeal leaflets were sent out to the trade-unions all over the country, and were made the basis of discussions at branch and other meetings. It can be said that this circularising of the trade-unions had the effect of forcing the trade-union leaders to take up the question of famine relief, because those branches which perhaps did not desire to send their contributions through us began to press for action on the part of their own organisations.

Money began to come in to the party famine fund during August. It came in from all sources, party branches, party meetings, members' levies, trade-union subscriptions, private donations, and even collections from the unemployed. It did not come in as fast as the party had hoped, but this can be explained by the fact that there are now in Britain no less than 2,000,000 workers totally unemployed, and in addition, at least about another 1,000,000 working short time. The miners who would undoubtedly have been our chief contributors had just passed through a three months' struggle with the employers, and had been defeated. Similarly the engineers have had to submit to two serious reductions in wages, and are now working (those that are working) for less real wages than they had before the war. All these things have had their effect upon the fund but nevertheless the party, without the assistance of any outside body, has been able to collect £3,400, and money comes in every day at a steady rate no less in volume than at any period of the famine campaign.

In addition to the ordinary methods of raising money by means of collections at meetings, the following other methods have been made use of;

#### *Subscription lists.*

3,500 lists have been printed and put into circulation. These enable comrades to make personal appeals to individuals in the workshops, etc.

#### *Famine Badges.*

40,000 small badges specially designed and bearing the words "Russian Famine Fund" have been manufactured, and are being sold by comrades in workshops, in union branches and to individuals.

#### *Collection of Jewelry.*

Recently the party issued an appeal to comrades to follow the example of the Moscow comrades who have sacrificed the little personal jewelry they had to help to swell the relief funds, and to send such items as they possessed to the headquarters of the fund so that they might be sold. We have received in response to this appeal: wedding rings, watches, gold chains, broches, bracelets, medals, etc. It is significant that even war medals have been sent to be melted down for this purpose.

Steps are now being taken to organise an International Fair on a large scale in one of the large London halls, early in the new year. At this fair goods of all kinds will be sold for the benefit of the fund and it promises to be a great success.

In addition to the direct work done for the fund organised by the party, members in different parts of the country have been able to spur others on to action. In some districts, by means of letters to the newspapers they have started local discussions, and these have led to the formation of Town Committees under the leadership of the mayor of the town. In such cases, however, the funds collected do not come to us but the fact that it is thus possible to set other activities going is a tribute to the energy of those members responsible.

Several trade-unions journals have opened funds of their own, and in some cases, despite the fact that the trade-union fund has been opened, they are sending the money to us, because we have been able to convince them that we are able to relieve the famine-stricken in the most expeditious manner.

## The White Terror

### The Crimes of the Spanish Reaction.

by H. Arlandis.

Member of the Bureau of the Red Trade Union International.

The Spanish government persists in demanding from the German republic the extradition of Luis Nicola Fort and Joaquina Concepcion whom it accuses of having taken part in M. Dato's execution. The extradition treaty concluded in 1878 between Spain and Germany is nevertheless definite—perpetrators of political crimes shall not be extradited between the two countries, an exception being made for those guilty of attempts against the life of the sovereigns or members of their families. But no attention is paid to that! The casuists in the pay of the inquisitors of Madrid have conceived of the idea of proving that M. Dato's execution was not a "political crime". In a note which they have presented at Berlin through their ambassador they employ all their ingenuity in showing that the matter involves a common law crime, because "M. Dato was not a reactionary but a reformist and a friend of the working class." And those who have dispatched him to the other world are therefore nothing but common criminals claimed by the hangman. Will this ridiculous mode of argument be favorably received? The opinion of the working-class on this point is very important. And it is to the working-class that we are making an appeal.

Without attempting to launch upon a polemic of a judicial nature, and without wishing in the least to apologize for the "political crime", we will confine ourselves to drawing up a brief though necessarily very incomplete chronological list of the Spanish government's crimes. These crimes were also those of M. Dato. They dishonor forever the government of a country calling itself civilized.

Before stating some definite facts let us call to mind the following broad general facts—the arrest and the detention of thousands of workers under atrocious conditions; the outlawing of the trade-unions; the suppression of the labor-press and of all public liberty.

M. Dato commenced his administration with an act of violence against the trade-unions. In August 1920 he arrested 27 militant syndicalists without any legal proceedings and immediately deported them to Fernando Po (Guinea). They are still there unless misery, cruelty, fewers and despair have already killed them. . .

During the same month of August 1920 three militant workers, comrades Camille Albert, José Franqueza, and Baptiste Grau were arrested at Sueca (Province of Valencia) while they were in their beds at night. The *guardia civil* (police) led them outside of the city and struck them down with rifle-shots. Grau was killed outright. Albert and Franqueza who were left for dead, were rescued, and recovered after months in the hospital. In spite of the formal evidence given by a railroad worker and by an employe of the city toll-house and by various persons all of whom had hastened up at the sound of the fusillade, no action was taken against the assassins. The most that was done was to transfer and promote one of them. A ministerial order (coming from M. Dato) prevented an inquiry.

In October 1920, the persecution of the labor movement acquired a new intensity at Barcelona, under the administration of General Martinez Anido. The worst repressive atrocities become an everyday occurrence. The trade-unions, little tolerated

until then, were officially outlawed. The action of collecting union-dues became an offense punishable like theft. The shop-delegates were arrested en masse and deported to out of the way places in the Peninsula. In many cases they travelled on foot, under heavy guard. They received 50 centimes a day for food (a kilogram of bread costs 80 centimes). At the end of 1920 more than 7,000 workers were imprisoned.

On November 28 of the same year there was a new *coup de force* at Barcelona. 37 militant syndicalists who were under no charges whatsoever were arrested, taken on board a war-ship and than sent to the Mola fortress (Mahon) where they still are. Among these deported there is the republican lawyer Companys, municipal councillor of Barcelona. On the next day, November 29, 1920 the bands of the "free labor-union" organized by Martinez, Anido and Arlagui assassinated the noted lawyer Layret, a big-hearted man who constantly defended the workers. Francisco Layret was killed, while coming out of his home together with the wife of Campanys, on the way to intervene in the latter's favor with the mayor of the city.

Following this event the workers' protest broke out spontaneously in all of Spain. The Dato government defied it. The repressions continued systematically. Assassinations succeeded one another. More than 600 militants have met with death until now from the bullets or the knives of the bourgeois government's constables. But the government may confine itself to saying that it does not know the perpetrators of these crimes. Let us then point out some of the assassinations committed by *the government's forces*.

We will confine ourselves to a recital of some crimes committed by the police and by the civil guards under the rule of Dato.

#### Bloody January.

Four young comrades Ramon Gomaz, Julio Francisco, Villanueva, Diago Parra, were assassinated the 14th of January at 8 o'clock in the morning by the civil guard, which escorted them to a camp in Calabria (Barcelona). They had been arrested two days before in the Café Espagnol and treated most brutally. The brother of comrade Gomaz found conclusive evidence of that from an inquiry he made on the spot. Diego Parra, seriously wounded, has sufficiently recovered to bear witness against the civil guard, but he is still kept in a secret dungeon at Valencia. When the families of the victims brought to the attention of the examining Magistrate very incriminating evidence, that worthy representative of bourgeois justice answered that considering the troubled times we are passing through the families would do well to remain silent.

On January 16th, at 2 A. M., there took place the arrest and assassination of four workmen — Sylvestre, Flores, Camacho and Felix. They were killed at place called la Reforma by the guards of Seguridad.

On January 19th, two militants arrested the same day at Cortez were killed at Diagonal (Barcelona). Their names escape me, but the newspapers mentioned the crime.

On January 21th at Valencia, Alfredo Sasera, former secretary of the wood workers' union was killed in the shop where he worked by a civil guard.

On January 22nd at Valencia, the civil guard killed comrades Manuel Hernandez and Antonio Gil (secretary of the transport union) whom they were conducting to prison.

Finally on February 28th, the furniture worker Juan Perez was killed in the manner at Valencia: During an entire month he was kept underground in a camp of the civil guard and submitted to the frightful torture.

I am citing from memory only those isolated facts of which I have personal knowledge.

Persecution was not confined to workers. It extended to all those who, even among the liberal bourgeoisie, exhibited any sympathy for the workers delivered to the assassins. The persecution of workers' lawyers was systematic. I have already mentioned the assassination of M. Layret. About the 20th of February 1920 another lawyer of Barcelona, Dastra was seriously wounded. A few days later Ullé was the victim of a similar outrage. M. Pedro Vargas and Juan Bort (former mayor of Valencia), two well known republican lawyers, are still imprisoned in the fortress of Valencia where they are undergoing unspeakable treatment.

This is how Dato was "the workers' friend and the author of social reforms". We will in the near future publish the crimes of his successors Allandessallaz and Maura.

We are, appealing to the international proletariat against the reaction and the White Terror of Spain. The workers of Spain are calling for help!