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CONTENTS

	Page		Page
The Grave Diggers of Capitalism. By <i>Karl Radek</i> . . .	557	After the Italian General Strike. By <i>E. P.</i>	561
Politics		The German Trade Union Movement Since the War.	
The Common Struggle of the German and French Proletariat. By <i>A. Thalheimer</i>	558	By <i>F. Heckert</i>	561
From Havre to Kattowitz and Vienna By <i>R. Albert</i>	559	The Colonies	
In the International		Mota Sigh, Leader of the Indian Peasants. By <i>Evelyn Roy</i>	563
In the French Party. The Seine Congress. By <i>A. Treint</i>	559	The White Terror	
Labor Movement		The White Terror in Jugo-Slavia Continues.	
The Miners' and Railwaymen's Strike in America.		By <i>K. Novakovicz</i>	564
By <i>A. Swabeck</i>	560		

The Grave Diggers of Capitalism

By *Karl Radek*.

At the time of the Genoa Conference, whose purpose it was to begin the reconstruction of Europe 3 years after the signing of the "peace",—the dollar, worth 4 marks before the war, had reached a value of 270 marks. Three months have passed since, the delegates of 42 nations have left the sunny shores of Liguria,—and the dollar is worth about 2000 marks, that is, the mark is worth 1/250th of its pre-war value. Such is the brilliant result of the work of Europe's most eminent diplomats. Some of them have been willing to cross the ocean to achieve this. Mr. Pierpont Morgan himself came across from New York to study the condition of French and German finances. After which he coolly declared to the Allies: "One must be an imbecile to lend a single cent to a Germany whom France can rob the next day".

So the catastrophic fall of the mark continued. Negotiations began between France and England, regarding a moratorium. Mr. Lloyd George demanded of France somewhat more moderation.

If French imperialism does not display a little more moderation, it will end not only in hurting England, which is losing a good customer in Germany, but it will hurt itself. For the hen will not lay her golden eggs any more, once you have wrung its neck. And Mr. Poincaré answered Mr. Lloyd George sharply: "*Chairty begins at home*". Let first England renounce her share of the reparations and cancel the debt France owes her.

Then the London Cabinet answered, that it is willing to forget the debts of France and Germany, if America will obliterate England's debt to her. And the English newspapers add, that France's and Germany's debts to England are double England's debt to America.

"How magnanimous!" retorts the American press. England's debtors are insolvent,—but England is not. Therefore America can see no reason for foregoing what is due her.

Then the representatives of France, England and Italy meet. Mr. Poincaré declares that France will not agree to a moratorium, unless the respite will serve to guarantee Germany's debt to her. Furthermore, he is no longer satisfied with the control of German finances as security; he demands the possession of the German coal mines. England understood this to mean the occupa-

tion of the Ruhr, which act would surely have provoked trouble among the workers and necessitated the dispatch of French troops into that territory. England fears above all the French occupation of Westphalia, which would make France the foremost continental power. England therefore bolted. And so the London Conference ended without any results.

The decision now lies in the hands of the Reparations Commission, that is of four men,—one Frenchman, one Italian, one Englishman, and one Belgian. England is assured of Italy's vote. France and England are now contesting for Belgium's support.

Will they tear up the Versailles Treaty, or merely paste it together again. We are inclined to believe that the fear of consequences will bring about a compromise. However, the Entente has ceased to exist as a political organization controlling the destiny of Europe and capable of preventing the bankruptcy of capitalism.

When the question was put to the Independent Socialist Party of Germany: determined action against the monarchist reaction or collaboration with the bourgeois government, the ex-communist, Mr. Levi, said: "You demand new elections. . . . But can't you understand that new elections would bring the dollar up to 1000 marks!" And to prevent this calamity, the brave Independents renounced to fight the reaction. The two Social Democratic parties threw down their arms, to prevent a civil war which would hinder England in its "relief" of Germany. The monarchist danger? A dream! The Republic? Nonsense! Save the mark!

And coo-coo, here is the dollar at 2000. The horrors which Mr. Levi feared most have been surpassed. And the future? Instead of a revision of the Treaty, we are witnessing the dissolution of the Entente, menace of occupation of the Ruhr, danger of the complete ruin of Germany.

The rupture of the Entente, its powerlessness to adopt any of the suggestions which all the theoreticians, all the experts of capitalist economics made for the reconstruction of the bourgeois world, all this is nothing more than the agony of the capitalist system.

It is also the agony of the Second and 2½ Internationals. For it was not so long ago that the Socialist leaders of London,

Vienna, and Amsterdam were advising the international working class to support Mr. Lloyd George and his program. After having refused to include in the demands of the world proletariat the recognition of the Soviet Republic, of the first Workers' Government, for fear, that Russia might thereby assume the leadership of the world proletariat, these gentlemen of the Second and the 2½, favor Mr. Lloyd George's policy and the defense of the German bourgeoisie. Well, well, Messrs. Henderson, Renaudel, Jouhaux, what are you going to do next? How are you going to lead the workers in the struggle even for your own pitiful demands? Go to it! Propose the boycott of imperialist France, and you may count on our support. We know that you will do nothing of the sort. You have courage only against the Bolsheviks. But just as Mr. Lloyd George is afraid to break with Poincaré, knowing that this would mean the end of European capitalism, you will not dare to begin any action for your poor reformist program, knowing that an appeal to the masses against capitalism would mean your own death sentence. Have not the international bourgeoisie and its Socialist lackeys yelled loudly enough because we have not been able in a peasant country, ruined, isolated, and surrounded by enemies, to accomplish in five years the greatest revolution in the world's history, the creation of the Communist society on the ruins of capitalism? But you bourgeois gentlemen and "Socialist" menials, have not even been able to clear the ruins of war, four years after its end. And you believe you will have the last word!

Our fight for Communism has just begun. We have not yet accomplished our task, for it is a colossal one. But you have so well done your work of capitalist reconstruction, that we can but thank you. Our Communist brothers of Europe were too weak to dig your grave. You have done this for us. Thanks, good grave-diggers! When the day comes the workers need but push you into them. Make haste, so that we may begin our work of reconstruction with workingmen's hands!

POLITICS

The Common Struggle of the German and French Proletariat

By A. Thalheimer (Berlin).

If any time demanded an active common fighting policy between the German and the French working class it is the present. The German working class is no longer faced with ruin, but is already encompassed with it. The "guarantee policy" of Poincaré threatens to transform the German working class into a gang of slaves over whom the German-French capitalists will wield the lash, and whose slavery will be guaranteed at the same time by French militarism and the German Orgesch bands. Whether France herself forcibly seizes the booty, or whether she comes to a common understanding with the German capitalists, for joint exploitation, the results in both cases will be the same for the German working class:— Allied control of German finances, will inevitably lead to the severest and most oppressive taxation of the German working class. The occupation of the Ruhr, either by means of open force or by means of the well known colonial method of "peaceful penetration", means the beginning of the dissolution of Germany.

The dangers for the French working class are no less immediate and serious. The French troops which occupy the strategic positions of the Ruhr will indeed not meet with any German army on the way, as Germany is militarily defenceless and the concealed weapons of the Ludendorff and Escher bands are intended to be used against the German working class. But on the road to the Ruhr, France will find herself confronted with England. No English government, no matter what secret agreements it may have come to behind closed doors, can venture to abandon the Ruhr to France and thus enable the strongest industrial and military rival of England upon the European mainland, to acquire an enormous increase of political, military and industrial power.

Not so immediate, but just as certain and pressing, is the reaction of the further ruin of Germany and its working class upon the French workers. The fate of the franc is bound up with that of the mark. The coolie wages of the German workers are already used by the French employees as the basis for a powerful and concentrated offensive against the working class. The restoration of the destroyed areas is already at a standstill, as a consequence of the cessation of German payments, and the policy pursued by Poincaré will certainly not fill the French treasury coffers any the quicker, but on the contrary. The

crisis in the French iron and steel industry threatens to become permanent. It is harrassed on two sides, by the competition of England as well as by that of Germany. With the widening of the gulf between England and France, is bound up the further increase of the burden of armaments, which is already greatly overtaxing the strength of France.

In this critical situation the working class of both countries have been left in the lurch by the "socialist" parties of the Second as well as of the 2½ Internationals, and by the leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International. The French reform-socialists (dissidents) grouped about Renaudel, Blum, etc. are indeed not in the camp of Poincaré but in that of Caillaux. The policy of "fulfilment" is sacred to them. They are in favor of the "gentle, peaceful" restoration policy which, so far as it is not an absurd utopia, will finally, and most inevitably, yet peacefully ruin both countries. As regards Germany, it is sufficient to call attention to the disgraceful fact that the German representatives of the Second International at the Berlin Conference of the three Internationals, submitted to the Communist International, in the form of an ultimatum, the demand that the fight against the Versailles Peace Treaty should not appear upon the common platform. In Austria, these parties and the trade unions affiliated to them, have brought things to such a pass that that country is quite given over to the surrounding capitalist slave dealers; and Germany, under their leadership, is on the road to the same abyss.

On this side of the Rhine as on the other, there are only the flags of the Communist International and of the Red International of Labor Unions that have not been lowered before the pirate flags of the imperialists. Only Moscow is fighting, fighting steadfastly and whole-heartedly against the capitalist insanity under which Europe is already collapsing.

At a joint conference of the central committees of the Communist Parties of France and Germany, which took place at Cologne, the two sections of the Communist International agreed upon the initiation of a common struggle, and appointed a committee among themselves, which has been assigned the special task of further carrying on the initiated activity in the closest possible unity.

Both Communist Parties are agreed upon the entire repudiation of the Versailles Peace Treaty. It is natural that the chief burden of the fight against the Versailles Treaty falls upon the shoulders of the French working class. They stand face to face with Poincaré and the Bloc National. They will conduct this fight as a proletarian class fight, not with the slogans of the "Left", and not as a section of the Left Bloc, but independently and with their own slogans. They will of course bid welcome to every proletarian organization which carries on the same fight. It follows from this that it is incumbent upon the French Party to extend and intensify its general fight, the fight against the capitalist offensive and against the wage tax.

The German Communist Party is already engaged in organizing the fight against the high prices and against the shifting of the reparations burdens upon the working class. The object of its attack in the first instance, lies within its own borders, against its own capitalist class. It is endeavouring to take advantage of the present crisis, in order to capture the next stronghold on the road to Socialism and the Soviet Dictatorship. Its fight, of course, is also directed against the fulfilment policy of Dr. Wirth. It repudiates, on principle, the Wirth fulfilment policy. In this connection it is aware that as long as the Versailles Treaty is not liquidated by the joint efforts of the working classes of France and Germany, even a proletarian government would be compelled to carry it out. But the limits are defined by the vital necessities of German economic life. The experiment of proving by its own ruin, the impossibility of the reparations demands could not be carried out by a proletarian government. The Wirth Government has undoubtedly succeeded in bringing about the ruin of its own economic life, and it succeeded so well, that soon nothing more will remain to be ruined. Whilst we are writing this, the dollar has already reached 2400. The activities, therefore, of the two sections of the Communist International are linked together as one hand in the other.

The action commenced by the two Communist Parties in Cologne is but a beginning, probably with all the failings of a beginning. But whilst we are acting in unison we will learn in unison.

In any case, we are giving to the world a practical demonstration that our Communist principles unite us in practice, whilst the betrayal of Socialism renders the parties of the Second and 2½ Internationals, practically incapable of international action and renders their declamations about it but hollow phrases.

From Havre to Kattovitz and Vienna

The Spectacle of an imperialistic dictatorship. — Shooting in Havre. — Pogrom in Kattovitz. — Death of Vienna. — Misery in Berlin. — What is to be done?

By R. Albert (Moscow).

Proletarian blood has been shed in Havre, this month of August. To break the strike of the metal workers and the seamen, the police and the troops of M. Poincaré shot upon disarmed workers, ridiculously barricaded behind overturned carts.

The beautiful days of Draveil and Fourmes, have come back after our "War for Right and Justice". Is this what our soldiers have been killed for in Artois, in Champagne, in Saloniki, in Silesia?

And that is not all. *Marty* is still in prison. *Marty* who had been four times elected by universal suffrage, that sacred universal suffrage of our boasted "democracies". There is *Gadsky*, innocent, spitting out his blood and his lungs in the prisons of the "Republic" for the last seven years. In all the military prisons, at forced labor, are all those soldiers of the *Great War* expiating a gesture of despair or anger. And under the earth, all those guiltless, vindicated or not, shot by a firing squad, at Vingré, at Souhain, everywhere. That is the active side, in the ledger of French bourgeois dictatorship.

Is that not enough to disgust any one with the hypocrisy of the republican constitution, with the slavish crawling before the great god of the rich,—"*Order*". But that is not all. French militarism, and the *Comité des Forges* have undertaken a vaster work. They do not exploit in Creuzot and St. Denis only. They do not kill only at Havre.

Jewish blood has been shed last week in Kattovitz, that is, in the industrial fief of French high finance, in the vassal republic which General Weygand has saved from Bolshevism. *Progrom*. Because living was too expensive. Nationalist Polish brutes attacked the Jewish quarter, killed, burned, pillaged.

Last week, in Vienna, the unemployed, exasperated by their misery, held a demonstration before the Municipal Building. Their blood was shed too. Vienna has been dying slowly for the last three years, since the Treaties of Versailles, of St. Germain, of Trianon. And in order that the international parasites may not be disturbed in Vienna by the hungry masses, there is talk of sending an Allied force there. Black troops or Havre policemen?

During the past weeks, the misery of Germany, of a working population of 35,000,000 has increased enormously, and is still increasing. In Berlin a pound of margarine costs 200 marks which is a day's pay. In less than a month the cost of living has doubled in a country where the workers have been consuming $\frac{1}{2}$ as much bread and $\frac{1}{3}$ as much meat as before the war, (official statistics).

That is not all. The Allies occupy the industrial centers in the Rhine section. To be more exact, the French occupy them. The disdainful and arrogant officers reign supreme in Mainz and Coblenz; the speculating vermin, purveyed with liras, francs, and dollars, are buying out the German stores where the proletariat can no longer set foot for the last six months. The Senegalese occupy the Rhine villages, ready for all dirty work. The miners of the Ruhr who were shot down by the German petty bourgeoisie in 1921, may expect French occupation to impose upon them the will of the *Comité des Forges*.

The same exploiters reign in Havre, on the Rhine, in Vienna, in Upper Silesia, maintaining their power by hunger, repression, democratic lies, and when need be, by mass-murder.

What is to be done, what? We should not despair. For everything is crumbling in Western Europe, which is dominated by French capitalism. The treaties which the victor had forced upon the vanquished cannot be enforced; the victors themselves are menaced by them. The vanquished cannot pay the reparations; Austria will disappear after a bankruptcy,—and Mr. Wirth is pointing to the menace of Bolshevism. The working class, starving, dying of tuberculosis, forced to longer hours of work for smaller wages, understands that this is the end—too slow an end of capitalism. What is to be done? Think clearly, especially we revolutionists. Organize, learn, act, be ready to give the final push to capitalism when it will crumble down, undermined by its own follies, by its own crimes. Organize and prepare the dictatorship of the proletariat against this bloody dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

In the French Party. The Seine Congress.

By Albert Treint (Paris).

The Seine Federation and the Executive.

Maintaining active contact with the French Party, the Executive Committee of the Communist International had expressed in an open letter to the Seine Federation its views on the problems of organization which that Federation had raised.

The Executive Committee of the International had requested the Seine Federation that no step be taken until a thorough discussion of the letter by the various sections had taken place. The Executive Committee of the Seine had agreed to postpone the federal congress until the 20th of August.

This congress has now taken place. It has expressed definitely and forcefully the position of the Seine Federation.

As was to be expected, the Congress adopted the point of view of the International; not because of passive obedience or of some mystical fetishism towards Moscow, but because they realized where revolutionary intelligence and revolutionary truth lay.

Just as in the Levi question in Germany, just as in the Serrai question in Italy, the Executive of the International has proved its ability to state clearly and openly the questions at issue between itself and the adherent organizations.

Wasted Energy.

For about a year, we have witnessed in the Federation a great waste of energy, spent in internal quarrels, not only because of poor statutes, but because of the conflict of tendencies, of which the fight centering about the statutes is only one symptom.

The federalist tendency, which was gaining ground in the Federation necessitated the conflict. It was either fight or renounce to form a true Communist Party, strongly centralized and capable of organizing the revolutionary struggle.

This waste of energy represents the fight of tendencies in the formation of a Communist Party. It is self-evident that all this wasted energy might have been put to much better use against the bourgeoisie. Skillful orators may draw hot tears and applause from such theatrical lamentations. But we must not forget, that this wasted energy had no direction. Any driver, this same driver perhaps who may applaud some oration on the energy wasted in the international struggle, will tell you that his wagon would not advance a step if one of his horses should pull to the right, the other to the left, and the third to remain on the straight road. He would further tell you that he would consider it no waste of time, if after getting the reins into order, he succeeded in persuading the hesitating center horse to go to the left, and at the same time to pull along the tired horse on the right, which prefers the soft and easy road of opportunism, strewn with flowery verbiage.

The Statutes of the Seine Federation and Article 9 of the International Statutes.

On the order of business stood the revision of the statutes of the Seine Federation and the modification of Article 9 of the International Statutes.

For over a year the Seine Federation was directed along federalist lines, by an Executive Committee of about one hundred members, whose composition changed from one meeting to the next. The resulting muddle caused 20 sections to demand the revision of the statutes. 163 votes went for centralization, 29 for federalization and the maintenance of the old state of affairs.

Few abstained from voting or were absent. Federalism was beaten; the federalist oligarchy which had brought about such a topsy-turvy, and had misled some excellent militant comrades against the International and against the Russian Revolution.

The opinion of the Federation on article 9, was expressed just as forcefully, even if no vote has been taken yet (voting will take place next Sunday). On the motion of the left, the debate was extended to the methods of direction of the International. We have no doubt, but that the Seine will approve with an enormous majority both article 9 and the way the Executive applied it, and the decision to fix all national congresses after those of the International.

This will mean the defeat of any movement towards national independence.

Federalism Definitely Defeated.

It is self-evident that federalization can prosper only during a period of calm, not of intense strife. And even in this calm

period of the past year, federalism has revealed its incapacity to take care of even current matters, or of solving the simplest problems. Federalism has been given the death blow in the Seine Federation. The congress of the 20th of August has condemned it within the federal, national and international organizations.

The Attitude of the Various Tendencies.

In the past months we have witnessed a coalition of the right and extreme left of the Federation, which due to the passivity of the center, had been able to attack the International. A clear statement of the issues has now broken up this coalition. Heine remains federalist; Renoult and Duret rallied to centralism, with certain reservations on the tactics of the International.

We face a definite danger. The majority of the right-extreme-left-coalition, rallied around Renoult, while refusing to abandon its point of view, and continuing to propagate it in the sections, refuses to bring the question before the congress on a clear issue. The true tendencies of the Renoult group are shown clearly in its attempts to sabotage the congress through members of the left. The great majority of the congress had to intervene frequently to denounce this systematic obstruction. The Renoult group, abandoned by the masses of the Party and condemned by the International, feigns acceptance of centralism, and continues to combat article 9 by attacking its application. The expulsion of Lévi and of Serrati's Party, did not move Renoult so much as the expulsion of Fabre. Our coalition will accept the decisions of the Fourth Congress, they say. But Renoult defends Quinton, the author of the syndico-nationalist article: *No Imported Centralism*, and Besnard, one of these intriguants who have shown us how certain groups are trying to turn to their profit the muddle created by federalism. The Renoult coalition is defeated, morally, numerically, doctrinally. It is afraid of an open conflict, being incoherent in its conceptions, abandoned by the masses, condemned by the International. The National Congress will show this.

The center is abandoning its policy of hesitation. Frossard, defending the centralist project in the federal statutes, showed this as a step toward the union of center and left, on the principles and decisions of the International. It would have been a good thing if the center had expressed its view on article 9, and the policy of the International through some authorized voice. The left regrets the silence of the center on these questions.

But we believe that Frossard's step is not the last and that a union of left and center against the right and the bourgeoisie will result therefrom.

The left, having clarified its views and tactics, now looms as a great force. It had undertaken, in difficult times, against the prevailing tendencies, a reorganization of the Party. Alone it would never have come out victorious at the Seine Congress. And it is happy that its victory is due to the cooperation, to the tentative alliance with the center and to the intervention of the International.

Gas Attacks.

I must however point to a peril. Just as before the Marseilles Congress, slander is being circulated against the militants of the left. Their purpose is to disorganize and to discredit the left. One takes too many vacations, another finds a sadistic pleasure in attacks on the Party, a third is neglecting his duty as propagandist, etc. Coming from no definite source, these calumnies tend to create a poisoned, irritated atmosphere. We must prevent the attention of sincere and honest comrades from being distracted from the important questions to be decided at the National Congress in Paris. These slanderous insinuation may easily cause dissensions in a party whose Communism is not yet deeply implanted. It is no secret that few of our comrades possess a solid doctrinal foundation in Communism; we will leave it to flattering demagogues to state the opposite. Surprises are to be feared at the coming congress.

The left does not intend to defend those of its members who may prove themselves unworthy and neglectful. The Party Executive must clear the poisoned atmosphere, by combatting them, by openly censuring and by disciplining those of our militants who prove themselves guilty of any fault.

The Center-Left Coalition.

Of course personalities cannot always be escaped in a political struggle. Ideas, doctrines, theses, do not possess an abstract existence independent of the men who defend them. None of us are saints. Our passionate devotion to our ideas, to the revolutionary cause, may bring about petty personal conflicts. Let us not forget that fundamental questions of Communism are what interests us. Those members of the left and the center who may have come into conflict must learn to work together. A separation must take place within the center, from those who still cling to the right. Old comradeship may be sacrificed. This is

painful, and explains the hesitation of the center. But the separation of center and right must take place. The interests of Communism and of the working class demand it.

That is why we turn to the masses of the Party and to the whole International which has only the interests of the proletariat at heart, and we tell them:

Facilitate the scission of right and center by a kindly pressure. Demand the union of the center and the left on the principles of militant Communism. Declare definitely that this union is not an impossible and monstrous coalition of centrist and left tendencies, but the alliance of the left with those members of the center who are willing to follow unhesitatingly in the Communist way.

The Seine Congress has spoken this clearly at its last session. It spoke in a language which all Communists must understand. It presages much good for the Communist cause at the coming National Congress in Paris.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The American Miners' and Railroad Workers' Strike

By Arne Swabeck (Chicago).

With the partial settlement of the miners strike, an important chapter, picturing one of the greatest struggles in the American labor history, has come to a close. This strike marked the beginning of the turning point in the class struggle in the United States. It entered upon a new stage. The method of passive submission to the arrogant dictatorship of the employers and of humble acceptance of one wage reduction after another, of longer working-hours and general deterioration of working conditions, was discarded by the miners. They put the whole strength of their organized forces into active resistance. Their lead has since been followed by other organizations.

For two years the employers have been engaged in a deadly war of destruction of labor unions. Wages were greatly reduced both for organized and unorganized workers, and despite the high international exchange rate of the American dollar, they reached the starvation point. All important gains in working conditions won during the war, when there was a labor shortage, were ruthlessly abolished. Many unions were broken up. The American Federation of Labor in that period, lost over 900,000 members. In 1920 it reported a membership of 4,078,740, and at its last convention in 1922, only 3,165,635. The post-war depression offered an opportunity to the employers to put their union-smashing drive into effect. The workers, haunted by the spectre of unemployment had become submissive.

On April 1, 1922, with the expiration of the prevailing agreement between the miners' union and the coal operators, the latter refused to even consider a new national agreement. It soon became evident that the employers were determined to carry their war of extermination into the ranks of the miners. They insisted upon a 40 per cent wage reduction, and offered to enter into negotiations with the miners on a regional basis, each district by itself. They proposed important changes in working conditions, all in an effort to divide the miners into a number of small fractions. To this the miners' organization, pursuant to the decision of their last convention, replied with a general suspension of work, both in the bituminous and anthracite fields. For twenty weeks the miners stood solid, bringing along with them out of the mines and simultaneously organizing nearly 100,000 miners from formerly unorganized fields. With little or no financial means at their disposal, daily facing starvation, the rank and file have withstood the vicious attacks of the operators, despite court injunctions and industrial court laws forbidding strikes, as well as ruthless treatment at the hands of gunmen, police and soldiers. Many attempts by the operators to reopen the mines on an "open shop" basis were frustrated by the miners. *Herrin, Illinois*, where all strike breakers and gunmen paid with their lives, served as a severe lesson that such tactics would not do. The miners throughout the struggle displayed a solidarity never before equalled in the American labor movement, and compelled the bosses to slow down on their vicious onslaught.

Since the beginning of the railroad shopmen's strike, on July 1, the average weekly output of non-union coal dropped from 5,500,000 tons to 4,000,000 tons, which is less than half the amount being consumed, so it may be seen that railroads, public utilities and industrial plants were eating into their stock supply at an enormous rate. The government became apprehensive and offered several schemes for a settlement of the miners' strike. On August 1, a survey revealed that 400 of the biggest industrial plants from which returns were received, had an average of only 20 days supply of coal. Some of them were only a few

days from the bottom of their supply, facing a complete shut-down. The steel mills reported shutdown of blast furnaces at the rate of a dozen a week, while some mills were facing a complete suspension of activities for lack of fuel. Even the great Ford plants reported a supply for only two weeks. Meanwhile the government's apprehension had grown to alarm, further augmented by the increasing proportions of the railroad strike and the encouragement thereby afforded the miners. After its various arbitration schemes had failed, it threw off the mask of being a neutral observer. The strikers were roughly handled in the name of "law and order", while all the weapons at the command of the capitalist state were used in an effort to break the strikes. This compelled the miners, the railroad workers and thousands of other workers, to realize the necessity of fighting the government as the tool of capitalist oppression.

The anxiety for a settlement of the coal strike was evidenced not only by the government but by the officials of the miners' union, headed by president Lewis, as well. He hastened for a settlement, evidently fearing the realities of the titanic struggle, which had now become more definite in character, and perhaps also moved by the heart-rending cries of the industrial captains for more coal. Now the miners in the bituminous fields are returning to work, retaining their old scale of wages, while the anthracite miners, composing about 120,000 men, continue the fight for their specific demands. President Harding will shortly appoint a commission of nine to inquire into wages and working conditions in the mines. This commission will most probably return a report justifying the claims of the operators for a reduction in wages, relying upon the miners being too tired for any further fighting.

The employers' organizations throughout the country are demanding new, and for them, more suitable labor legislation. President Harding has asked Congress to remain in session to deal with this problem, and it is considered possible that at least new teeth will be put into the Transportation Act.

It must be said for the miners' strike that it represents a great and wholesome contrast to the shameful retreat in November 1919, when the president of the miners' union, Lewis, was able to defeat the aspirations of the rank and file on the plea that "we cannot fight our government", because of an injunction issued against the proposed strike, and on the further plea of solidarity with those who had accepted his orders and remained at work bringing those back who had actually gone on strike. Not that Lewis and his lieutenants have become more radical, but that the rank and file have become more determined to fight in face of all obstacles, to secure human living conditions and recognition for their organization.

The railroad shopmen's strike is the climax of many insults heaped upon the workers, and also bears out the contention that a turning point has been reached in the class struggle in America, with the workers resisting actively the onslaughts of the capitalists. The government Railroad Labor Board put into effect several wage reductions, cutting one group of workers at a time. The companies practically abolished the eight-hour day, set up company unions, reestablished piece work, and the practice of farming out work to other concerns in order to escape certain provisions in the Transportation Act. On July 1, another wage cut was to take effect, reducing the average weekly pay for skilled and unskilled shop workers by 12 per cent. This cut is not to effect the train service organizations until a more opportune time should present itself. 400,000 shop workers laid down their tools. Their ranks were rapidly increased with workers from other railroad crafts who joined the walkout in spite of the strenuous efforts of their officials to hold them in check. Their numbers soon grew to about 700,000, and the effect is now being strongly felt in rolling material needing repair and accumulating at an enormous rate. This strike has been marked with perhaps greater ferocity than the miners' strike. Military forces with armed gunmen were placed at all shops to protect strikebreakers, many clashes occurred, and many workers belonging to the unions not on strike walked out in protest, in some cases even leaving the trains standing on the line, and in many instances forcing a withdrawal of the military protection. The rank and file of the non-striking railroad unions are making an ever stronger demand for a strike in sympathy with the shop workers, and the chiefs of the five train service brotherhoods are now busy in the attempt to mediate in this gigantic conflict.

It was of course not according to the desires of the railroad union officials that this strike came into being. In conventions previously held, they pleaded with the rank and file not to oppose the "open shop" drive of the companies or at least to localize the strike to roads that had shown especial aggressiveness. But it could not be stopped. The strike vote was unanimous and the officials dared not retreat.

Coming simultaneously with the miners' strike, it led, in many instances, to joint action by the workers of both organizations, and the effect became so much stronger throughout the country. But at no time was any unity of leadership effected or even attempted. Several conferences were held between officials of the miners' union and the shop crafts organization. It produced only "friendly understandings", which are of little use when brought up against the realities of the class struggle. The 16 standard railroad organizations failed as miserably as in the past to effect a united front within their own ranks. While the six shop crafts and the stationary firemen are now bearing the brunt of the attacks of the solidly united railroad companies, the remaining unions are standing around, or held in line by their officials, waiting for their turn to be trimmed.

Yet these two strikes, perhaps the greatest ever witnessed on the American continent, have served to definitely establish the left wing movement, not only within these two organizations, but throughout the American labor movement. It is now growing by leaps and bounds. The many wounds of past dual and secession movements are rapidly being healed, and the progressive, thinking workers have completely discarded such falacies. They are becoming class conscious, their whole conception has been revolutionized. These great conflicts have served to show to large numbers of the American workers that the bitter struggle against the exploiters cannot be fought with the antiquated weapons of craft unionism, but that a constant remoulding of their weapons is necessary. They have formulated a definite and concrete program of amalgamation of craft unions into industrial units, which is now being propagated by the left wing organized movement from coast to coast, and has made big inroads, especially among the railroad workers, where despite the present disunity of leadership, the trend towards closer affiliation has become visible and several organizations have already taken the first steps towards amalgamation.

These great conflicts mark a definite turning point and the beginning of a conscious struggle for power by the workers in the United States.

After the Italian General Strike

By E. P. (Rome).

The general strike, sabotaged by its leaders, was bound to be a failure. And then, — "Woe to the Vanquished!"

In spite of Prime Minister deFacta's promise that the striking railroaders would not be punished if work were resumed, it did not take long before the government began its persecutions. And now that it is a question of punishment, they acknowledge that 5000 workers had joined the strike, and not a handful as the bourgeois papers had claimed. The persecutions of the government, will effect the mass of organized workers. Since it cannot dismiss them all, the punishment will be meted out in the form of suspension of salaries, retardation of advancement, etc.

The "provisory" railroaders (those who have not terminated their apprenticeship) will be either dismissed definitely, or temporarily laid off, depending upon their political views.

Against the leaders of the strike, against those most devoted to the movement, against those who have the greatest influence upon their comrades, the government makes use of Article 56, perfected during the war (in 1917), which calls for the dismissal of any government employee guilty of joining a strike. The great majority of the 111 members against whom this article will be applied are Communists. Among them is Isidoro Azzario, station-master in Cuneo and secretary of the Central Committee of Communist railroad workers.

The sub-committee of the Communist railroaders in Turin has expressed its sympathy to the comrades whom the reaction has chosen for its victims, and at the same time denounced to the railroaders and to the proletarian masses the treachery of the leaders.

The German Trade Unions from Nürnberg to Leipzig

By F. Heckert.

I. From Nürnberg to Halle.

If we stop to survey the period of the German trade union movement between the two trade-union congresses at Nürnberg in 1919 and at Leipzig in 1922, we note a development that is of great importance to the trade union movement throughout the world.

In the early summer of 1919, the German Revolution had again shaken both the whole state organism and the economic structure of the country. Large sections of German labor were of the opinion that by immediate direct action they could shift both the economic and political balance of power. And especially the battles carried on under the direct supervision of the shop-stewards, without the workers referring the matter to the union officials, gave rise to the opinion that the tendencies working for revolutionary activity of the German trade unions (instead of the reformist attitude) would soon gain the upperhand. The social-patriotic, reformist attitude of the trade union officialdom and the complete abandonment of the principles of class struggle during the war and the first months of the revolution, had combined to create a sharp, rapidly growing opposition. Nearly two fifths of all delegates to the Nürnberg trade-union congress were radical elements believing that they had the backing of the majority of organized labor and that only by employing devious tricks could the bureaucracy secure for itself a nominal majority.

The central problem, *labor industrial truce* or *class struggle*, was already more or less clearly formulated, in Nürnberg. Many workers had been sorely disappointed by the truce policy during the war, and by its peace edition, — the policy of collaboration. They were determined that labor's organized forces, the trade-unions, be employed for creating guarantees safeguarding labor against any renewal of the economic and political dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The trade-unions had assumed formidable proportions; they comprised then 5,400,000 workers, and were adding tens of thousands every week to their membership.

This rapidly growing mass of organized workers brought two tendencies into the trade union movement. First, that of making the shop steward committees into militant organs of the workers; and secondly, that of reshaping, the craft unions into industrial unions, which were considered better weapons in the tremendous economic struggles. Even if the revolutionary wing of the trade-union movement did not carry the day at the Nürnberg Congress, there was reason to hope that the final victory would only be a matter of months. The majority of the 191 opposition delegates belonged politically to the Independent Social Democratic Party (USP.); only 7 were members of the Communist Party. The USP. was at that time developing towards the left, a strong mass party counting its adherents chiefly among the industrial proletariat.

The following year witnessed the increase of the total trade union membership to 7,890,000. But the revolutionary spirit did not keep pace with this growth. And although the general trade union opposition gained another victory at the metal workers' congress (in the summer of that year, when the opposition led by the USP. gained the majority and thus the union) there was no gainsaying the fact that the reactionary attitude of the trade-union bureaucracy was not effected by the penetration into it of the opposition. Rather the opposite took place. A part of the metal workers' opposition, which under the slogan, *Against Collaboration and for the Class Struggle* had carried on the fight for the union, fell down on its slogan and at the shop-stewards' congress, in October, we saw the Independent metal workers' leader, *Dissmann*, fight the resolute opposition side by side with that hardened reformist, *Legien*. Prior to that congress, the whole opposition had considered the shop-steward committees as independent factors and cooperators in the economic struggles of the workers, but the congress itself sealed the fate of the Committees and subordinated them to the trade union bureaucracy as its auxiliary organs. The split within the opposition and the march of the opposition bureaucracy towards the Right and into the Legien camp, coincided with the split of the USP. and the fusion of its left wing with the Communist Party.

II. The Victory of the Trade Union Bureaucracy. Its Achievements.

The split of the opposition resulted for the time being, in a strengthening of the reformist ADGB. (General German Trade Union Federation) bureaucracy, and in a weakening of the revolutionary struggle in the trade unions. The opposition had to regain its bearings and to reconsider its aims and tasks; it recognized the urgency of close unity everywhere, and fully grasped the fact that a long-drawn and embittered struggle for the sympathies of the membership would have to precede any attempt at compelling the reformist bureaucracy to retire from their position. The opposition nuclei forming everywhere in the trade unions soon became the target of the trade union leaders, who launched a savage campaign against the opposition groups, the chief weapon being the expulsion of the opposition leaders from the trade unions. The reformist bureaucracy fully believed that by this policy of persecution and expulsion they could stamp

out the opposition and thus render their own position impregnable. Brutal measures were employed especially by the officials of the builders', railwaymen's and agricultural workers' unions. The latter did not even desist from disrupting the organization in large districts, as long as the opposition was crushed thereby.

The situation which the trade-union bureaucracy was landed into by its policy of collaboration, compels it to fight the opposition. No matter what it does or thinks, its foremost aim is to avoid serious conflicts with the bourgeoisie. Out of such considerations it accepted the terms of the Versailles Treaty and pledged itself to exert all its energy for their fulfilment. And just as it submitted to the bourgeoisie in matters of foreign policy, it abandoned at home all the demands of the workers, whenever it became apparent that the bourgeoisie was seriously determined to fight.

Germany's economic collapse and the subsequent political convulsions, often gave the bureaucracy opportunity to parade as labor's leader. The first of these was the *Kapp-Putsch*. When the working class had crushed the rebellious military camarilla, and was getting ready to grasp the fruits of victory, the ADGB. concluded with the government and the counter-revolution, the widely known *Bielefeld Agreement*, pledging itself to use all its forces to break off the victorious struggle of labor. The latter was told that the ADGB. guaranteed the fulfillment of the 8 points of the agreement which would provide a real protection for the workers. After the workers were once disarmed, however, the ADGB. never dreamt of redeeming its promises to labor.

The same tactics were employed by the ADGB. in the struggle carried on by the unemployed to secure their existence in spring 1921. In order to prevent a serious movement, the ADGB. formulated ten demands, not one of which was ever complied with. In the autumn of the same year, the mark had sunk to such depths as to endanger seriously the standard of living of the German worker. Again the ADGB. entered the political arena with a new series of ten demands coupled with the declaration that unless these demands were complied with, both labor and the economic household would be ruined completely. The first of these demands was the confiscation of 25 per cent of all gold values. The working class which put its trust into the ADGB., was again sorely disappointed, for nothing whatever was done to enforce those demands.

But the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, which the ADGB. refused to abandon, and which had compelled it to sabotage the Bielefeld Agreement, the unemployment demands, and the demand for the confiscation of 25 per cent of all gold values, was also at the bottom of its cynical betrayal of the railway officials in the Spring of 1922, and its union with all those who openly advocated the use of armed force against the railwaymen whom unbearable economic pressure had forced to strike. The betrayal of the struggling workers was so base and so enraged the workers, that their spirit of solidarity urged them to side with the strikers and they rebelled against the ADGB.

The ADGB.'s policy of cooperation roused great indignation in the ranks of organized labor. This indignation is unfortunately being expressed by the workers turning their backs on trade unions. The number of organized workers has decreased considerably, during 1921, and the tendency to leave the trade unions is still prevalent. The reason for this, as advanced by the ADGB., was that hundreds of thousands of newly organized members being slow to grasp the advantages of trade unions, had left dissatisfied, while others had been repelled by the inciting activities of the Communists. A third reason given for the decrease is the bad economic situation.

To all of which we have the following reply. Firstly unemployment is practically negligible in Germany today; there is even less of it than before the war; such periods have always been noted as favorable for organization. Secondly, wherever and whenever Communist work was successful in the trade unions, there was the least decrease of membership to be noted. Thirdly, the decrease of membership is proportionate to the increase of the aggressiveness of the bourgeoisie, the partner of the trade union bureaucracy. This is made quite clear by the marked decrease after the assassination of Rathenau, when the trade union bureaucracy, by steering into shallow waters the struggle against the reaction, which the workers had taken up with so much energy, became a party to the resurrection of reaction.

In all other economic and social questions, the reformist trade union leaders have also failed miserably. In order to preserve cooperation, they yielded to the employers in the matter of the workers' rights and social institutions, and were even in part ready to sacrifice the eight-hour day. The shop steward committees have been shorn of their power to a greater extent than even the employers had intended to.

III. The Leipzig Trade Union Congress and Our Prospects.

At the trade union congress in Leipzig, the ADGB. had to account for its policy, and German organized labor has drawn the conclusions. Wherever the opposition secured a footing it routed the reformist collaborators. Even if only 90 of the 700 delegates at the congress belonged to the Communist opposition, there can be no doubt that these 90 had the backing of 35 to 40 per cent of German organized labor. Only by various manipulations did the bureaucracy succeed in securing a big majority. But although the opposition at Nürnberg had reason to hope that victory would be theirs, and the old bureaucracy had to prepare for the worst, the latter was nevertheless better able to defend itself and to maintain its position in Nürnberg than in Leipzig, where the managing committee of the ADGB, in spite of its SPD. majority, was defeated on all points. Only in mere routine matters could the bureaucracy count on the support of the majority; in the voting on the questions of collaboration, industrial unions, and other important matters, the majority was either against the ADGB. or it was so composed as to render the continuation of the old policy impossible.

During the last three years, Germany's economic situation has been growing from bad to worse, and even the most backward workers are beginning to understand that collaboration, leads to abject misery, and that other ways and means must be found to safeguard labor's existence.

Prompted by these and similar considerations, the organized workers are massing on the left, confiding more and more in the Communist leaders and refusing to tolerate any longer the persecution of Communists.

The ADGB. has learned nothing whatever since Nürnberg. In the days of labor's direst privation it was still aiding the bourgeoisie, and no outbursts of indignation on the part of the membership could move it to abandon that policy. Having sacrificed its demands after the Rathenau murder, it now steps forth and declares boldly: our principal task is to oppose the Communists. This, in a period of capitalist aggression, at a time when the sudden rise of prices, when reaction rears its head once more! The next few months will convince the ADGB. that the workers have other matters to look after: to organize themselves against the bourgeoisie and all those in league with it. The campaign against the Communist opposition will end with the defeat of the trade union bureaucracy. That is the balance of Leipzig!

THE COLONIES

Mota Singh, Leader of the Indian Peasants

By Evelyn Roy (Moscow).

The arrest and conviction to five years penal servitude of Master *Mota Singh* by the Indian Government, on the charge of promoting disaffection, has received brief mention in the Indian press and still less in the outer world. Yet the Indian Government viewed his activities with greater concern and apprehension than those of Mahatma Gandhi, and enjoy a grimmer sense of triumph now that, after more than a year and a half of effort to arrest him, he lies at their mercy, under lock and key. But there is a section of the Indian people which is acutely aware of the loss of a friend and leader, and this is the starving, many-millioned peasantry of northern India, whose struggles and half-articulate demands for land and freedom from rent and taxes found expression through such leaders, and whose outbreaks of mass-action during the past two years, in the shape of riots, insurrections, arson and looting, have struck unnamed terror into the hearts of native landlords and foreign bureaucracy alike.

Mota Singh was the acknowledged leader of the *Akali Sikhs*, that militant section of the Punjab peasants which, under intelligent direction, has been conducting a successful campaign against their own corrupt religious leaders and British coadjutors, for the reclaiming of rich temple lands and their redistribution among the peasant masses, as well as for the lowering of rent and taxes payable to the Government overlord. Organized into a movement of their own class, the peasants of the Punjab were able to formulate a clear-cut program for the redress of their most crying grievances, and to unite together to demand its fulfillment. The Punjab Sikhs being the Government's main reserve for army recruits, and this section of the population being known for its militant temper, a growing uneasiness was felt in bureaucratic circles over this peasant's movement, which spread to neighboring provinces with lightning

rapidity. Taking their cue from the *Akali Sikhs*, the landless peasants of the United Provinces inaugurated the *Aika* or *Unity movement*, which found similar expression in the formation of village societies united upon a common program of non-payment of rent and taxes, and access to land. Simultaneously, the *Bhils*, an agricultural tribe of central India and Rajhutana, rebelled against their century-old oppression and exploitation, and commenced a series of uprisings which the Government, for all its armed strength, found difficult to suppress. In the south, the Moplahs of Malabar rose in a prolonged and bloody revolt. Throughout the country, since the Amritsar massacre of 1919, a growing peasant movement made itself felt, which responded with enthusiasm to the non-cooperation program of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders, for the sake of the clause about civil disobedience and nonpayment of rent and taxes. Joined with the strike movement of the city-proletariat, the popular awakening proved a truly formidable backing to the nationalistic campaign of the Congress extremists, and forced the Government to pay heed to the latter, for the first time in its hitherto innocuous career of resolution-mongering and humble petitioning. Some substantial concessions might have been wrung from the foreign rulers, had not Mr. Gandhi's timidity and religious horror of bloodshed stood in the way. While the latter was beseeching the workers and peasants to abstain from violence to life and property and to purify themselves spiritually for the attainment of *Swaraj*, at the same time denouncing every manifestation of mass-energy as "criminal hooliganism", the Government, wiser in its estimate of the situation, applied the two-edged sword of amelioration and repression.

Amelioration came first, in the shape of land-legislation, hurriedly introduced and rushed through the various provincial legislatures where the peasant unrest was most acute. The opposition of the feudal landlords, the *Zemindars* and *Talucdars*, was brushed aside where it could not be conciliated. Some of the most glaring forms of forced labor were remedied, and slight concessions made to the peasants. Repression was visited upon the heads of the middle-class intellectuals who heated the nationalist movement, as well as upon those leaders of the masses, both in the cities and in the country, who had distinguished themselves as constituting a menace to the British Government "by law established".

Among these latter, *Mota Singh* stood head and shoulders above the rest. A son of the people, a water-carrier by trade, and born in a remote village of the Punjab, he received a fairly good education by dint of great sacrifices on the part of his humble parents. A man of strong build, like all the sons of Northern India, with a quick temper and a warm heart, he could find no settled employment for any length of time despite a knowledge of native languages and a gift for writing, none too common among Indian villagers even of the well-to-do class. In his heart burned the history of his conquered race, the *Sikhs*, and in his veins coursed the martial blood of a proud and soldierly people. All about him, in his everyday life, he witnessed the slow degeneration and decay of a once stalwart peasantry, evicted from its land by the money-lender and landlord, usually the Government at one and the same time, and forced either into the ranks of the Indian army, where for a miserable monthly pittance they assisted in the subjugation of their own kith and kin, or into the ranks of that greater army, daily increasing, of the landless agricultural worker, drifting about the countryside in search of seasonal employment, unable to buy for himself and his family a full meal a day, from one year's end to the other.

The daily misery of his people ate into his thoughts, but these found no outward expression until the dramatic march of the northern peasantry on that April day in 1919, to Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar, to protest against the passing of the *Rowlett Bill* which placed all India under martial law. The peaceful demonstration ended in the massacre of hundreds and the wounding of thousands of innocent people at the hands of a terror-stricken and cowardly government. Thenceforth, *Mota Singh* became a rebel, who went about the countryside preaching open resistance to the foreign rulers, and organizing the peasantry for a revolution which would end their sufferings and bring about new conditions. He was no follower of passive resistance; if he adopted the slogan of non-cooperation, it was because he saw the need for united effort on the part of the entire people, and like a disciplined soldier, he closed ranks under the banner of Mahatma Gandhi and the National Congress which promised *Swaraj* for India with land free of rent and taxes to all. It was thus that he and his simple followers interpreted the words of the Congress leaders who bid them join the national struggle.

In November, 1920, the order for the arrest of *Mota Singh* was issued, but there was none in the regions of his native province who dared to execute the mandate. His *Akali bands*, numbering more than one hundred thousand men, rallied to their leader. A strong body guard was provided for him, and for a

year and a half, Mota Singh moved about Northern India, now appearing suddenly on some public platform, where he would make a dramatic speech, now disappearing into the wilderness of the frontier territories, or merging into the vast, unfathomable sea of Indian villagers, who welcomed their chief amongst them and protected him to a man, against the evil intentions of the police.

Mota Singh spoke to the Indian peasant about non-payment of rent and taxes, and the overthrow of British rule. But after 1921, while still evading arrest, a new development appeared in his speeches and writings. In November, 1921, he made a dramatic appearance at the great annual fair held in *Nankana Sahib*, a holy shrine of the *Sikhs*, and delivered a stirring speech of more than three hours duration, which held his simple village auditors spellbound. He spoke not only of the overburdened life of the peasant, of the necessity of organization to resist the payment of rent and taxes, and the evils of British rule, but dwelt at length on the system which underlay it all, the system of private property, which he stigmatized as the true cause of all the wretchedness of the Indian workers and peasants. It was necessary, he said, to make war at one and the same time, against both the foreign government and the native landlords and capitalists who upheld it.

His words were listened to with rapt attention. Police officers who were called to the spot by news of *Mota Singh's* presence, tried to arrest him, but the people surrounded their leader, defended him from the police with their *kirpans*, the short daggers worn by the *Sikhs* as a religious symbol, and bore him off to a place of safety. The zealous defenders, of law and order were powerless to touch this popular hero.

Mota Singh continued in liberty until June of this year. He roamed throughout the northern provinces of India, preaching doctrines of simple Communism, learned practically from the hard life of his people, and made clear to him by the distant echoes of the great Russian Revolution, which woke the East from its age-long slumbers. Hiding in distant villages, moving from place to place, he still managed to conduct the Akali movement from his hiding places, speaking, writing and organizing with great zeal. Up to the moment of his arrest, he was editing a newspaper and contributing articles to many others, besides doing much translation work and active propaganda. News was brought to the police that he was revisiting his native village, and a whole posse was sent down to surround the place. The police found every house deserted. None knew of the whereabouts of *Mota Singh*. All denied his presence there. A house to house search commenced, and the village was surrounded by a police-cordon to prevent the escape of anyone. At length a man was observed on the outskirts of the place, clad in a loin-cloth, a black turban and a kirpan, claiming to belong to another village. He was detained, and identified by the Chief Inspector as *Mota Singh*. The latter, upon recognition, admitted his identity and was led off to jail by the authorities. As a non-cooperator, *Mota Singh* declined to defend himself in the law-courts of the British Government, and was sentenced to five years imprisonment on the evidence presented in court from his own speeches and writings. The whole world knew of Gandhi's arrest and conviction, but very few know of *Mota Singh*; yet Gandhi belongs already to a stage of Indian history that is past, while *Mota Singh* belongs to the future. He is the type of new leader that is springing up throughout the length and breadth of India, straight from the lives and pressing needs of the people, knowing their sufferings and filled with an unbending determination to end them by any means within their power. *Mota Singh* lies in prison, but his spirit walks abroad among the Indian workers and peasants, who will rear up new leaders in his likeness to break their chains of slavery.

The international fellowship of workers throughout the world greet Mota Singh as one of them.

THE WHITE TERROR

The White Terror in Jugó-Slavia Continues

Capitalism in Jugó-Slavia, for the last eighteen months, has been using every possible means in order to throttle the working class. By the brutal violence of the officials, eighty per cent of

the workers' organizations have been suppressed, and the most prominent trade union functionaries have been driven from their homes. Individuals and groups of members of the Communist Party have been thrown into prison one after another, exiled, or condemned. The law for the defense of the state is being more and more directed against the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Jugó-Slavia in Bgrade. Whilst the courts at first only applied this measure step by step, they now eagerly make full use of the same as true servants of the regime. The courts have identified themselves with the police regime and have recognized the aims of the powers that be as "lawful". *The purpose of the rulers is to render impossible every activity on the part of all the prominent working class fighters, without regard to law or precedent.*

After the persecution of thousands of workers during the first months of the regime, under the *Defense of the State Act*, after seventeen sentences in Tuzla (among them being a death sentence), after ten sentences in Belgrade, further persecutions and further arrests are taking place. The machinery of the police and of the courts are running at top-speed.

The court at Osijek, on the 8th of July of this year, sentenced five comrades on account of Communist propaganda.

The court at Sarajevo, at the beginning of July, condemned Comrade Gjakovic, Communist member of Parliament, to ten months imprisonment for "crimes against the Fatherland". For fully ten months comrade Gjakovic was detained in prison pending his trial. *During eight months of his imprisonment awaiting trial the court was unable to gather enough evidence to sustain the charges, or to justify his arrest.* This admission was made at the main proceedings by the investigating judge. The police issued notices throughout Bosnia, with the demand for information as to whether Gjakovic had stayed at the particular places and what were his movements, with whom had he consorted, what he had said, whether anything had occurred in these places that could be "brought into connection with him". After eight months of investigation the "evidence" was assembled, *consisting of the program and the publications of the Communist Party and of its secretariat at the time of its open legal activity.* Yet . . . the court sentenced comrade Gjakovic at the behest of the higher authorities.

On the 5th of August 1921 there was held at Kotor, Dalmatia, the court proceedings against eight comrades, *who had been kept a full year under arrest awaiting trial. All received sentences of imprisonment totalling 59 months, and they are still in prison.* Sixteen comrades who were arrested along with them, were set free as not guilty, after being detained five months in prison awaiting trial.

In Dalmatia the country of the most frightful Fascisti terror the persecutions are carried on from day to day. At Split, comrade *Vicko Jelaska*, peasant and Communist member of Parliament was arrested with three other comrades. On the 10th of August, 1921, that is, during the first days after the suppression of the Communist Party, fourteen functionaries were brought to trial in Dubrovnik, for their activities in the workers' organizations, and had been kept seven and a half months in prison awaiting trial. *All were sentenced to a year's imprisonment.* On the occasion of the king's wedding, the committee responsible for carrying out the wedding festivities in Dubrovnik invited the workers' organizations to take part in the celebrations. . . . The workers gave a dignified refusal to this invitation. Three of the signatories to the communication to the committee were held under arrest for a month, and two of them have been banished from Dalmatia for a period of ten years.

Several of our comrades, members of Parliament, and active in the Communist movement, are permanently interned in their native places (these being mostly villages), torn from their occupations or from the school.

All these internments have no legal sanction, but on the contrary are forbidden by the constitution.

The Bosnian police deserves first prize in the execution of the exceptional laws. The Sarajevo police have compelled twenty five of our comrades to produce their photographs which were then reproduced and sent out to all the officials in the country.

The regime still carries on its acts of violence against the working class, but in spite of this the workers are not forsaking their fighting organizations.