

INTERNATIONAL

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 2 No. 37

16th May 1922

Central Bureau: Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III. — Postal address Franz Dahlem, Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III for Inprekorr. — Telegraphic address: Inprekorr.

POLITICS

The German-Russian Treaty and the Proletariat

by Eugen Paul (Prague).

Not only the capitalists of the Entente, but also the Social Democrats of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals were very disagreeably surprised by the German-Russian Treaty. It may be and it is even probable that the reasons for these sentiments was not quite the same for all of these parties. On the other hand however, this strange similarity of the opinions of Poincaré and Scheidemann and of the — Prague *Sozialdemokrat* which in the first moment of fright considered the Treaty a military alliance for new imperialist wars, is not purely accidental. We need but consider the matter a little more thoroughly in order to understand and to regard as natural the attitude of the Scheidemanns of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals.

The cause for the German-Russian Treaty were not any sympathies between the Russian revolutionists and the German counter-revolutionists. It is no secret that for years the German bourgeoisie has rejected an unnatural agreement of this kind. It is, moreover, no secret that the Russian Soviet Government is not among those who have a special interest in the support of the German counter-revolution. *Germany and Soviet Russia have come together because the policy which revolutionary Soviet Russia is naturally following is that which in more or less time all oppressed will have to follow.* Kemal Pasha, and the peoples of India and China, oppressed by English and Japanese capital, are no proletarian revolutionists. Nevertheless a more or less close cooperation of these peoples with Soviet Russia has organically developed, for the simple reason that the latter is the natural friend of all oppressed. Soviet Russia has not signed the German-Russian Treaty for the sake of Mr. Rathenau's beautiful eyes. It has signed it and could sign it without infringing its revolutionary principles, *because in reality and in the first place, not Rathenau, not Dr. Wirth but the German proletariat is being strangled by the robbers of the Entente.* Apart from its own capitalists the German proletariat must fight the capitalists of the Entente. The German capitalists, however, are compelled by the intensification of class struggle within Germany to offer more resistance than heretofore to the robbers of the Entente. If the German capitalists do not force the Entente pirates to limit their greed, the dissatisfaction of the German working class will within a certain time develop into revolution. Thus the German counter-revolutionists are forced to cooperate with Beelzebub in order to exorcise the devil. Against the unequalled brutal greed of the Entente Fowers who menace German capitalism and the German working class with complete ruin, against the suppression of the weaker by the stronger, the German counter-revolutionists, who now as before fervently hate the Russian Revolution, find no other way out than cooperation with this hated class enemy.

It is comprehensible that the gentlemen of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals are not enthused at this development. Instinctively they feel that this situation of the German counter-revolution is an *immense victory not only*

for the Russian but also for the German proletariat. For the Russian proletariat is flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood of the German proletariat. May the hand which signed the Treaty be the hand of a German imperialist business politician, *the Treaty nevertheless is a victory of the conception which the German Communists have maintained for months and years: that the entire historic, economic political and geographical situation imperiously demands this necessary and inevitable cooperation between the German and the Russian proletariat.* The correctness of this conception becomes still more obvious if we consider the fact that this Treaty was established not only against the will of the German bourgeois counter-revolution but also against the will of the followers of the latter, the pseudo-Socialists.

Moreover, the social patriots are so furiously attacking the treaty because they know instinctively that they are now deprived of the most "effective" argument against the Communists. The German Government has concluded a regular treaty with people whom the organs of the parties of the Second and the Two and-a-Half Internationals every day called "murderers", "scoundrels", etc.! The German Government has to a certain degree accepted the protection of people who, according to the reports of those "Socialist" papers are oppressing 150 million people by means of bloody violence, who live on robbery and pillage, who assassinate innocent Social Revolutionaries, etc. No, these phrases will no longer apply in the future. It is even to be feared that the German workers who hitherto were befooled by these fairy tales will now open their eyes. Moreover, not only the German but also other workers may draw the conclusion from the German-Russian Treaty that there is only one effective means against suppression and exploitation by a stronger enemy—the alliance with Soviet Russia! The lesson which the defeated German capitalists are therewith (very much against their own will) giving to their workers, is indeed very dangerous for those Socialists!

The displeasure which they feel at this treaty is thus very comprehensible. This, however, cannot deter the Communists from spreading this lesson eagerly amongst the masses. The more "arguments" these gentlemen raise against cooperation with Soviet Russia, the more impressively must it be pointed out to all workers, to all the oppressed, that it was *Soviet Russia*—this "gang of murderers", as the Social Democratic Press is accustomed to express itself—that was the first to loose the strangling hand of the Entente pirates from the neck of the German proletariat. And we do not doubt that the hungry, suffering proletarians will now quicker than before enter into the camp of the Communists and turn their back upon the base slanderers of Soviet Russia.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Struggle of the British Engineers

by W. McLaine.

London, May 13, 1921.

The engineers' lockout has now dragged on for nine weary weeks and at the moment of writing it is quite impossible for anyone to say what will happen. A new move to develop the struggle has been made during the past few days—a movement

having for its object some interference with the comfort of the general public—and if this is successful, then the whole character of the dispute will be changed. It is quite certain that unless something is done to interfere with the life of the general public, the employers are certain to win the fight. The position of the engineers is such that the man in the street is not concerned with the dispute, his coal is not delayed, his food is not interfered with, and the engineers may go on being locked out for ever so far as he is concerned.

The lockout is the logical result of the failure of "Black Friday", 1921. On that fatal day, the trade union leaders decided that the fight of the miners was no concern of any other section of the working class movement. "It is a miners' fight", they said, "how can railwaymen and engineers be concerned in other people's affairs?"

As a consequence, the miners were defeated, and the engineer bosses who were quietly preparing for a struggle were encouraged to complete their plans.

The present struggle was originally supposed to be on the question of the numbers of hours of overtime to be worked in the industry. I say *supposed to be* because there is not the least doubt about the fact that overtime has nothing to do with the question. There is a lockout, because the engineering employers wanted a lockout. Last year they demanded the acceptance of a three shillings per week reduction in wages. The union leaders recommended that this be accepted and the members did accept it. *If they had not done so the lockout would have come then.* Later the employers demanded that the 12½ per cent special increase secured during the war should be given up. Again the leaders recommended giving way and again the members accepted their device. *If they had not done so then, they would have been locked out.* Twice they gave way, but the employers were determined to make further demands, and the question of overtime was made the excuse for another attack. If the workers had not made a stand there is no doubt whatever that another claim would have been made. The fact that the shipyard workers have since been asked to accept a wage reduction of 26/- per week, and the fact that the secret circular recently published in the Daily Herald showed that the employers intended to ask for a similar reduction is proof that the lockout was a blow aimed at the organization of the engineering workers.

The question of overtime in the engineering industry has always caused trouble. Instead of installing new machinery in their factories the employers preferred to call upon their workers to work two or more hours beyond the usual time for stopping work. It is agreed that on jobs like breakdown work and special repair work, overtime is occasionally necessary and cannot be avoided, but it is the question of "systematic overtime"—overtime worked for months at a time—that is of importance, particularly when large numbers of men are unemployed. For years, there have been arrangements in the engineering industry whereby members of trade unions have been allowed to work no more than 32 hours extra time per month. Any member called upon to work additional time on urgent work, was forced by his union to refuse other overtime during that month if he had worked the 32 hours extra. Occasionally there was friction, and the shop steward in the factory was called upon to approach the District Committee of the union and ascertain what could be done in the matter. In most cases the District Committees refused to break their own regulations.

All this has for a long time been a source of annoyance to the employers, and they decided nine weeks ago to fight the matter out, preparatory to bringing other matters in the arena of conflict. But they found that as the chief union in the engineering industry—the Amalgamated Engineering Union (A.E.U.)—had 90,000 members unemployed out of a total membership of 440,000, it was rather difficult to make a claim for the right of the employer to work his men overtime. The most foolish person could see that there was no need to ask any worker to work more than normal working week when so many men were unable to find any work at all.

So the employers changed their tactics. They announce to the world that the lockout was necessary to determine who should control in the workshops—the workers or the employers. They raised the cry of "Soviet domination in the workshops" and declared that they and they alone were to rule in their own shops.

When the question became acute, the members of the A.E.U. were asked to vote on the question of whether they would accept this claim of the employers. For the third time the leaders recommended acceptance of the terms. It would be difficult to find any time in trade union history when the leaders of a union

on three occasions gave way to the wishes of the employers. But the members of the union refused to accept the terms and so were locked out. The leaders then took up the fight, and there is no doubt that the leaders of the A.E.U. have acted loyally by decision of the members and have made a good fight, though they have kept the fight strictly limited to those directly concerned.

The engineering industry in Britain is made up of many firms great and small. Most of the great firms and many of the small ones are members of the Engineering Employers' Federation, and it is this body that has made the attack. The firms that are outside the Federation—the blacklegs in the ranks of the employers—have not locked out their men, and so the union leaders have decided that men employed in these places shall remain at work. This is a wrong policy, because everyone connected with the engineering industry knows that as soon as the organized employers secure a victory against the workers, the other employers at once claim the fruits of that victory—in the same way that the non-union worker at once claims the results of any effort made by organized workers. But more important than that is the indisputable fact that some of the non-federated shops are now doing work for places whose men are locked out. It is impossible to trace all the work, and impossible to know always where it is for, so that organized workers are in many cases doing the work of their own comrades who are prevented from working.

In addition to all this, there is the fact that though some of the employers are not actually members of the Employers' Federation, they are nevertheless members of the British Industries Federation, of which the Engineering Employers' Federation is a part.

The whole question of control in the workshops brings to the front in a very striking manner the attitude of the employers to the workers in varying circumstances. During the war, the engineering workers had practically a monopoly of their particular kind of labor power. They could not be done without, and so the employers were prepared to consider many things they had not considered before. The workers formed Shop Steward Committees in all parts of the country and these committees were connected to a national organization—the National Workers' Committee. The organization grew powerful, and in 1917 was able—in spite of the Defence of the Realm Act and the Conscriptio Act—to defeat the proposals of the government in relation to the engineering industry. The employers noted this and proceeded to undermine the influence of the shop stewards, by professing to agree with the movement and asking to be allowed to join in. They suggested that instead of independent workers committees, there should be set up joint committees consisting of equal representatives of workers and employers, and that all questions relating to workshop conditions should be considered by these committees. With their love for impartiality they of course deprecated any fighting committees, and looked for harmonious relationships in industry.

In the engineering industry and in many other industries the idea of joint committees was accepted and they were set up as quickly as a government department could encourage the employers to do so. They served their purpose. They discussed the provision of sport grounds, the provision of canteens for the workers, the provision of all kinds of small "welfare schemes", and meanwhile the fighting Shop Stewards movement almost died. The employers could well afford to make provision for sports grounds, because had not the Chancellor of the Exchequer made an arrangement of such a character that all money spent on such things should be deducted from the amount of excess profits liable to be paid into the Treasury. Thus, two things were secured; the workers were impressed with the generosity of the employers, and the Shop Steward movement was sabotaged.

But, when the period of industrial slump came in 1920, all the employers' love for unity and joint committees died a sudden death. The shop stewards who had been active in the workshops were the first to be dismissed, and immediately, all the joint committees of employers and employees were broken up by the employers. They no longer wanted "harmony" in the workshops because there were thousands of unemployed outside and the threat of unemployment would be enough to keep their workers quiet.

When the lockout began the employers played their cards well. They only attacked the A.E.U. and so divided them from the other 50 unions in the industry. Then after the A.E.U. had been locked out for about three weeks, they decided to ask the other unions to accept the conditions the A. E. U. had refused. The other unions asked their members to vote on the question, but by a great majority the members refused to accept the terms. Then came more conferences and long discussions. Finally the terms appeared to have been altered and the 47 unions who were

negotiating with the employers decided to recommend acceptance of the terms. The A. E. U. refused to accept them and insisted that they had not been altered. Then at last the 47 unions discovered that had been duped by the employers, and refused to accept. They were locked out after another two weeks waiting so that now there are about 600,000 men affected.

How it will end it is impossible to say. The position of the employers is that during the war they extended their factories and increased their capital to an enormous extent. They gave free bonus shares to the shareholders, as well as paying good dividends. Now they cannot pay dividends on their increased capital. Those that are paying dividends are in many cases doing so out of their investments in war loans. America is securing new markets in all parts of the world. Central Europe as a market for engineering products is practically shut off, and Russia waits until the diplomats have agreed upon a formula that will be acceptable. The industry is stagnant and the capitalists are attempting to force the workers to accept worse conditions than they had before the war, so that when—if ever—a "boom" comes again they will have cheap wage labor and greater profits than ever.

The Railway Strike in India.

by M. N. Roy (Moscow).

** About the same time that the German railway strike and the revolutionary action of the Rand miners were attracting the tense attention of the world, India was also visited by an industrial strike of quite a serious and extensive nature, the strike of the workers on the East India Railway. This protracted struggle of our none too well organized and badly led Indian comrades has passed without receiving much attentions as the information that reached Europe through the medium on the capitalist press, was very meagre.

The strike broke out on the 2nd of February and cannot be called completely finished even now. The struggle lasted almost three months. And when we remember that working class organizations are still in a rather rudimentary condition in India and that the workers come face to face with naked starvation as soon as they quit the job, having no union funds to fall back upon, the revolutionary nature of the East India Railway strike becomes evident to us. For the benefit of those having a rather vague idea of the Indian movement (and unfortunately the number of such comrades is very great) it should be pointed out in the very beginning that this struggle of the Indian wage-slaves, like many other previous, was not brought about through the efforts of the bourgeois politicians, who are sinking deeper and deeper in the quagmire of reactionary pacifism, frightened by the nightmare of a mass upheaval. It was an action taken by the workers on their own initiative, without even consulting the union leaders, who began to sabotage the strike as soon as it was declared. And the workers had to struggle not only against the employers, but also against those who pretended to lead them. These self-appointed leaders can be divided into three categories; viz, 1. government agents, 2. adventurous politicians, and 3. reformist pacifists busy dragging the revolutionary consciousness of the masses. To have carried on a struggle for three months under such circumstances testifier to the grim determination of the Indian workers to improve their lot.

The strike originated in the United Provinces, which have been the theatre of a series of peasant revolts in the last years. It was started as a protest against the assault on an Indian fireman by an English engineer. In a few hours' time the Indian workers of the locomotive workshop left work, and were followed instantaneously by the station and traffic staff of the entire district. Thus the men threw themselves into a struggle before the union leaders could have the chance of preventing it by opening futile negotiations, which always put the employers on the vantage ground. The strike spread like wild-fire all over this principal railway system of the country, and in a few days' time it effected over 1200 miles of the trunk line, together with its extensive branches. About one hundred and fifty thousand men were involved, and passenger as well as goods traffic, was almost completely paralyzed in the three large and important provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and in the United Provinces. In all the important railway centres, mass-demonstrations took place, and most of these demonstrations ended in conflicts between the strikers and armed police, who were called upon to guard the stations and lines as well as to protect those still working. In many places, the strikers in large bodies attacked the workshops and forced the strikebreakers, including the privileged English workers, to go out.

Although a protest against the assault upon one worker was the immediate cause of the strike, it was not long before the demands of the workers were formulated; as follows: first, recognition of their union; second, 25 % increase of wages; third, no victimization: strike leaders dismissed summarily should be reinstated without any disability; fourth, no confiscation of the Provident Fund in case of any worker not returning to work; fifth, full wages for the strike period; and sixth, equal pay for equal work.

The leaders of the several unions of the various railways met in a conference to discuss these demands with the workers. In this conference the crafty lawyers and reformist politicians forced the ignorant and trusting strikers on the road to negotiation. It was decided that a deputation of these misleaders would bring the "case of the employees to the notice of His Excellency the Viceroy" and open negotiations with the company.

This unsolicited intervention of the bourgeois leaders not only checked the further development of the strike along its original revolutionary lines, but directed it into the blind alley of negotiation. The Government refused to interfere, in order to leave the striking workers entirely at the mercy of the company, which had piled up profits at the rate of several hundred per cent. during the last century and a half. Evidently, according to imperialist logic, sending armed forces to protect the properties of the company, to terrorise the hungry strikers or to fire wholesale on the harmless demonstrators were not considered acts of state intervention. Mr. Andrews, the ex-Christian missionary, who has undertaken the task of making the rebellious workers submit to capitalist exploitation veiled by sweet words and liberal sentiments, had already approached the director of the company and accepted his offer to induce the strikers to return to work, leaving the decision of their fate to the sense of justice of the employer. The Government referred the so-called "representatives" of the strikers to the understanding arrived at between the director and Mr. Andrews. The Company on its part threatened the men with summary dismissal if they failed to resume work within a few days.

Although taking their menacing attitude, the Company was ready to continue negotiations, because that was the best means of breaking down the resistance of the strikers. Long protracted negotiation was the surest weapon of starving the men back to work without having any of their demands complied with. That crowd of religionists, adventurers and reformists who posed as the defenders of the workers' interests advised the men from the beginning to resume work, on condition that their claims would be subsequently considered by the employers. But the intervention and sabotage by all sorts of people, who were at heart anything but friendly to the interests of the working class, could not keep the real character of the strike hidden. Addressing a mass meeting at Burdwan on February 21, the secretary of the local Congress Committee called upon the strikers to keep strictly on the line of non-violence indicated by Gandhi, because, he said, "that was the only way of attaining *Swaraj*". Upon his rebuking the men that they were fighting not so much for *Swaraj* as for their own interest, the latter retorted pertinently "*pet ka waste*" (we are fighting for our stomach). The speaker in great indignation replied "then don't say *Gandhiji ki jai*, but shout *pet* (stomach) *ka jai*". Incidents like this were not rare. They show that the Indian masses are becoming conscious of their class interests and are going ahead in their struggle more and more consciously.

As expected by the company and feared by the more intellectual section of the strikers, the negotiations, once started, dragged along, wearing out the power of resistance of the men, who had little resources to fall back upon. Great numbers of the strikers, who had come but recently from their village homes and who still had some means of subsistence there went back, leaving the stormy life of industrialism; an increasing number of the unskilled hands were starved into submission and went back to work; the most advanced section, composed mostly of skilled men whose services could not be so easily dispensed with, kept up the fight determinedly. Betrayed by those leaders in whom they trusted, deserted by the less conscious and less determined comrades, these men adopted more violent methods. Stations were burned, lines were destroyed, workshops run with strikebreakers were attacked, trains wrecked, etc., etc. This not only brought down upon them all the weapons of State repression, but invoked the righteous wrath of those who professed to be their friends and leaders.

Mr. Andrews, who took the most prominent part in the negotiations openly denounced the strikers as Syndicalistes when they attempted to call a conference of the delegates from the various railwaymen's unions in order to declare a general strike

embracing all the Indian railway systems. This conference was to meet in the beginning of May; no news about its deliberations and decisions are available.

The East India Railway strike has practically ended in exhaustion and the temporary defeat of the workers. But they have gained a valuable experience and have developed the consciousness of their class. The Indian revolution is progressing along the lines of class struggle.

The Trade Union Movement in Poland

by A. Maciejewski (Warsaw).

As little is known outside of this country of the new Polish trade union movement, my first article on this subject will only be a general survey of the Polish labor movement.

By religions and national differences, which are of course based upon class antagonisms, the Polish labor movement has been split into various groups. These are the Socialist Trade Unions, the Jewish Socialist Craft Unions, the Polish National Trade Unions and the Christian Unions.

The *Christian Unions* have the smallest membership (50 to 80,000). On account of their composition (the smallest part of them are workers, i. e., agricultural workers; they consist mainly of house employees and so-called domestic servants), as well as their leadership (most of their leaders are Catholic priests), they are generally not considered as real trade unions. They are to a certain extent supported by the bourgeoisie; on account of their hostile attitude towards the class struggle most of their members are instruments of the bourgeoisie and are playing the role of scabs.

The *National "Polish" Trade Unions* are under the influence of the National Labor Party, which stands against the national bourgeoisie though it is under the influence of the latter. According to their last reports, the National Trade Unions have 600,000 members, more than 193,000 of whom are agricultural workers. This number is certainly exaggerated, though the National Unions have a considerable influence, especially in former Prussian Poland; furthermore, among the textile workers of Lodz and Bialystok who are the most backward section of the Polish working class. The National Trade Unions subordinate the struggle for the interests of the working class to that for the interests of the "nation". They are fighting Socialism as a danger to their country, though a radical tendency in their midst is flirting with Socialism.

The *Jewish Craft Unions* comprise about 80 to 90,000 workers who are mainly employed in small shops. They are mostly under the influence of the "Bund" (General Jewish Labor Association, the Jewish Mensheviks). Recently the revolutionary Communist tendency has been gaining ground within this organization. According to various votes, the extent of this tendency may be estimated at 40% of the membership. Under the pressure of the masses, efforts have been made on the part of the Jewish Craft Unions to join the general organization of the Socialist proletariat of Poland.

The Central Organization of the latter or the "Central Commission of Class Trade Unions" consists exclusively of members of the Polish Socialist Party, though a considerable minority (estimated at 40%) stands for Communism. The policy of the Commission is purely reformist, and is so strongly influenced by social patriotism that the Commission even uses "patriotic denunciation". In all large struggles, for instance during the March strike (1921) of the railway men, the Central Commission retreated in the decisive moment, thus exposing the strikers to the revenge of the bourgeoisie and government. It is afraid of, and avoids every mass movement, and often attacks the fighting workers from behind, (as for instance in May 1921 during miners' strike in the coal district of Dombrovo). Against the Communists they use the method of expulsion, following the Amsterdam example, or the "purely Polish" method of denunciation to the police.

The organizational structure of the Polish trade union movement is generally that of the industrial union. Centralization exists in the various unions. In practice however, centralization does not always function. Of special importance for the movement are the Trade Union Councils. Their relationship to the Central Commission is not yet finally decided. The Central Commission is attempting to render them entirely dependent and give them a bureaucratic character. These Trade Union Councils however, and especially the revolutionary tendency within the trade union movement, stick to the necessity of a certain auto-

nomy, and are endeavoring to prevent an extension of the powers of the Central Commission.

About the membership no exact statements can be given, as the Central Commission is not in possession of these figures. In the beginning of 1921, about 402,000 workers were affiliated to the Central Commission. As a consequence of the reformist policy of the Central Commission, in the second half of 1921 a mass exodus from the unions commenced. During the last weeks however, especially among the miners, an opposite movement was to be noticed.

It is still more difficult to give figures on the revolutionary tendency within the movement. The Warsaw Building Workers' Union, with about 6,000 members, the Leather Workers' Union with about 5,000 members, a large majority of the Wood Workers' Union, and the Union of Paper Workers,—furthermore a large percentage of the Metal Workers' Union, the Factory Workers' Union and the Tobacco Workers' Union are under revolutionary influence. In the unions of the food workers, the Communists have gained the majority; nevertheless the leadership is still in the hands of the reformists. The reformist leaders can only maintain their position because the Communists are brutally persecuted by the police, and because the reformists do not draw back from falsifications in order to gain a majority. In the unions of the metal workers of the districts of Radom, Kielce, Dombrovo, Lodz, etc., of the railwaymen, the chemical workers, the glass workers and the agricultural workers, the Red elements form a considerable minority. In the Trade Union Council of Warsaw, Bialystok, Posen, Kalisz etc., the Communists have succeeded in gaining the majority.

Following the example and the instructions of Amsterdam, the Central Commission in the middle of 1921 instructed the unions to expel the Communists and all members standing for the Red Trade Union International. Not only single comrades, but whole Communist groups are now being excluded. Credentials are being falsified, the most able comrades of revolutionary tendencies are being denounced, and even violence is being used. The economic struggle and the struggle against capitalism has been pushed altogether into the background. For fear of the Communists, all action is being avoided, spontaneous strikes are being sabotaged and prevented.

In view of this attitude of the leaders the followers of the Red Trade Union International are working closely together, and propagandizing the idea of the united front. The Communists fight the tendency of building up Red trade unions. We must remain within the ranks of the existing unions and there lead the struggle for the revolution. At all conferences we brand the reformist policy and demand affiliation to the Red Trade Union International. In every economic or political action, we prove the noxiousness of the reformist policy, we expose the dependence of the Central Commission upon the government, and point out to the working class which way must be taken.

On account of expulsions and the subsequent ruin of many a trade union organization, the work of the Communists has become impossible in many unions and in others it is limited considerably. With regard to this situation, our comrades have been confronted with the question as to whether they should continue the tactics hitherto followed of maintaining unity. It was decided to do so. Our comrades realized the necessity of carrying on in future the struggle within the trade unions, in order to capture them. However, in order to prevent the work of our comrades within the trade-unions being made wholly impossible, it was decided to permit the creation of special independent trade-unions, consisting of expelled oppositional elements, or the existence of expelled groups as independent trade-unions.

Thus the struggle for the reestablishment of unity in every industry remains now, as before, our principal task.

THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

Open Letter to the Members of the Italian Syndicalist Union.

(R.T.U.I.) The Congress of the U.S.I. which was recently held in Rome has adopted resolutions which offend against the interests of labor.

These resolutions contain attacks against

- 1—the Russian Revolution;
- 2—the Red Trade Union International;
- 3—the Proletarian United Front.

The Anarchists, who assert every day that they would tolerate no dictatorship whatsoever, wielded an absolute dictatorship at the Congress; they compelled the Executive Committee in which they were in the majority to adopt voting regulations which prevented the important labor organizations from giving expression to their wishes. At a time when the Italian proletariat is more and more urgently clamoring for unity, both on a national and on an international scale, the Anarchists have brought their influence to bear upon the Congress of the U. S. I. to adopt decisions which are in open contravention to the ardent desire of labor. It is indeed a rare sight to see the "radicals" follow in the footsteps of the reformist leaders of the Confederation of Labor.

I. The Russian Revolution — the Stronghold of the World Proletariat.

When in October 1917 the Russian working class conquered power, the international bourgeoisie perceived that the end of its class prerogatives had appeared on the horizon. A great hope made the pulses of all workers beat faster. The revolution was born in pain and in misery. The Russian proletariat which had inherited from the bourgeoisie an economic apparatus disrupted by many years of war stood faced with the huge task of reconstruction. Tremendous difficulties impeded the efforts of the Russian workers—the social structure of Russia, a predominantly agrarian country, the relative weakness of the industrial proletariat, civil war, the blockade and the armed intervention of international capital. But the Russian proletariat did not hesitate to sacrifice itself on behalf of the international working class whose fate and future was closely bound up with that of the Soviet Republic. The economic collapse resulting from the world war and the revolutionary convulsions of the capitalist world gave rise to the belief that the outbreak of the world revolution was imminent. Urged on by this hope, the Russian working class offered resistance, suffered hardships and fought heroic struggles. And it succeeded in defeating both its domestic and its foreign enemies. But its hope was not realized; the world revolution did not break out as speedily as was believed by many. On the contrary, by the middle of 1920, the bourgeoisie, which had after the armistice feared a general rebellion of the exploited, had all along the line gone over to a general attack on the working class. The preliminary conditions for a revolution are still present, capitalism is still faced with formidable difficulties, but the revolution fails to break out. The Soviet Republic stands unshaken; its revolutionary impetus, however, has suffered a setback owing to the present standstill of the proletarian movement. Capitalism has grown bolder, and the Soviet Government which knows very well that the final victory of Communism is impossible as long as capitalism continues to exist in the remaining countries must, in order to rebuild its ruined economic system, give the signal for retreat and negotiate with capitalism, lest it perish. The Bolsheviks have not hesitated to submit, for the time being, to terms which enabled them to travel again the road towards the realization of Communism, as soon as the revolutionary tendencies in the other countries again increase; they are also well aware of the fact that the very existence of the Soviet Republic constitutes a continuous threat to international capitalism and that its downfall would surely result in the collapse of the revolutionary movement in all countries.

II. The Campaign against the Russian Revolution.

Just in this moment fraught with danger, when revolutionary unity and the sympathies of the proletariat are more than ever imperative for the Russian Revolution, certain sections of the labor movement have launched a savage campaign of slander against the Soviet Republic. Some Anarchist groups which have only defeats (not always honorable) to their credit are attacking those who have realized the first victorious proletarian revolution and saved the honor of international labor by their attack on imperialism. To criticize the Russian Revolution merely because it does not adapt itself to traditional Anarchist formulae, and not bring about a revolution in one's own country at the same time, is—to say the least—a rather easy procedure.

There is wellnigh no country where the Russian Revolution has evoked greater enthusiasm than Italy. This great enthusiasm has borne your great movements and revolutionary uprisings whose impetus gave rise to the hope that your country would sound the clarion call for the decisive struggle against the bourgeoisie in Western Europe. And now it is Italy where the campaign against the Russian Revolution has assumed an especially ferocious character. Urged on by sectarian obstinacy, the Anarchists do not scruple to endanger the international revolu-

tionary movement and disrupt the militant organizations of the proletariat.

III. The Decisions of the Rome Congress on the Red Trade Union International.

The Giovanetti resolution on the R. T. U. I., adopted by the Congress, is proof of the hatred harbored by the Anarchists against the Russian Revolution and simultaneously of their utter mental confusion. It is an indication of mental aberration, if one declines all connections whatsoever with the Communist International and simultaneously recognizes the necessity for seeking temporary communication with other parties or organizations. If such a course is thought advisable, why does one not adopt practical directions for the realization of such collaboration? It is furthermore a sign of a disordered mind, if one emphasizes the absolute independence of the labor movement in spite of the fact that the experiences of recent years have shown that the trade-union organizations need not necessarily be directly connected with the political parties in order to become the most humble servants of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. And finally it is a sign of lunacy if one wants to limit the activities of the R. T. U. I. to problems and actions of an exclusively international character. These would-be internationalists reveal a rather queer state of mind if they demand for the national organizations an absolute autonomy after the fashion of the Second and Vienna International and along the lines of the Italian example set by Serrati, Turati, d'Aragona and other reformists. How do these people understand the term "internationalism"? The proletariat is one, and therefore uniform discipline is necessary.

We need not criticize the demand that the next Congress of the R. T. U. I. be held in Western Europe. We merely wish to recall the fact that the same demand was formulated last year by the reformist leaders of the Italian Confederation of Labor at a time when the delegates of all countries had already arrived in Moscow. The Executive Committee of the R. T. U. I. has already official declared that it is not against the Congress being held outside of Russia. But can the Italian comrades give us guarantees for the personal safety of the delegates? We have repeatedly announced that we would favor the Congress being held for instance in Milan. But we wish to remind you that in 1920 Comrade Pestaña, the delegate of the Spanish Confederation of Labor was arrested in Italy on his return from Russia extradited by the police of your country to the Spanish jailers and is still languishing in jail there. Or has the Congress of the U. S. I. forgotten Germany whose authorities arrested the Spanish delegates to our First Congress and have just now delivered Comrades Nicola Fort and Concepcion to the Spanish hangmen. From the attitude of the Italian Anarchists it can be inferred that they prefer any bourgeois state to the republic where the proletariat has for the first time attained victory.

IV. The Significance of the Red Trade Union International.

Urged on by their sectarian hatred, the Anarchists have taken a hostile attitude towards the R. T. U. I. What does the existence of that militant organization imply? The R. T. U. I. expresses the determination of the revolutionary working class organized in the labour unions to destroy capitalist rule; it signifies solidarity with the great Russian Revolution, the first station on the road to the World Revolution, and further, ceaseless warfare against the yellow reformism sponsored by Amsterdam. The R. T. U. I. endeavors to combine all progressive elements in the labor movement and coordinate their actions with all those forces honestly fighting for the Social Revolution. To attack the R. T. U. I. under the pretext of trade union autonomy is a futile objection. The R. T. U. I. has at no time had designs on the independence of the trade unions; its congresses and leading organs have adopted and published resolutions which were everything but a barrier to that autonomy. The fact that the Executive Committee of the R. T. U. I. exchanges delegates with that of the Comintern is surely not likely to interfere with that autonomy.

The Program of Action adopted at our First Congress provides an excellent basis for the revolutionary trade unions. The spirit animating it is the same that has always fired the revolutionary workers—the spirit of rebellion, of stubborn struggle against the bourgeoisie, of unconditional rejection of the class truce and class collaboration policy. Our Program of Action can be subscribed to by all revolutionary Syndicalists. No delegate raised even the smallest objection against it during the debates at our First Congress. So, if we are agreed on all essential questions, why should we allow problems of second-rate importance to divide us? Have the Italian Anarchists so very little

faith in themselves that they fear temporary collaboration with representatives of the Third International in certain revolutionary actions?

V. The Proletarian United Front.

The resolution on the unity of the proletariat, adopted at the Rome Congress, is also in open contradiction to the desire of the proletariat voiced in its aspiration to unity. The decision of a sectarian minority which succeeded in bringing together a faked majority has rendered a great service to the cause of the worst enemies of labor. Revolutionary unity is today more imperative than ever. The continuous aggression of the bourgeoisie threatening the gains of the proletariat must be met. The working class stands in bitter need of unity of organization, both nationally and internationally. Numerically weak sectarian organizations are at present of little use to the working class which must have strong and disciplined mass organizations, following a certain aim and determined to attain it. What are you being offered in this respect by the section under the leadership of Borghi? Empty phrases, vague formulae and pompous platitudes! What definite methods of struggle does it advise the workers to adopt, what are its directions, its program? It is incapable of countering the Program of Action of the R. T. U. I. What a revolutionary program corresponding more to the needs of the workers!

A new organization on an international basis would merely collect insignificant outsiders among the organizations of the proletariat and would be foredoomed to utter impotence.

Comrades of the U. S. I.!

The immediate results of the Borghi fraction's victory will seriously hinder the development of the U. S. I. and very probably splits will weaken it still further; a great part of the working masses will lose all faith in it.

The workers in the U. S. I. cannot consent to the conflicting decisions of the Rome Congress which aim at transforming your union into an appendage of the Italian Anarchists, while simultaneously reasserting the principle of trade union autonomy.

All those who declare against the Russian Revolution are (whether they intend to or not) playing the game of the bourgeoisie; they are undermining the power of the proletariat. The Anarchist groups which with the help of more or less shrewd election manoeuvres succeeded in forcing decisions upon the U. S. I. which are contrary to the real wishes of its members, have inflicted serious harm upon the revolutionary movement.

To divert your organization from its revolutionary trade union direction is to lead it to impotence and death.

Workers of the U. S. I.!

You cannot and must not consent to the destruction of your organization through the sectarian obstinacy of some Anarchist groups. You must not admit of the glory of the Russian Revolution being dragged through the mire in your name. We are certain that the revolutionary workers of Italy will resist these demagogic machinations.

Long live the revolutionary proletariat of Italy!

Long live the Red Trade Union International!

Long live international revolutionary solidarity!

The Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union
International.

Lozovsky, General Secretary.

THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

Terrorism against the Cooperatives in Hungary

by *Karl Bittel* (Esslingen).

In Hungary the cooperative movement is but little developed. The most important organisations are the following (according to 1919 statistics):—

City	Number of Members	Turnover in Millions of Kroner
Budapest	151,500	211
Győr	30,000	11.4
Stuhlweissenburg	1,200	2.5
Grosskanisza	8,000	5.8
Szombathely	20,000	47
Szegedin	12,000	11
Hódmezővásárhely	5,800	0.8

The cooperative movement in Horthy-Hungary, especially the largest Hungarian cooperative, the "General Cooperative" in Budapest, is seriously suffering under the White Terror.

In March 1919, the Budapest Cooperative was strongly supported by the Soviet Government. It was authorized to carry through nationalization; the cooperative law was amended; its distribution centres were increased from 67 to about 235; its sales were trebled; Erdelyi (one of the founders of the General Cooperative and its manager for 15 years) was appointed People's Commissar of Public Supplies.

Since the white gangs established their dictatorship in Hungary, this situation has been altered fundamentally. It is true that today the G.C. still comprises the members who were won during the dictatorship of the proletariat, but it is being persecuted and suppressed and is fighting for its existence. The improved laws have been annulled. Erdelyi and other workers of the cooperatives were forced to escape, or are languishing in prison unless they have perished. To-day the G.C. numbers 160,000 members, provides 600,000 persons, has 1102 distribution centres and publishes its own weekly organ, *Szövetkezeti Ertesítő*. Its development is the following:

Year	Number of Members	Turnover in Millions of Kroner
1904-1905	962	0.14
1908-1909	6,342	0.53
1913-1914	25,800	3.9
March 1919 (shortly before the Soviet Republic)	88,000	?
At the end of 1919	151,000	211

The "Awakening Hungarians" are attempting to capture this gigantic and important labor enterprise. The General Conference of the Cooperative was called, for April 20th, 1921 after delegates for this Conference had been elected in March, in 29 district meetings. Out of 300 seats, the terrorists received only 17 in this election. Thereupon the latter undertook a new act of violence. Daniel, a partisan of Horthy, reported to his central committee as follows in regard to this action:

"I report on a great success of our propaganda. The General Conference of the General Cooperative has been prohibited and an investigation has been started. I can state with pleasure that this is especially due to the eager activities of the Awakening Hungarians.

In the elections of delegates we succeeded, in spite of the great terror, in electing some Awakening Hungarians and Christian Socialists. In spite of that however, the action was not successful. Therefore we brought influence to bear upon the government and caused it to prohibit the General Conference and to send a commissar The result of this investigation was that the election of the delegates has been annulled and new elections are being ordered. It is our task to win the power in the new elections, and to capture this cooperative with its turnover of 500 to 600 millions. It is furthermore our task to provide respectable (sic!) leaders for the workers."

There upon the Hungarian Social-Democratic Party and the Trade-Union Council issued a protest in the following words:

"The working class is determined to defend the cooperative; it will not allow this fruit of long years of work to be destroyed."

It is of special significance that in all these counter-revolutionary actions the Budapest agricultural cooperative *Hangya* is taking the first place.

In the International Cooperative Congress in August 1921 in Basle, these events were discussed. The Italian delegate Pittoni presented a protest resolution, signed by the Italian, Czechoslovakian, and Austrian delegations, in which it is stated:

The delegates of the cooperatives of all countries, assembled in Basle for the Cooperative Congress acknowledge with surprise and protest that the present Hungarian Government:

1. by tolerating and encouraging violent influencing of the general meeting,
2. by suspending the elected Executive,
3. by appointing governmental officials in the management,
4. by threatening to dismiss cooperative employees and to replace them by others who are more accessible to the present government, by means of decrees or coercive measures,

5. by suppressing the cooperatives to such a degree that they cannot even dare to exercise their right of membership in the International Cooperative Federation and to send delegates to this Congress,

prevents not only the cooperatives of its own country and other organizations serving the interests of the working-class, from exercising their economic functions without which cooperative federations cannot exist; but by arbitrary acts of state or police organs, even abolishes the existing private right and the right of association which is recognised in all civilised countries."

This resolution was adopted unanimously amid great applause.

This exposure of the White Terror caused a certain agitation, especially in the *Hangya* which is also affiliated to the International Cooperative Federation. The Central Credit Cooperative passed a decision against the "Treason to the Nation" resolution, in which they protest against the attitude of the Cooperative International, which "instead of standing for the ideal aims which several cooperatives have put forth, considered as its task to organize the masses under the flag of the cooperatives, in order to use this organization for the overthrow of the national order and as a weapon of the working class." They demanded that the Central Federation decide whether it corresponds to the idea of the cooperatives to cooperate with organizations that consider the Marxian idea as their principle, and whether the Hungarian cooperatives should leave the International Cooperative Federation. To this, a representative of the *Hangya* replied that they should not leave the International immediately, because in Spring an International "Christian" Cooperative Conference would take place in Italy.

After eight months' compulsory management the Horthy government decided:

1. The guardianship ceases on December 10th; the management is returned into the hands of the elected body.
2. This body promises to recommend to the members at the next general Conference, that three representatives of the various ministries and three bourgeois candidates, proposed by the latter shall be elected members of the management of the cooperative.

After this decree, elections were immediately held, December 17th and 18th, whereat 17,836 members voted for the list of the organized workers while the Christian Socialists and the Awakening Hungarians together received but 2,492, though the latter had falsified lists of the voters and had influenced the election. By the "legalized sequestration" and the Terror, the Cooperative has suffered a loss of several million kroner and its development has been seriously hampered. Also the fact that, according to the decree of the government, six anti-proletarian representatives of the Horthy Government must be members of the management of the Cooperative, is a sufficient illustration of present conditions under the dictatorship of Capital.

The International Cooperative Federation is not able to alter this situation. Furthermore, there are influential groups in the International—as for example the German Cooperatives,—which did not even approve of the Basle resolution. Only when the proletarian influence within the cooperatives has become stronger, when also the cooperative movement has been inspired by class-consciousness, will it become a powerful factor. For years however, they were agitating against the "Red Terror" in Soviet Russia and had no time left to prevent the suppression and overthrow of the Hungarian cooperatives by the White Terror.

THE COMMUNIST YOUTH

The Third Bureau Session of the Young Communist International.

After the Session of the Executive of the Communist International, the Third Bureau Session of the Young Communist International took place in Moscow from March 18th to March 29th. During the war the revolutionary youth organisations took up the struggle against the war together with the few adults and raised the banner of revolutionary class war together with Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. In November 1919 at the First Congress of the Young Communist International the small but determined groups of the revolutionary youth came together for the first time. This Congress established an organi-

zational basis and elaborated the program for the young revolutionists who had hitherto fought within the ranks of the revolutionary groups of the adult workers. After this First Congress in Berlin extensive propaganda and organizational activities were started, and at the Second International Congress which took place in Moscow in July 1921, preceded by the Third World Congress of the Communist International, the Young Communist International welcomed the representatives of more than 40 organizations from all countries of the world and an army of approximately 800,000 young proletarians responded to the decisions of the Congress. The Second Congress elaborated the fundamental directions for the new work of the Young Communist Leagues. At this Congress it was decided that the Young Communist Leagues which in the past had devoted their forces mainly to the building up of Communist Parties and of the gigantic international revolutionary bulwark, the Communist International, should in future concentrate their activities upon their new tasks as youth organisations.

These tasks resulted clearly from the slogan of the Third Congress of the Communist International: "To the Masses!" which formed at the same time the basis of the discussions of the Youth Congress. Thus the Second Congress of the Young Communist International revealed new fields of work for all Young Communist Leagues. It has been the task of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International to assist the Leagues in the execution of the decisions of the Second Congress.

During the few months between the Second World Congress and the Bureau Session, the E.C. has carried through this work to the greatest extent. The Third Bureau Session had to examine the activities of the past eight months in order to utilize the practical experiences of the Leagues in the various countries on an international scale and to issue new directions for the practical work. In the Bureau Session there took part representatives of the eighteen most important Leagues: America, Bulgaria, Jugoslavia, Switzerland, Austria, Poland, the Border States, Finland, Japan and China.

The agenda was as follows:—

1. Report of Comrade Zinoviev on the policy and the tasks of the Communist International.
2. Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International. (Comrade Unger.)
3. Economic and trade union activities of the Communist youth. (Comrade Shueller.)
4. Educational work. (Comrade Ziegler.)
5. Hostile youth organisations. (Comrade Shatzkin.)
6. Press. (Comrade Shoenhaar.)
7. Anti-militarism. (Comrade Doriot.)
8. The united front. (Comrade Shueller.)
9. Activities in the sport clubs. (Comrade Larsen.)
10. The situation of the Young Communist League of Russia. (Comrade Zetlin.)
11. The organization of the national leagues.

In the report of the E.C. the gigantic tasks were mentioned in the fulfilment of which the E.C. was engaged during the last months. The principal duty of the E.C. was to take an active part in the activities of every league. The economic and trade union activities, the educational work, the position within the leagues with regard to the fulfilment of their new tasks, the activities in the sport clubs—all these problems confronted the leagues after the Second World Congress and all their forces were necessary to solve them.

The E.C. has everywhere taken part in this work in close communication with the national leagues. In the course of the discussion on the report of the E.C. and on the other items of the agenda, it became obvious that during the period under review the comrades have not only succeeded in solving these questions theoretically in the leagues, but that everywhere the first practical steps have been taken. This is the more significant as the work was carried through without weakening the agitation and the interior organization of the leagues. On the contrary, during this period the leagues have been steadily growing. This became especially evident in the course of the discussion on the problems of educational work and on the Press. The great practical experience, the many smaller or greater beginnings to approach the large masses of young workers and to provide them with fundamental Marxian knowledge which were reported in the course of the discussion have shown the Leagues new ways and means for the practical work which will in future greatly influence the activities of the Leagues. The same can be said of the discussion on the

economic and trade union activities in which domain important steps have already been taken by the sections. All economic activities of the leagues were thoroughly discussed and experiences were exchanged and utilized.

The Session paid special attention to the problem of anti-militarist work. Clearly and distinctly the role of bourgeois militarism in revolutionary wars of the working class against capitalism was outlined and the intentions of world capital against Soviet Russia, the bulwark of the proletarian revolution, were revealed. In the resolution on this question the necessity of intensified activities in this sphere was again emphasized and practical suggestions were made. The same was the case in the discussion on the work in the sport clubs, which, too, is a new task of the Young Communist Leagues. The fundamental importance of this activity for the struggle of emancipation of the proletariat as well as for the winning of the young workers for the revolutionary fight, was pointed out in a resolution.

Furthermore, the Session of the Bureau considered the problem of the united front of the working class and the Young Communist International. It again expressed the determination of the Communist Youth to collaborate with all its forces in the creation of a solid international united front of the working class for the struggle against the offensive of capital, for the organization of the masses of juvenile labor and for the common struggle for the most urgent demands. In the resolution on this question it is again stated that the youth as a part of the working class is also a part of the united proletarian front and solves its problems in common with the adult proletariat.

All other items of the agenda were thoroughly dealt with in reports and discussions and although no fundamental decisions were passed, the work of the Bureau Session will be of utmost importance for the activities of the Young Communist Leagues. The great practical value of this eleven days session for the leagues, will soon result in a strengthening of the national organizations and in further steps onwards on our way. Thus the Third Bureau Session of the Young Communist International was a working conference of great success, a step forward.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Repression in Spain.

by R. Albert.

Some more news from Spain. The tragic vein persists. Not a ray of light in this abyss. When will we, the revolutionists of all countries, succeed in putting an end to the Spanish Inquisition?

The independent unions of Barcelona shamelessly persist in the realization of their Syndicalist police-projects, forcing all the workers into their ranks.

The only Red trade union capable of voicing any protest is cruelly suppressed as we shall see further on. The offensive often meets admirable resistance, which is however, almost invariably crushed because of a disorganized and leaderless proletariat.

On the 2nd of March, the miners of Pennaroya answered the 25% reduction of wages with a strike. On the following day a miners' strike broke out at Garrurchia (Almeria) for the same reason. The newspapers and compositors of Bilbao are still on strike—since January. At Granada, the general strike, lasting from the 10th to the 17th of February, was a formidable manifestation of proletarian solidarity. The electrical and gas-workers having joined, all industry was at a complete standstill. Some troops that were sent on a hurry-call maintained "order", not without numerous collisions and still more numerous arrests. The president of the "People's House", Fuente, together with two liberal writers living in the city, Joaquin Correas and José Guglieri, have been deported from Granada. But in spite of its amplitude and its energy, the movement was doomed from the start, because Spain is a country with no public opinion, no constitutional guarantees and no labor organizations.

At Barcelona, the arrest of Syndicalists was resumed in February, with the revival of the labor movement. Indeed it seems that this time it received a hard blow. Here are a few of

the arrested fighters: On the 14th of February, at Manrésa (Catalonia), Vicente Sorra Prate, Syndicalist organizer; Antonio Riera Comprules, former president of the Textile Workers' Union; Domingo Fito Gangonell, former president of the Building Trades Union; Pédro Arderius Pujol, Ignacio Siquellas Molas, Juan Pujol Planas, Tomas Marcelino, Agopito Pujol Secanell, Francisco Bacardi Puig.

On the 18th of February, the press announced the discovery of a centre of international relations, chiefly with Russia, at the house of José Figueras. With him were arrested: Juan Mataca Folgueras, María Grillo Bars, Emilio Molins Cusidu.

On the 25th, several Syndicalists were arrested. We only know the name of one, José Ribe Saperas. On the 27th the arrest of Alfredo Gomels Franquet, Carlos Angles, Corbella, Miguel Rancos Aonso, and of Joaquin Maurin Julia.

We call the attention of our comrades to the last of these names. Much importance is attributed at Barcelona to the capture of the young organizer Maurin, who is well known to all the participants in the First Congress of the Red Trade Union International. Having for a long time been the only one of that valiant group of delegates sent by the Spanish National Confederation of Labor to Moscow enjoying "liberty" in his own country, he has at last been "caught". His propaganda for the Red Trade Union International will arm the inquisitors with a strong weapon against this young revolutionist.

The practice in vogue here is to prosecute and sentence propagandists for an act of terrorism, which gives their inquisitors the opportunity to sentence their victims to 10 or 15 years of hard labor, while the names of the real perpetrators of the crimes they are accused of and sentenced for often remain unknown. We do not know what crime will be invented against Maurin, but every one who knows him at all will bear witness to his complete estrangement from the violence of certain Spanish Syndicalist elements, which we can very well comprehend as the method of despair against the reaction. The international proletariat, which ought not to have forgotten the existence of those imprisoned leaders of Spanish Syndicalism, will add the name of Maurin to those of Segui and Pestaña.

The Madrid press fills whole columns with the case of Luis Nicolan Fort and Lucia Joaquina Concepcion. However circumspect and previously tuned to the satisfaction of Spanish class-justice the newspapers may be, we find in them (as reprinted in *La Vanguardia* of Barcelona) two opinions which we cannot but underline. On the 2nd of March we read in the case of Fort and his companion, that the examining magistrate Escarellt "has no material evidence against them: various witnesses of the crime when confronted by Luis Nicolan Fort, failed to recognize him." On the 5th of March they wrote: "It seems established that Concepcion took no part in the crime, she is believed to have been aware of the plan".

Thus Germany and France have delivered to the Inquisition Spanish refugees whom the Madrid press recognizes to have been accused without material evidence to sustain the charge!

And the eye-witnesses of the crime (all of them!) however great their desire to please the examining judge declare that they do not recognize Luis Nicolan!

Again, since her arrival in Madrid, it has been established that Concepcion is clear of guilt in the crime, and the only "justification" for her further detention by the authorities, is offered by the argument that "perhaps she had a suspicion or presentiment" . . . (!). And these are the circumstances under which two "democratic" governments dared to deliver these militant comrades to the inquisitor, in shameless defiance of the working-class!

The Spanish reaction capped this list of crimes by irritating the intellectual and university circles, which are the least disposed to seek a quarrel with the bourgeois order. For a speech delivered at *l'Ateneo* of Madrid, in which he could not refrain from sharply criticising the clerical monarchy which is the nightmare of Spain, the poet Ramon della Valle Inclan is being prosecuted for *lèse majesté*.

A statistical table published not long ago, informs us that in the city of Barcelona alone there are 1800 *presos gubernativos*, i. e., persons detained by the government for no definite reasons: of this number 500 are Syndicalists.