THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Basic Problems of the International Trade Union Movement

by A. Losovsky.

The international labor movement has far from recovered from the wounds which the great struggles received during the war. We are not speaking of physical wounds, nor of material losses; we are speaking of the moral setback which the entire working-class underwent during the war. National limitations and national patriotism, the hope for an improvement in living conditions through the conquest of new markets by the national capitalists, the support of war-policies and communal work—all of these were principles which characterized the labor movement in the outlying unity countries during the war. The war was able to last four years only because in all countries the trade-unions constituted the main support of the war policies, inasmuch as the trade-union leaders held the discontented masses in check by promising them great reforms after the victory had been won, and on the other hand persuading the ruling classes to make concessions voluntarily in order to prevent a revolutionary mass-movement. Jan Oudegeest, the secretary of the Amsterdam I. T. U. F. has admitted that quite frankly in the July issue of the "International Labor Movement". He writes as follows: "We should not forget that especially in the war-going countries, the governments, being unable to carry on war without the trade-unions, made various concessions to the trade-unions, which enabled the latter to get through certain reforms which under other circumstances would have required years of activity on the part of the trade-unions."

In this manner the labor unions, which came into existence as organs of self-defense for the working-class against the capitalist exploiters, became a part of the capitalist machine. These strained relations between the labor unions and the capitalistic governments became particularly clear immediately after the war when after the slaughter had come to an end, all the pent-up hatred of the working masses against their oppressors came to the fore. At this point the trade-union organizations became the saviours of the capitalistic economic system. After the November revolution in Germany the leaders of the capitalist organizations openly admitted that the trade-unions protected the state against anarchy. The trade-unions of the Entente also acted as the saviours of the bourgeoisie.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The most that can be expected of the old and new internationals is to register events. They do not lead the movement; they hold after it. They do not search for new ways and means; they trot about in the old place. They attempt to reconcile the interests of the national organizations but they never approach the working-class with general proletarian class-problems. Indeed, they cannot possibly do otherwise. Due to its nature, the Amsterdam International can never become an international organization. Only when its national components determine to place the general class-interests of the proletariat above their individual national interests, can an international organization come into existence and grow. But there are no such organizations in the Amsterdam International. All such organizations have joined the Red Trade Union International.
In order to create a truly international organization, we must conquer the trade-union organizations of various countries both from the purely national standpoint and from the standpoint of their international interests to them; we must inculcate new ideas into them, and finally transform a tool in the hands of the social-reaction into a tool of the social revolution.

We shall now discuss the second problem which at present confronts the trade-union movement in all countries. This problem is put in the form of a question, "Will it be possible to direct the trade unions into new channels or is it a hopeless task necessitating monopolization of the union and the creation of new organizations?" Fortunately there is only an insignificant group in the trade-union movement which is in favor of destroying the unions; this group argues that the unions constitute a capitalist machine, and that they are therefore effaced in the destruction of the capitalist state and in the service of the social-reaction. It is necessary, however, that we put our house in order, if we are not to ruin our own class-struggles of recent date, as for example the miners' strike in England and the textile strike in France. When one trade strikes in a given country, the others which do not wish to endanger the whole economic situation of the workers decide to fight the entire working-class, only small skirmishes take place between isolated divisions of workers and the mighty enemy which is armed to the teeth.

In all this we must see the difference between the Red Trade Union International and Amsterdam. Is it to be found not only in the different conception and comprehension of the ways and means of the social conflict, but also in the way of accomplishing the victory of the social-reaction into a tool of the social-revolution. When an isolated fighting group finds itself in a critical situation, the Amsterdamers are not for a moment too busy to summon their reserve troops, that is, those groups of workers which could have a decisive influence upon the struggle, as for example: the railroad workers, the gas workers, the workers employed on the electric railways, those engaged in the textile industry and the like. We, on the other hand, consider the action of the workers in the public service and state enterprises as the main weapon in the present struggle against the capitalist state, and we consequently seek to destroy the unity of collaboration, the other the maintenance of the viewpoint of the class-struggle even in the smallest conflicts. We thus have to compromise as the objective before and during the fight on the one side, and the sharpening of the social conflict on the other. The attempt to draw the greatest possible masses into the fight on the other side. The most difficult problem now confronting the trade-union movement is the formation of a united front against the attacking capitalists. Notwithstanding the unification of the political struggle, and in spite of the existence of two or three political labor parties in every country, the trade-unions, in most cases, still retain their uniform structure. This cannot be an accidental phenomenon. For the workers have a definite interest and interests which, in spite of the intensity of their political desires, compel the working-class to strive for unity in their trade-union organizations. The reason for this continued unity is the task of the revolutionaries, and the sharpening of the social conflict. The attempt to draw the greatest possible masses into the fight on the other side.

In what manner is this united front to be organized? The Amsterdamers suggest that the united front should be organized on the basis of a refusal to intervene in the trade-union movement of other countries, and of silence upon certain vital points which split the working masses. As reformists, they demur the recognition of class-co-operation as the basis for unity. As far as we are concerned we are decided for a united front. We are ready to organize it together with the Amsterdamers and other trade-union organizations, but only on the basis of defending the conquests of the working-class, and not on that of voluntary retreat. It is the task of the revolutionary unions to utilize the concrete and practical questions of the everyday struggle as a starting point for a united front. We are not interested in tearing ourselves apart on the old squabbles whether this one or that is for or against the class-struggle; but we must ask whether he is for or against revolutionary resistance against capitalism, and whether he is for or against the struggle for the retention of past conquests, for or against the struggle for the social laws which the proletariat is about to lose. In short, it is the task of the revolutionary trade-union organizations to concentrate the attention of the broad masses upon the immediate struggle to maintain their own ground and resist the attack of the class-enemy, and at the same time to prepare the ground for assuming the offensive.

And finally the fourth question, that of the present relations between the Red Trade Union International and the Communist International. How can the national movement into a truly international movement means at the same time transforming it into a Communist movement, for only then can the working-class be international in spirit, in character, in its methods of struggle and in the ways and means in which it
solves all its problems, when it is at the same time Communist. Being substantially a Communist movement, it cannot remain separa-

tively and internationally, has been speeded up by the develop-
ments, it is fired by the spirit and the ideas of Com-

socialism, and which leads it to become one with the Communist

of the labor movement. The Red Trade Union Interna-

tional and the Communist International in no way rep-

resent two parallel lines, that is just why the trade-union

section and the social-revolutionary section of every country

constitute two parallel organizations which never cross each

other in their activities. On the contrary, they must be com-

pared with two lines which frequently cross each other and which

have every reason to do so. The class struggle has become,

in a subjective viewpoint the process

of the development of the class struggle.

If we examine the history of development in the trade-

union movement from the end of the nineteenth century up to

the present day, we see what colossal progress it has made.

From a subjective viewpoint the process goes on at an exacer-

bably slow rate, from the historical viewpoint, however, the labor

movement has made great progress, and with every year the

movement accelerates. The greater this acceleration becomes and

the greater and the bitterer the class struggles become, the nearer

the international trade-union movement comes to fulfilling its type,

that is to say, how heavy the burden is which at present threatens

to crush the working-class of all countries and no matter what ideological effects this pressure

by the international bourgeoisie may have— we nevertheless

have every reason to face the future with optimism. The wounds

which the war has inflicted upon the labor movement are gradually

healing. National isolation is disappearing. The American

International is gradually losing ground, and the prerequisites for truly international unity are coming into

existence. The old trade-union movement is slowly but surely dying out. And in its stead, a revolutionary class-trade union

movement is coming up, which is embodied in the Red Trade Union

International.

The French Syndicalists and the Special Federal Congress

J. W. The French Syndicalist movement is at present facing

a critical turning point in its history. The split which the majori-

ties in the C.G.T. (Conférence Générale du Travail—General

federation of Labor) have been systematically preparing for

the last few months is on the eve of being accomplished. One

may recall that last year at the Congress of Orleans, the majori-

ties were in a motion tending to exclude from the C.G.T. all

the syndicalist organizations adhering to Moscow. However,

facing the unequivocal opposition of the militant membership who

would not hear of a split, the majorities dared not put their

plan into execution. That was also because at the time of the

Congress of Orleans the revolutionary syndicalist minority did

not seem to them yet very threatening. The majority of over

one third which they obtained at the Congress seemed then a

sufficient guarantee against the efforts of the minority.

But the situation has changed since Orleans. The minori-

ty, strengthened, has strongly developed. In the midst of the

C.S.R. (Conférence Syndicaliste Révolutionnaire—Syndicalist

Revolutionary Councils), the latter has slowly but surely

undermined all those trade-unions upon which the reformist

leaders of the C.G.T. depended for their support. The results of

this new situation is that after another the organizations

were, turning away from the reformists and were accepting

the program of the revolutionary syndicalists. The largest federa-
tions were won over to the minority: the federation of the building

trades, the federation of the railroad workers, kept under the

tutelage of Bidagaray, that of the metal workers where Merr-

heim reigns supreme. After the Departmental Union of the Seine, other

departmental unions joined the minoritaries. While the

manoeuvres of the reformists during the two months preceding

the Congress of Lille, the latter showed an immense progress.

The majority of the congress, the leaders of the C.G.T.

were winning the day. In the vote on decision No. 7, which made no mention of exclusions, undertook to exclude all

unions adhering to Moscow. Beaten once he returned to the

attack at the Congress of Lille, But he obtained no greater success

than at the Congress of Orleans. Moreover, since the majorities put certain reservations upon their adherence to Moscow, some-

thing else had to be found. It was declared then that all organi-

zations adhering to the C.S.R. were thereby breaking syndicalist

unity, and excluding themselves from the Federation. The C.G.T.

carried out this decision in flagrant contradiction to the motion of

unity voted at the Congress of Lille, certain members of

unions and of federations in the province were excluded from

the C.G.T. Kurzers of Labor then took the initiative of forming a

false majority, which clearly expressed itself of the militants the leaders of the C.G.T. were methodically pur-

suing their work of disunion.

But what finally put the spark to the fuse was the famous

"conflict of the railroad workers". It is known that Bidagaray,

had already announced his idea of going to the Congress of the

Railroad Workers' federation, left the Congress and created a reformist executive with the intention of retaining the direction of the Federation against the will of the majority. The revolutionary bureau led by Paul Dumoulin and Jean-Claude, took possession of the office of the railroad federation in spite of the decision of the Congress. The reformists then applied to the bourgeois courts with a claim

upon the premises from which they were chased. The C.G.T.,

took their side, excluded the unions adhering to the revolutionary bureau Semart, in all 30 unions with a membership of

68,000. The Departmental Union of the Seine and the Federation of

Railroad Workers then took the initiative of convening a special

Congress to settle the conflict and protest against the exclusion.

This Congress is to open the 20th of December at Paris. The committee charged with the calling and preparation of

this Congress addressed to all syndicates the following questionnaire:

1) In voting for the resolutions of the Congress of Lille, were you voting for or against the majority?

2) Do you approve the exclusion of 299 Railroad Workers' unions which constitute the federation Semart—Chaverot—Delpoucké torming the majority of both members and branches grouped about the two bureaucracies?

3) Do you approve of the exclusions made by the Unions and Federations?

The calling of this special Congress was a surprise to the leaders of the C.G.T., who certainly did not expect it. In the

name of discipline they forbade affiliated unions all participation in this Congress. In a note sent out to the press they declare

that the calling of the Congress was an act of open secession;

they adopted the following resolution drawn up by

Dumoulin:

"Article 9 of the statutes of the C.G.T. stipulates that the National Federal Committee is the executor of the decisions

passed by the National Congresses, that said Committee is also

empowered to settle all questions in a Congress. Thus, debate on a question takes a stand on questions of a general nature. Therefore the Administratiive Commission of the C.G.T. considers that the organizations which called a similar Congress are in a state of rebellion against the organs of the General Federation of Labor (C.G.T.). The Administrative Commission declares that if the planned Congress takes place, the organizations that took the initiative in calling it, will thereby automatically exclude themselves from the General Federation of Labor."

This text speaks clearly. It means that whatever the decisions of the Congress of Lille, the leaders of the C.G.T.

will not accept them, and that they will prefer to provoke an open split in the French Syndicalist movement rather than yield their place to the revolutionaries.
The Great Hunger Demonstration of the Vienna Workers.

by V. Stern (Vienna).

On the 1st of December the Vienna proletariat rose quite spontaneously and without the least preparation or appeal from above organized a mass-demonstration of the like which in respect to size and momentum poor Vienna has not seen for some time. In the metal factories of Floridsdorf, where the January strike of 1913 originated, the workmen simply laid down their work in the morning and declared that they were going on a march before the Parliament building in order to demonstrate against their hunger and against the high prices. The outward stimulus for this demonstration was the order issued that day by the Social Democrats to the workers in their periodical appeal of which the following is a translation. The Social Democrats no longer dared to prepare the masses for this rise in prices. They therefore attempted to put over a surprise which due to its suddenness sprung the workers from their motion into action. They had hoped for an unusual fall in the buying power of the crown which was unusual even for Austrian conditions, and at the same time an unusual rise in the prices of necessities, Swiss francs rose rapidly, and the price of bread rose from 500 to 600 crowns. All this was too much for the Floridsdorf workers. And fired with the excitement which had been stirring up in the masses, their move was like a spark to a dry barley field. The Social Democrats sipped the first moment all the factories in Floridsdorf and in the neighboring Stadlau were stopped. Then the Social-Democratic shop-committees attempted to put the brakes on the movement and to isolate it. It is very probable that they were in some part influenced by the presence of a Social-Democratic head of the district council. The Social Democrats attempted to steer the movement into Social-Democratic waters. First of all they besought the Floridsdorfer to adjourn the demonstration. This interval served the purpose of making the Floridsdorf workers' council succeed in one thing, at least, the Floridsdorf everything was calm again. This contemptible trick was naturally opposed by the Communists with all the means available to their small party. But the movement could under no circumstances be held back. Indeed, the Floridsdorf workers stood alone for several hours in front of Parliament, but then district after district marched up. Over one hundred thousand workers, with the Communists all there of course, filled the streets of Vienna as never before. Not only the Social-Democratic shops committees, but the district council, too, had been tricked. No longer did the Social Democrats dare to take any measures. The demonstration was now an irresistible movement. The Social Democratic financial plans would be carried out and until after a "gradual" reduction of the government food subsidies. This, however, like all other appeals to the workers, was in vain. How could workers who were rebelling against the price of a loaf of bread from 34 to 74 crowns? To demonstrate for the price of a loaf of bread, possibly demonstrate for the demand that from now on the same loaf of bread should cost 600 crowns? The other demands for property tax, the confiscation of valuables, and also the "church's gold," were more reasonable though insufficient. Communist speakers, who were the first ones there, pointed out the necessity for definite aims and for a clear recognition of the right way to achieve these aims. It was not a question of the method but of the mass aimed at. The Social Democrats had not been able to organize, but the method the masses themselves originated in spite of all the appeasement speeches from above. This method is to be continued. The demands to be put and enforced through a struggle, are: a property tax, the insuring of a living wage and the unconditional prevention of a rise in prices, by means of no education in the subsidies, until at least the actual pre-war wage will again be secured. The majority of the Social-Democratic workers also joined the demonstrations. Not only a few yellows, but indeed, this leader of the right-wing Social Democrat parties, demanded in any number of workers' meetings the readmission of a few thousand workers, even the Social Democratic ones, and all this notwithstanding, it receives the praise of the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" (which was of course not confiscated) because it let drop a few phrases against the profiteers and the exploiters.

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

The Textile Workers of Northern Bohemia

by Eugen Paul (Prague).

The conflict which we reported a short time ago between the Reichenberg textile workers and the leaders of the textile workers' union has now entered upon a new phase in which the leaders have been forced to throw off the mask and to come out into the open, according to the well-known method of the yellows. As is known, the Reichenberg textile workers have demanded in any number of workers' meetings the resignation of 1,000,000 textile workers excluded from the union on account of Communist leanings. They have also demanded the calling of the union convention so long awaited. The union leaders who were of the typical kind, replied that they were willing to re-admit the excluded, but without their trade union cards. For this there were no grounds. It goes without saying that these gentlemen consider the calling of a convention as useless as ever before. Demanding that the workers cast aside all their leaders is a fighting method of the genuine yellows, and indeed, these yellow skulls have no longer the courage to demand the admission of class-conscious workers. Only employers, exploiters, are used to force delinquent workers to cast aside their leaders after a lost strike.
Naturally, it is not a question of the persons of these 86 leaders. It is a question of principle! And on this account the Reichenberg case deserves the attention not only of the entire working-class of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, but of the proletariat of all countries. We are dealing here with a highly interesting case in which the very good principle of no split, when labour struggle really means to the furtherance of labor interests to exactly the opposite.

How does the thing stand here? The union has about 80,000 members. Of these about 13,000 textile workers comprising a number of locals were expelled during the last year on account of the Reichenberg textile workers' strike. Then the majority of Friedland local union, and also a part of the workers of Mildenberg, on account of 8000 workers in all, joined those excluded. In addition 5000 of the Reichenberg textile workers have joined the others recently. This means a total of 33,000 textile workers, or a quarter of the entire number of textile workers in the United States. The textile workers excluded from the union have not ceased appealing for a rejoining with their fellow-workers still left in the union.

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

The question then is: Does the activity of these excluded textile workers have something to do with the conception of a split? Is it not merely a question of the existence of this split itself? It is a question of the split movement which is really a fight of 20,000 textile workers for the revival of the fighting ability of the thoroughly rotten union bureaucracy. The Reichenberg textile workers are not Communists yet. Nothing would be more foolish than to assert the contrary. Nothing would be more criminal to-day than to lead the Reichenberg textile workers into battle for political Communist aims. The movement against the union leaders which has lasted nine months and which the latter have fought by a systematic exclusion of all rebelling members, was born of the need of the textile workers to keep their emancipation. The persecution and repression which the English government is ruthlessly employing in India demand the attention of the world. They are an indication of the extent of the movement which is rocking the very foundation of British rule in India.

The Indian government could not tolerate such lack of loyalty and respect for the Court of St. James and its police. Hence they have not pleased the union leaders. Not only at that time but before that time the split was necessitated on principle, but that would happen will the full consent of the Communists themselves, who by their acceptance of the union conditions would recognize as their own exclusion and the necessity of a united front which guarantees for the Communist workers a higher standard of living. Everything must be done to create this united front within the existing union and in cooperation with its leadership. Should it become evident, however, that this leadership is not the one which can unite the bulk of the bureaucrats and negotiations with the employers on the back of the workers, then the united front must be restored without the aid of the bureaucrats.

POLITICS

Revolutionary India

by Sadananda Karson.

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

That the Indian people have made up their minds to defy the supremacy of the Court of St. James and its police is evident from the fact that serious disturbances have occurred all over India at the arrival of the Prince of Wales, who is considered as a symbol of imperialism. Though the Indian people gave warm welcome to the Prince, the fact that he is the embodiment of the old order is quite unwelcome, the imperial government decided to demonstrate its strength by sending him amongst a people seething with discontent.

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

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

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

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Whether or not is the offer of the union bureaucrats in accommodation to the pressure of the Court of St. James to be accepted. The question is not on the moment the National Volunteer Corps are preventing the store-keepers from expressing their allegiance to the British Crown, the British militia and police were called out. They began to fire upon the unarmed and defenceless people, and several were wounded and killed. The number of the casualties is not yet known. The Prince, finding India not a safe place to travel, has taken shelter in the territories of the puppet princes who have arranged an abundance of wine and women for his entertainment.
For the last few days, dispatches after dispatches signal the determination of the English government to destroy the hope of the people for freedom and independence.

Hundreds of people have been arrested and many have been thrown into prison. In Lahore, over 800 Sikhs are on trial. They are accused of conspiracy to collect arms and ammunition against the British government. The British workers are already rotting in jail. In Calcutta alone over 500 have been arrested. Even women, Basanti and Miss Sarala, the wife and sister of Chitta and Rajendra Lal, president-elect of the Indian National Congress, have not escaped the wrath of the British government. The Congress leaders, the Khilafat workers and members of the Indian National Congress, have not escaped the wrath of the British government. In other words it has been decided, not only as a matter of political speculation, but also as a plan of action, to recognize the political and administrative rights of the English government and the British government. The various parties are also determined to declare the complete independence of India at the next session of the Indian National Congress to be held at Ahmedabad at the end of December.

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

The vanguards of Revolutionary India are the common workers and peasants who constitute 85% of the huge population. No less than one-fifth of the whole human race. These people are not going to give their lives for abstract theories. They want land, they want bread, they want their rights. A plan of action is therefore adopted with the view that the Indian revolutionaries may know how to use their forces for the inevitable social and economic revolution which is bound up with the political revolution.

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

ECONOMICS

The Crisis in Poland and Unemployment

by L. Domski (Warsaw)

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cotton Mills</th>
<th>Woollen Mills</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April 1920</td>
<td>24,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1, 1921</td>
<td>30,583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1, 1920</td>
<td>35,740</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6,064</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11,271</td>
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<td></td>
<td>14,650</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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The figures refer only to the organized large factories.

All Polish producers gave the assurance that as soon as the Polish mark would rise, real prosperity would set in. And in the former Polish mark rose by leaps and bounds, chiefly because of the Upper Silesian decision. But the effect of this delightful occurrence was most distressing.
According to the report of Darowski, the Polish Minister of Labor, all the Polish industries are suffering a sudden crisis since the 20th of November, 1921. This crisis hit the textile industry first, then the glass industry, and after that the coal mines and other branches of production have also been more or less affected. Even in the coal industry a considerable stagnation has set in. Only recently there was a coal shortage in Poland and it was feared that the mines would cease the production because the ordinary coal supply covers the industrial demand.

According to the incomplete figures of Darowski, there were 1,000,000 unemployed in Poland on the 20th of November; 50% of these were demobilized soldiers. In reality, however, the unemployment is very much more extensive, since in numerous factories the workers are on part-time. So for example, in the organized textile industries (large factories only) the number of hours worked per week amounts to 38.7% as compared with the best post-war years. One may safely assume that the conditions in the smaller industries are still worse.

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

Even in the clothing industry where the buyers effected a decrease in prices, the buyers' strike was only felt by the direct producer. In the wholesale trade it is already less noticeable and in the retail stores the prices have only slightly decreased. As compared with the buying power of the Polish mark. So, for instance, a Warsaw newspaper at the end of November calculates that if we compare the prices according to their value in American dollars, we see that between the end of September and the end of November the prices have risen as follows: 33% for clothing, 150% for butter, 100% for milk.

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

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

The only party which can lead an actual fight of the working-class against this evil is the Communist Party. But the Communist Party is at present prevented from starting direct struggles by the chains of the White Terror, and it is not yet possible to confine itself just now to unmasking the bourgeoisie and social-patriotic sham, and to laying bare the deeper roots of the present evil. The time for positive action by the party will come when it is likely that we will have regained the masses in the struggle. Whether it will then confine itself to temporary demands like the undertaking of public works and supporting of unemployed, and will then seek to mobilize the mass movement for these demands in order to take advantage of this and create a representative body of the unemployed or whether it will proceed to direct action and to the seizure of the factories, will depend upon the tension of the mass-movement at that moment. The ruling classes have practically declared the Communist party the enemy, forcing through the extraordinary measures in the Sejm. The conflict is thus driven to a point where half-action is impossible. The masses will either surrender to superior power or else they will have to act in an unmistakably revolutionary manner.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

The English Communists' Relief Campaign

by W. McAuley (London).

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

In the month of August a great famine campaign was commenced. A "Famine Week" was organized and all the organizational resources of the party were placed at the disposal of the newly created Famine Department. Approximately 200 meetings were held and at these meetings not only was the Famine itself discussed but also the reasons why the Famine had come about, so that the mass of the press that the Famine was the result of Communist rule could be effectively exposed. The information disseminated in the course of this "Famine Week" was of very little value, and from time to time we have been asked to supplement it by additional information on the matter.

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

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

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

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

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

Collection of Jewelry. Recently the party issued an appeal to comrades to follow the example of the Moscow comrades who have sacrificed the little personal jewelry they had to help to swell the relief funds, and to send such items as they possessed to the headquarters of the fund. We could hardly have hoped that they might be sent. We have received an amazing response to this appeal; weddings rings, watches, gold chains, brooches, bracelets, medals, etc. It is significant that even war medals have been sent to be melted down for this purpose.
Steps are now being taken to organise an International Fair in a large hall in one of the large London halls, early in the new year. At this fair goods of all kinds will be sold for the benefit of the fund and it promises to be a great success.

In addition to the direct work done for the fund organised by the party, members in different parts of the country have been able to depend for the party's service on the personal means of letters to the newspapers they have started local discussions, and these have led to the formation of Town Committees under the leadership of the mayor of the town. In such cases, however, the fund has been opened, they are sending the money to us, because we have been able to convince them that we are able to relieve the famine-stricken in the most expedient manner.

Several trade-union journals have opened funds of their own. But no attention is paid to that! The casuists in the trade-unions; the suppression of the labor-press and of all the trade-unions; the outlawing of the workers who are making an appeal.

It is to the working-class that we are making an appeal. We will confine ourselves to a recital of some crimes committed by the police and by the civil guards under the rule of Dato.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The White Terror of Spain. The workers of Spain are calling for help!

The White Terror

The Crimes of the Spanish Reaction.

by H. Arlandis.

Member of the Bureau of the Red Trade Union International.

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

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

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

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

The persecution of the labor movement acquired a new intensity at Barcelona, under the administration of General Martinez Anido. The worst repressive atrocities become an everyday occurrence. The trade-unions, little tolerated until then, were officially outlawed. The action of collecting union-dues became a subject of blackmail. The trade-union delegates were arrested en masse and deported to out of the way places in the Peninsula. In many cases they travelled on foot, under heavy guard. They received 50 cents a day for food (a kilogram of bread costs 80 centimes). At the end of 1920 more than 7,000 workers were deported.

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

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

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

Blood January

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

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

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