

were not following the man himself, but the banner of Italy and of Fiume. To-day they have seen their error. They appreciate that their arbitrary course would in the end be fatal to both Italy and Fiume. But their leader blindly persists in his original path and refuses to see the light that would cause him to retrace his steps. But how has he become so deafened by the clamor of his own passions that he cannot hear the voices of warning that rise on every hand? How can he fail to see that his perverse persistency now imperils the safety of the very city which he would rescue? How can he imagine that he will be able to aid that city by insisting upon the discrepancy between the promises that Wilson made to Italy on the 24th of April, to the effect that the Slavic coast should remain neutral, and the more cautious and equivocal promises that he makes now — as if the world feared that Italy would not be strong enough to forbid any group of its citizens from undertaking private campaigns of conquest, and, therefore, concluded that it was advisable to permit the Slavs to arm and fortify themselves?

Possibly, D'Annunzio may yet see his error and submit to the majesty of law and of destiny. It is not only vain, but it is puerile to defy the will of history, to improvise a despotic government, to rely upon a group of partisans, in the midst of Europe in this twentieth century. No man can achieve that. It is not an unbreakable will that distinguishes heroes. Better the stern resolution of a stoic than the heady obstinacy of the warrior. Loyalty to moral law and resignation to the commands of Fate are more dignified than irrational opposition. If D'Annunzio will wake up from his dream, recover his mental balance, and again be loyal to Italy and to his own

better self, Italy will be loyal to him in turn. The glory of his former achievements will not be dead. No, rather, it will be rendered brighter by his sacrifice.

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## LABOR AND POLITICS IN SPAIN

BY MANUEL DE MONTOLINO-  
BARCELONA

SPAIN faces a serious crisis as a result of the increasing bitterness of the class conflict. Thanks to the untiring efforts of the element friendly to Germany, the country succeeded in maintaining its neutrality throughout the war. It derived great material profit from this situation, an era of unprecedented financial and industrial activity which inspired most alluring hopes for the future. The impoverishment of the progressive nations of Europe suddenly raised Spain to the position of a wealthy power. The capitalist classes were feverishly active and it looked for a period as though a lucky turn in the wheel of fortune might restore their country for a second time in its history, to a leading place in Europe.

All these fair prospects seem about to vanish into thin air. The shock of war has rocked even this neutral country to its profoundest depths. The class conflict which reddens the horizon of Europe with the lurid glare of revolution manifests itself here in violent and dangerous social dissensions. The very wealth with which the war flooded the nation has encouraged the working people to insist upon the immediate introduction of the radical social reforms which their leaders have proclaimed as imminent. Bolshevism has many enthusiastic converts among these leaders and the most radical

communist ideals have won the fanatical support of Spanish labor. The result is that a country which a year ago seemed at the dawn of an era of great economic progress now finds itself on the verge of chaos and anarchy.

The focus of serious social disturbances is, naturally, in the region of greatest business activity, Catalonia, and particularly in Barcelona, its capital. The keenly enterprising spirit which characterizes the population of that province — in contrast with the dreamy contemplation of a glorious past, still typical of many other parts of Spain — has long made the class struggle in that province more bitter, perhaps, than in any other civilized country. The pronounced individualism of the Catalonians adds to the seriousness of the situation. Another influence that makes things worse is the attitude of hostile or unsympathetic reserve which the Madrid Government has exhibited for many years toward this province. The central authorities have good reason to attribute the strength of the Nationalist and Separatist movements in Catalonia to its industrial prosperity, and resent the vigorous efforts its people are making to secure a larger degree of self-government.

Spanish employers, wearied with their profitless struggle against the daily increasing obstacles which the powerful labor organizations having their headquarters in Barcelona placed in the way of the profitable operation of their establishments, decided to form an organization for common protection. With this in view, they founded a Spanish Employers' Union which is controlled by Catalonians, but has important branches throughout the peninsula. One of its first undertakings was to call a congress of employers which was held in Barcelona in October and attended by represen-

tatives from every part of Spain. The result of this Congress was the adoption of a very important decision — to proclaim a general lockout covering the whole country, but starting at Barcelona, then extending to Catalonia and thence to the whole Peninsula. This lockout was to continue until the employers had won their demands.

What was the occasion for so radical a decision? We cannot answer this question without a previous word as to recent political events.

Since last July, the Sanchez de Toca cabinet has been in power. Politically, it ranks as conservative, for its principal members are survivors of the Maura cabinet, which was obliged to resign because of the uncompromising opposition of the radicals. This de Toca cabinet was an outcome of the conspiracy which actually originated among the radicals. Since it has not a majority in Parliament, its life depends upon the grace of the latter. But this is not the only inconsistency in the political situation. In order to win the support of the Liberals, Democrats, Republicans, and Socialists, de Toca has from the beginning adopted a programme more radical than the Catalonian syndicalists ever dreamed of seeing under a monarchy. The latter are not only tolerated but are encouraged and favored. In fact, under the present administration, an unquestionably illegal syndicalist society in Barcelona has been able to conduct an active anarchist agitation, to hamper production and to employ the most reprehensible and violent methods to cripple the operations and to undermine the authority of employers. So the latter became intensely bitter against this ostensibly conservative cabinet on account of the boundless demands of the syndicalists, and decided to take extreme measures which the critical situation demanded. This

is, in few words, the reason for the lockout inaugurated by the Spanish Employers' Union.

The lockout started in November and was promptly put into effect by every industrial establishment in Barcelona. At the beginning of the second week it extended to the Catalanian textile mills, which represent the most important industry of the province. Immediately, negotiations were started which led to an agreement satisfactory to both sides, involving an increase of wages. Barcelona was delighted with the settlement and hoped that the labor agitation might now be directed into lawful channels. This confidence was strengthened by a Royal Decree, issued by the government the same day, giving legal force to agreements entered into by mixed committees of employers and employees, and making both these parties liable under the law for violating such agreements.

But this joy was short-lived. As soon as the lockout ceased the representatives of the workmen withdrew from the committee, claiming that the agreement had been violated by the employers, and broke off all relations with the latter. Some factories and shops continued in operation but there was great unrest and a feeling of dissatisfaction on both sides. Many employers are facing the necessity of closing their establishments, or of removing them to some other part of the country. Meantime, the syndicalist leaders are quietly planning a new offensive. During the interval, Barcelona, the populous metropolis of the Mediterranean, is torn by endless dissensions and watches all its hope of a brilliant industrial future vanish. Vigorous Catalanian manufacturers, who were prepared to utilize to the utmost the present unprecedented opportunity to acquire vast and rich markets, see themselves con-

fronted with ruin and all their promising projects brought to naught.

Who is responsible? Quite apart from the conditions which are making the labor problem serious in every part of the world, we are forced to recognize that in Spain we face additional difficulties due to a lamentable lack of popular education and discipline. The responsibility for this comes home to the employers themselves. Their way of meeting labor problems harks back to the eighteenth — we might even say to the seventeenth — century. At the same time, the working people are living in an unreal world of communist dreams. Last of all, the government itself is nothing more than a reflection of the intellectual confusion and anarchy that characterize the rest of the nation. It is incapable of wise social legislation that might check the unrest that threatens to get beyond control.

[*Il Progrésso di Bologna, December 2, 1919*]

## ITALY AND GERMANY

BY LUIGI GUGLIELMENOTTI

FRANCE, or at least the official representatives of that country, apparently, are doing their utmost to produce a moral collapse in Germany. The attitude which the French Government has taken in the question of the blockade and of the war prisoners, and the constant succession of irritating and unnecessarily provocative notes which it has issued, are calculated to nurse international hatred and to prevent Germany's moral recovery. Such a system might be justifiable during the war, but it has now become both harmful and absurd.

America is at present giving the most positive assistance toward the economic recovery of Germany. It is the only nation in a position to provide