POLITICS

The Tactics of the Communist International

By G. Zinoviev.

The decisions of the Third World Congress of the Communist International are being interpreted in every possible way. Not only opponents but even certain of our friends have still to understand the significance of the Third Congress. And yet all Communists must clearly comprehend the role and significance of the Third Congress and its position in the fight for the emancipation of the working class in order to be able to intelligently take part in the present struggle.

The importance of the work of the Third Congress lies in the fact that the Communist International has adapted its tactics to a new situation. The Communist International follows the same general path as before. But it must take into account new obstacles; where it is necessary, it slackens its pace, avoids the abysses, to-day retreats in order to better organize the attack for the morrow, holds back the advance guard where the main body of the army is too far to the rear.

The organization impulse has, in the two years of the existence of the Communist International, without any doubt grown enormously. There is no doubt that the communist parties in 1921 represent a greater organized force than in 1919. But the masses' impulse of spontaneity in the struggle, the unconquerable, elemental impetus of exaltation has become weaker in these two years. The enemy has grown stronger during this period; the bourgeoisie has consolidated its forces, has organized.

It has recovered from its disintegration of the after-the-war period, has regrouped its forces and again faces us as a serious, in certain places, threatening opponent. The social-democrats, supporters of the Second and the 2½ Internationals, have, during 1919-1921, done all in their power to make possible the bourgeoisie's consolidation. In the period when the bourgeois was helpless, during the months when the capitalist leaders were trembling in every limber, when the bourgeois parties were swaying like reeds, in the words of Lenin, everything was dependent on the subjective factor, on the degree of the working-class' preparedness, on the revolutionary will and decision of its parties and trade-unions. In these decisive moments the social-democrats of the Second and 2½ Internationals threw all their weight into the scale-pan of the bourgeoisie. On account of that we will only be able to attain that which we could have won in 1919 with a single blow, by the expenditure of enormous efforts. On account of that the Third Congress of the Communist International had to adapt its tactics to the new conditions.

No step must be taken at the present time which permits the enemy to exercise his influence upon the working masses! Capitalism is ruling today with the assistance of the yellow trade-unions, with the assistance of Amsterdam and of the Second and 2½ Internationals. For that reason, if for no other, the trade-unions must be conquered and freed from the influence of the "yellows". The quicker the intensification of the general revolutionary crisis, the easier will it be for us to pass to the final decisive conflict.

The new tactics of the Communist International are characterized by the following:

To the masses... down into the depths of the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses. Participation in the minor daily struggles, even if carried on for the most insignificant improvement of the standard of living. Participation in all workers' organizations from the workers' councils to the athletic clubs and musical societies. Persevering propaganda for the ideas of the dictatorship of the proletariat in all these organizations. Conquest of the majority of the working-class for Communism. Systematic, determined, and persistent preparation of the working masses for the coming struggles. Careful work in the creation of illegal organizations. Patient, indomitable work for the arming of the workers. The establishment of strong, independent communist parties, purified of opportunists, centrists and semi-centrists. Above all... Conquest of the trade-unions.

The Third Congress, in its further development of the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International wanted to say this and only this. The Third Congress was able to draw the necessary practical conclusions from the changed situation and it adapted the tactics of the communists to the new conditions. It was able to call and prepare the parties for positive work corresponding to the altered circumstances. That was its great significance.

Before the Congress, the labor movement of the whole world was in a very difficult and complicated position. The communists must always clearly give themselves account of the complications in a given situation in order to find news methods of contact with the masses. Instead of doing this the impatient "left" is acting in such a manner that they threaten the entire built-up organization party apparatus, without through their activities drawing the masses to them. On the contrary, through this procedure the danger arises that the masses may eventually be driven into the camp of the social-patriots and centrists.

The Third Congress of the Communist International was unconditionally bound to correct these errors and, in so much as it was unavoidable, to fight the "left" tendency determinedly. A number of comrades, among them the leaders of the VKPD (German United Communist Party), have, no doubt, made only one mistake: they falsely estimated the situation. In so far as the do not persist in their error and openly give up the false "Theory of the Offensive" (and we have all the reason in the world to maintain that a rather important number of the German comrades have really disavowed this error), the matter can be considered as settled and it only remains for the Communist International to turn to account and draw the lessons from these mistakes. But as long as there are comrades and groups of comrades in Germany (the group of comrades Maslow) and probably in other countries who raise the committed errors to the level of a theory and make of it a pearl of creation, who persist in this "leftism", the Communist International will be constrained to carry on the most determined struggle against this tendency, which is very analogous to Russian opportunism. In general the international working-class is without doubt at present experiencing a pause between two revolutionary waves. The elemental mass uprising, which began at the end of the imperialist war and shook Europe for two years, has the present time here and there come to a standstill. At all events, it has taken on new forms. In a number of countries the bourgeoisie has gone over to the offensive against the workers. Bourgeois reaction at its worst is now raging. Fascism, the Organized and similar White Guard bourgeois organizations will, of course, not save capitalism from destruction, but the necessary antecedents for the formation and flourishing of these organizations were not present previously and have only now arisen, when the strengthened bourgeoisie has put us here and there on the offensive.
Of course, this does not mean that the revolution is over, as Hilferding and Co. think; it does not mean that 1910-1920 was the highest point of the revolutionary movement and that we now face a period of quiet, in which the workers must employ the moderate trade-union, or what amounts to the same thing, social democratic, tactics. Rather, the international socialist movement, through the Bolsheviki in Russia, now found itself in a position to launch a new revolution, a revolution which, it is true, faced and was victorious against the so-called "left". When comrades Höglund (in the "Politisken Nyheter", No. 149) writes that the Executive of the Russian Communist Party represented a "moderate" tendency at the Third Congress, that the main thought of this tendency is, in short, that the world revolution will be a long-lasting period of costs and struggles and that our tactics, because of this, will have to be adapted to a rather long period and must not be based on the expectation of a situation in the immediate "future", he mingles the correct with the incorrect. Even before the victory of the bourgeois Revolution the communists knew that the world revolution will be a long-lasting period of revolutionary struggles; the Zimmerwald Left had already said that in 1915. As far as this is concerned, we do not need to accommodate ourselves all over again to a longer period. The estimate of this period's length can remain as before.

The comparison is not a splitting of hairs. The air is filled with the germs of Otsioism. The Neo-Otsiovism had to arise in such a difficult, painful period as that which the international labour movement is now passing through. Only when the most advanced section of the communists will be in a position to draw conclusions from the experience of the period 1920-1922 and after, will we, as it were, be able to reduce the overhead costs and diminish the internal conflict in the Communist International.

This, and only this, is what the Third Congress of the Commu-
nists demanded in the name of the "left" tendency against the so-called "left". When comrades Höglund (in the "Politisken Nyheter", No. 149) writes that the Executive of the Russian Communist Party represented a "moderate" tendency at the Third Congress, that the main thought of this tendency is, in short, that the world revolution will be a long-lasting period of costs and struggles and that our tactics, because of this, will have to be adapted to a rather long period and must not be based on the expectation of a situation in the immediate "future", he mingles the correct with the incorrect. Even before the victory of the bourgeois Revolution the communists knew that the world revolution will be a long-lasting period of revolutionary struggles; the Zimmerwald Left had already said that in 1915. As far as this is concerned, we do not need to accommodate ourselves all over again to a longer period. The estimate of this period's length can remain as before.

The The Italian Socialist Congress. by U. Terracini.

The predictions with the Italian Communists had made concerning the results of the Milan Congress, came true with admirable precision: no expulsion, no split, an enormous majority for the "left" tendency, a complete the official victory for the called "left" trend. The Italian Social-

Democratic Youth, born blind, carefully avoid even the words "class-struggle" in the draft of their new program. They fear the class-struggle as the devil the sign of the cross. The are firmly convinced that the bourgeoisie has completely overcome all the difficulties of the after-the-war period, and that the bour-
gee bourgeoisie is growing stronger by the day with the new economic and social problems. The Bolsheviki in Russia, he more or "reformed" and "Democratic". The German Independent Social-Democracy and the entire 2% International, inspired by it, proceeds from the same standpoint. When Crispin at the Congress of Milan denounced the "left" tendency, as one of the factors in its development, the Third Congress of the Communist International came to the unshaken conclusion that the bolsheviki were fighting the left tendency, but we did not forget for a moment that the tasks set by the revolution of 1905 were not yet liquidated, that new combustible material was accumulating, and that the moment was approaching for a new revolution, which would be much more powerful than that of 1905.

We now see the same process on an international scale. The German Social-Democracy has issued the draft of a new program which in many ways reminds one of the attitude of the Russian Menshe-

The problem on an international scale was stated in this manner by the Third Congress of the Communist International: "Anyone who says that something has been accomplished by the bolsheviki of the new revolution ceases to be a communist. He goes over to the camp of the Second or 2% International. He is no longer our comrade. In this sense the struggle against the right still remains. But the main condition for the victorious proletarian revolution into a manner of speech, we must carry on the same battle of ideas against the "left" tendency that the Bolsheviki in their time carried on against the Otsiovists."

The International Press-Correspondence No. 4

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The Fight against Communism in Poland.

By L. Georges (Warsaw).

The recent election-results of the Polish Communist party, and the numerous workers' demonstrations which led to an overwhelming victory of the Communist speakers over the Socialist members of parliament, were such a surprise to the Polish bourgeoisie, that the entire yellow press suddenly raised a cry for external help and extradition of the Communist leaders. In the end, the delegate of the Third International, Valetzki, against whom the same scandal was brought into play as against Kalschicff in Livorno.\r

The Third International, which was elected president of the 2½ International, on the other hand, was a guest of honor, received with enthusiasm and regarded with admiration, except by a small radical group. The Maximilans, Centrists and Reformists came unanimously to his defense.

At the end of six long sessions, after the voting over the various resolutions had taken place, and with the other questions that came before it still hanging fire, the Milan Congress adjourned; a Maximalian victory and withdrawal from the Third International.

These two results are absolutely contradictory to each other. The Maximilian movement had obtained its greatest influence in the congress, and could bring it to bear against the standard-bearers of the Third International, and because it represented the latter's Theses and Resolutions.

The break with Moscow thus discloses the deception of revolutionary groups which were to hide Reformist reality.

The Maximilian victory was also connected with the fact that the counter-revolutionary activities of the Italian Socialist Party will be continued behind a barrage of demagogy and intransigence; that open collaboration with the bourgeoisie and capital will be guaranteed in a new constitution for the old Maximilian party, as was the case before. besides, the reformists, in their resolution, had not asked for an immediate forming of a cabinet in which Socialists would be represented. Scenting such a possibility in the near future, the congresses of the Centro-revolutionary Congress, which will be held in April, will form a joint front against the Socialists, and will represent themselves as the majority of the party, which is in control of the party.

On the last day of the Congress, the 2½ International was formed, of which the Maximilans were the majority, and the congress adjourned, as was expected, without a final decision on the question of a new constitution, and the election of the new board of the Third International, and because it represented the latter's Theses and Resolutions.

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world shipping-crisis in which the world-crisis in general is most clearly reflected. This table gives information concerning the weekly freight-rates for corn, meat and fat-products, cotton-seed and wheat flour shipped from Atlantic ports of the United States to ports of Great Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, the Scandinavian countries and ports of the Mediterranean. It shows how the shipping of freight appears to take the following course.

From Atlantic Ports to the United States:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Great Britain</th>
<th>France</th>
<th>Netherlands</th>
<th>Belgium</th>
<th>Scandinavia</th>
<th>Mediterranean</th>
<th>Europe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>90.2</td>
<td>87.2</td>
<td>78.9</td>
<td>82.7</td>
<td>72.3</td>
<td>83.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>86.0</td>
<td>85.6</td>
<td>82.1</td>
<td>82.0</td>
<td>75.3</td>
<td>86.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>94.9</td>
<td>68.9</td>
<td>70.9</td>
<td>75.3</td>
<td>69.6</td>
<td>75.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Except for a few fluctuations partly caused by the English miner's strike, the freight-rates have fallen steadily. It appears that the set-back to the beginning of the second quarter of 1921 was followed by more set-backs in the third quarter. The London shipping houses, the Hamburg "Industrie- und Handelszeitung" for September 26 gives the information that the world freight-market is as depressed as ever and that the supply of ship-space exceeds the demand. In the case of the passenger traffic the expectation is that in view of the depressed commercial situation the English shipping-firms had decided to lower the rates on freight bound for South America, by 10 shillings a ton for ordinary freights, and 15 shillings a ton for valuable freights.

The causes of this crisis are on the one hand the general world economic crisis—the dullness of the market and the lessening of production which naturally lessens world-traffic. On the other hand, added to the weakness of the first cause and to the intensity of the world-crisis, is the development and the impetus given by the War to the German merchant shipping. The United States stepped into the place left vacant by the destruction of the German fleet during the War. The German fleet was larger than America's superior economic, political, and finally military position, has, as a result of the increasingly violent governmental demand for cargo-space, directed the capitalist productive forces of the United States towards shipbuilding, and has made it the greatest shipbuilding country in the world. From 1917 to 1920 the United States has built no less than 10,500,000 tons of ships. The following summary gives information concerning the size of the merchant-fleets of the most important sea-powers, in 1914, 1920 and 1921:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Great Britain</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Japan</th>
<th>France</th>
<th>Germany</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>18,802,089</td>
<td>12,908,900</td>
<td>1,785,868</td>
<td>1,922,286</td>
<td>5,135,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>18,111,000</td>
<td>12,400,000</td>
<td>2,099,004</td>
<td>2,063,000</td>
<td>4,190,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>19,320,054</td>
<td>13,411,042</td>
<td>3,534,960</td>
<td>3,298,792</td>
<td>6,544,077</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The position of Germany which has dropped from second to thirteenth place, has been taken by the United States, whose share of the world's merchant marine is 23% instead of 4% as before the War. As a result of the growth of the American merchant marine in this connection it should be remembered, that unlike the United States which is hindered by the high exchange value of the dollar, England builds in considerable degree for other countries, as for instance, in the second quarter of 1920, 207 ships with a tonnage of 978,752. In Germany the world shipping-crisis has assumed one of these general phenomena in a minor form, demonstrating thereby the queer influence which the world-crisis has had in Germany on its own ruin, to become serious competitor in the world freight market, which is in the grip of a crisis.

With the Treaty of Versailles the German merchant-fleet ceased to exist—all big ships over 1000 tons had to be surrendered. The 303,000,000 tons of shipping of Germany only 100,000 tons are suitable for the oceangoing trade.

Shipping traffic in German ports rose with the end of the blockade; in the port of Hamburg the amount of traffic has nearly attained the pre-war level. But German ships are much less in evidence than they had been before the War.

The two biggest shipping-firms—the Hamburg-American Line and the North-German Lloyd—have changed from independent ship-companies into dependencies and agents of the great American shipping-trusts. The Hamburg-American Line has been controlled by the Harriman Trust and the North-German Lloyd by the high exchange value of the dollar, England builds in agreement with her own government for more ships with a total tonnage of 717,644. In England, however, though the increase has also been insignificant, the building has nevertheless grown, from 657 ships, with a tonnage of 2,200,000 to 789 ships with a tonnage of 3,500,000. In this connection it should be remembered, however, that unlike the United States which is hindered by the high exchange value of the dollar, which with the world-crisis in general is the ruin, the destruction of capital so clearly seen as in the German shipping-industry. But nowhere else can one so clearly observe the ability of German capital to profit from its unique conditions of existence of German capital. Nowhere is the ruind, the destruction of capital so clearly seen as in the German shipping-industry. But nowhere else can one so clearly observe the ability of German capital to profit from its unique conditions of existence of German capital.

The decrease in freight, which very often is so great that the service is given for nothing, is the immediate result of the development and the impetus given by the War to the German merchant shipping.
The Aims of Recruiting-Week.

by Fritz Hecken.

With the motto “Go to the Masses”, the Communist International summons all its members to agitate during the week of November 3rd – 10th among the great masses of the urban and rural proletariat, as yet unresponsive to Communism, and to take the struggle for freedom for the proletariat. The Communist International is undertaking for the first time a general mobilization throughout the world, wherever proletarians are groaning under the heel of the oppressor. The workers are becoming more and more conscious of this. But the bourgeoisie uses every means to strike them down, and to prevent them from gathering in demonstrations, the workers in many countries are bought by the capitalist, an unemployed, a staggering rise in the cost of living and in the burdens of the worker. The capitalist is trying to throw the burden of these measures of the bourgeoisie, but in many countries they alone have made them possible. During our Recruiting-Week we must demonstrate to the workers that the struggle for freedom is the greatest social aim promised to them in the large capitalist countries in return for their participation in the World-War adventure. The policy of the capitalist class has resulted in an overwhelming wave of unemployment, a staggering rise in the cost of living and an impoverishing of the worker’s existence. If the workers try to resist, if they try to organize in self-defense, if they attempt to use the strike as a weapon, if they gather in demonstrations, the capitalist uses every means to strike them down, and calls this assassination “Projection of Rights” and “Establishment of Order”. Influential labour-leaders have not only supported these measures of the bourgeoisie, but in many countries they alone have made them possible. During our Recruiting-Week we must demonstrate to the workers that the capitalist class has brought untold suffering to the workers in a manner favourable to his own interests. The capitalist strives to demoralize and to destroy the workers’ organizations, especially the labor-unions. With a subtle system of swindle and lies capitalism tries to eliminate these organizations from the struggle against it. When it does not succeed in this, it tries to destroy them by means of force. Labor-leaders are bought by the capitalist, an army of spies is subdued among the ranks of the labor-classe. The workers alone are the true friends of the men or groups of workers it is sought to split up the working masses. Those who are working are incited against the unemployed and vice versa. All these things can serve well in the hands of the capitalists, but they are very harmful to the workers who do not understand the relation between these things. The picture of the workers’ situation, helpless; they feel as if they are astray in a primeval forest. Their perception is often warped by the organizations on whose protection they depend. This does not necessarily happen because of the naivety of the leaders of these organizations. It takes place naturally because most of the unions do not grasp the situation or because they are frightened by the enormity of the task. Our agitators must bear this situation in mind. They must therefore not try to blame these deficiencies in their organization. The majority of our class-comrades do not show themselves to judge the value of their arguments against the workers and their leaders. They must use more effective means. The struggle for the aim of unity can only happen because of the naivety of the leaders of the organizations. The faith of the workingmen on the justice of communism will not be strengthened through the shipment of their troubles and distrust toward the Communist Party. In the most insignificant organizations we must use more effective means. They urge the workers to unite, to show themselves actively in their need, in our readiness to fight at the head of the workers even in the most insignificant struggles against daily suffering.

The Recruiting-Week must also give us a better conception of the psychology of the workers. We must learn the ways they react to the troubles. We must learn what will happen if we try to label the value of their arguments against our doctrines and our tactics. We must learn to find the cardinal point in the workingman’s soul, and in his understanding, in order to rise him from his lethargy and to turn him from an unfeeling follower of our revolution into an active, energetic element in the proletarian class-struggle.

The results of our Recruiting-Week need not show themselves in an immediate increase in the party-membership or of subscribers of our periodicals. They must show themselves in the spirit which animates the workers in their struggles, and their reaction toward the Communist watch-words and to the direction of the struggle by our party. This will prove that our Party has not worked well. That will prove that the work of the Party is not yet an active, energetic element in the proletariat. The difficulties in the organization which will be noted during the Recruiting-Week or when the results are measured, must be removed.

Every member of the Party has not only the opportunity but also the duty to recruit. Recruiting Week is the time of the full capacity of the title of Communist. Everyone must help according to his ability, and everyone can help in the great work. In the Recruiting-Week not only our own Party but the members of other workers’ parties can see whether we are truly the only in revolution or in true purposeful work. Whoever impairs the success of Recruiting-Week through idleness or bad propaganda harms this work not only immediately but permanently, because a failure of Recruiting-Week will be a triumph.
to our opponents and will make our approach to the masses more difficult in the future. The aim of our Recruiting-Week is limited. We must not only to attain this goal but to surpass it. Every man to his post.

Enter the Communist Party!

By Willhelm Fisch.

The cleansing of its membership which the Russian Communist Party has undertaken makes it appear as if Levi and his followers were right when they charged that the Communist International demanded "purification on the lines of a small but unblemished party, a sect, that is, the building of a pure party.

And an article by comrade Lenin in "Pravda" on the cleansing of the party, which was reprinted in the German paper, can easily be used to support this statement, when the difference between the Russian Communist Party and the communist parties of other countries is not pointed out.

The Russian Communist Party has become a government party and it is therefore only too natural that a large number of persons have coveted to enter its ranks who thought that they could thereby create "careers" or obtain other advantages as Soviet officials. The most important question regarding the membership of the Russian Communist Party is now undertaking a cleansing of its ranks, it does so conscious of the fact that, in spite of the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class-struggle in Russia has not yet been decided, and that therefore the advance-guard of the revolution, the Russian Communist Party, must be at all times filled with the persecuted elements should obtain the upper hand in the party, and its fighting strength against all internal and foreign enemies does not mean a weakening, but rather a strengthening of the proletarian dictatorship.

When the communist parties increase their membership, they will have members in every factory, in every workers' organization, in every village and city borough, who will have to ensure that the opening of new offices for the political and economic struggle will in a short while become excellent fields of activity for the workers, and that the influence of the party in the masses. That is urgently necessary, because the intensification of the political and economic crisis is driving the working-class to struggles in which the communist party must have the leadership.

The international Communist Recruiting Week must be of the greatest importance to the participation of party members and subscribers to the party press. The slogan, "Approach to the masses" also means "Into the Communist Party". It means the party's taking root in the great working masses. Only through the Communist Party will the proletariat be able to vanquish the bourgeoisie.

HELP FOR RUSSIA

Famine and Counter-Revolution

by Boris Souvarine, Secretary of the Communist International.

The famine, which burdens the Russian people with overwhelming privations and suffering, has revived the oft-frustrated hopes of the Russian and international counter-revolutionists, and has stimulated their secret and open activity against the power of the Soviets. There is nothing astonishing in that. It was inevitable, that in the struggle to the death, carried on by the reactionary world-coalition against the Russian revolution, the reaction should use all arms, and especially the two that so loudly proclaimed the horrors of the situation. Czarism, in 1891, left thousands of victims in the whole international press. The slogan, "With the masses" also means "Into the Communist Party". It means the party's taking root in the great working masses. Only through the Communist Party will the proletariat be able to vanquish the bourgeoisie.

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The enemies of the Soviet regime have not understood the meaning or the import of this method of the Russian communists, of this method which without reserve lays bare the wounds from which the Russian people bleeds, in order to strike the most effectual blows aimed against it by the counter-revolutionists of the interior and exterior.

The Peoples Commissary for Public Health, Semashko, in an article in "Pravda" reprinted by the whole international communist press, has set off the contrast between the respective methods employed by the two Russian regimes which had to face great catastrophic famines. Czarism, in 1891, left the famine-stricken to perish, ringing them around in a zone of silence, censoring their despairing appeals and paralyzing all initiatives for help. Lenin, in 1917, put forth its greatest efforts in aid for the famished, by giving the maximum of publicity to exact information on the drought and all its consequences, by calling forth, through its frank exposure of the truth, efforts for relief corresponding to the immense needs of the victims, and finally by turning the activity of all its institutions toward relief work.

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masses. They have thought, “The Bolsheviki confess, therefore they are lost”, forgetting that the Bolsheviki, during the four years of war, both as a military and political power, have never stopped “confessing”, that is, to say, looking facts in the face, nor have ever deceived themselves as to the obstacles which encumber their road, and have never dissimulated the difficulties of their task. They believed that the change of tactics was about to make, like and their conspirative, terroristic and bellicose zeal set to work with redoubled fury.

But events have shown once more what extent they have wrongly estimated the true situation, underestimated the vitality of the Soviet regime, and overestimated their own capacity for intervention. The former Pan-Russian Committee and the Soviet regime, overestimated dissimulated the difficulties of their task. They believed that intervention. The Russian People terroristic and bellicose zeal set to work with redoubled fury.

Russia’s Whites are vigorously opposed to it during four years, has proposed peace, by the People’s Commissaries has provoked in the reactionary government its preparations for a siege. The Soviet government, in the course of the wars which have been imposed upon it during four years, has proposed peace, its enemies have interpreted that as a sign of distress instead of the expression of a healthy confidence in the unavoidable flowers of the future, the squandering of human forces and material wealth, and to utilise, instead, Russia’s capacities for work, in creative and productive activity. In this manner, through this peace which is so urgently pressed, every peace proposal issued by the People’s Commissaries has been repudiad in the reactionary press, a recrudescence of the passion for war. In the same way the appeals to the civilized world for aid to the famished, have awakened the longings for armed intervention, which for some months had been dormant. The counter-revolution, hoping to introduce, under the banner of the Red Cross, a host of spies and of allied officials, of all kinds into the beleaguered nation, made its preparations for a siege. It has made them in vain.

The Soviet government keeps watch; the Red Army keeps watch; the Tche-Ka keeps watch. The inquiry commissions proposed by bourgeois, governmental philanthropy, that is to say, the commissions of espionage and sabotage, have been turned down with disgust. The conspiracies and machinations of the Whites (bitterly suppressed. The provocative seditions of the Poles and of other petty-slaves, calmly answered, the Soviet Power remains intact, is rather strengthened than lessened by the new misfortunes which have overtaken Russia. The counter-revolution ought to change its tone.

In particular, the dissolution of the Pan-Russian Commission for Aid to the Famine-Stricken is of a kind to make the Whites react. It is a sign of their illusion and the extent of their error. Because the communist government is always ready and even to encourage the collaboration of the conquered bourgeois in work useful to the commonwealth, because it has tried the Communist organization, bourgeois intelligence and culture in social service devoid of any political or sectarian interests, Bolshevism, in their incurable blindness, have seen in its action a first step towards abdication! The Pan-Russian Committee seemed to them the real de facto government in Russia — the Official Power of to-morrow. The newspapers and different agenccies of the Russian counter-revolutionary parties at Paris, Berlin, London, Riga, Helsingfors and elsewhere have spread over Europe the legend of false news, of absurdities, of information sprung from the pure imagination of their slaves of the pen and possessing nothing in common with reality. The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois press of all countries has echoed these fantasies.

"Are they going towards a reconciliation of all parties?" wrote M. André Prieur, ‘specialist’ in Russian affairs in the "Populaire" (what would he have written if he were not a "specialist")?, thus already forecasting the "reconciliation" of exploiters and exploitated, that is to say the submission of the latter to the former. The situation of the former Pan-Russian Committee had already seen "THE DAY WHEN THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE WOULD CHASE FROM THE KREMLIN" the present leaders.

In the "Petit Parisien" Madame Louise Weiss presented Kichin’s speech at Moscow as having sounded like the words uttered under two other circumstances, on the eve of the Czar and of Kerensky’s regime. Thus, we quote only the columns retaining an appearance of seriousness, neglecting the buffooneries of the most carraged counter-revolutionaries. One move of the "phantom of a government" has sufficed to render the Pan-Russian Commission merely a memory and to annihilate all the hopes of the counter-revolutionaries.

The lesson has not discouraged the liars, who have overreached themselves in order to turn to account the dissolution of the Pan-Russian Committee. They attribute to Lenin and Trotzky the responsibility for the situation which they had already foreseen the imminent disaster, that of Heaven or that of men; but the latter is like this to account. Thus, M. André Prieur, already quoted, has announced in an indignant tone, rather thinly disguised, the threatening execution of Kichin, Prokopovich and Kouskova, knowing well that they have reaped what they sowed waiting their appearance before a revolutionary tribunal, which is besides rather lenient. The dirt of the Whites’ sheets have decreed in reprisal the condemning to death of twenty millions of "criminals'" human beings. These are but manifestations of powerlesse rage. The gentlemen of the counter-revolution will have to reconcile themselves to this idea... that the Soviet Republic is alive and unconquered and that it will celebrate in the near future its fourth anniversary.

Moscow, October 2nd.

[Section: IN THE CAMP OF THE ENEMY]

"Fascism" by E. Gennari,

A word or two on the development, the causes and the structure of "Fascism" in Italy.

The war, which the military situation was unfavorable to Italy, and when the growing economic difficulties gave the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat new strength, Fascism sprang up from all the reactionary and democratic forces, in coalition with the renegades from Socialism and Syndicalism which had passed over to counter-interventionism and even to the camp of the revolutionary movement.

At first "Fascismo" limited itself to parliamentary action and its principal field of activity was at Rome. It was responsible however for some acts of violence against men who had remained faithful to the internationalist ideal. But the principal activity of "Fascismo" consisted in pushing the government to suppression of the revolutionary movement.

After the War, when the bourgeois, on the verge of bankruptcy, saw itself menaced by the spirit of revolt of the proletariat masses, which had abandoned their former allies, the liberal party of Bavaria, saw that their only safety lay in the revolution, the revolution, the petty-bourgeois youth (that is to say, the "déclassé" of the War, who feared demobilization and the resulting unemployment), the "Fascists" who have the same characteristics and the same tasks as the Fascist of to-day formed the nucleus of bourgeois resistance.

THE ORGANISATION OF "ARDITI"—The Arditis—during the War the shock-troops—was composed partly of demobilized soldiers. The task of this organization was that of driving the counter-revolutionary elements at labor-democratic, or even at work useful to the commonwealth, because it has tried the Communist organization, bourgeois intelligence and culture in social service devoid of any political or sectarian interests, Bolshevism, in their incurable blindness, have seen in its action a first step towards abdication! The Pan-Russian Committee seemed to them the real de facto government in Russia — the Official Power of to-morrow. The newspapers and different agencies of the Russian counter-revolutionary parties at Paris, Berlin, London, Riga, Helsingfors and elsewhere have spread over Europe the legend of false news, of absurdities, of information sprung from the pure imagination of their slaves of the pen and possessing nothing in common with reality. The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois press of all countries has echoed these fantasies.

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The cradle of Fascism was at Triest and Bologna. This is enough to explain its origin and its purposes. Fascism is the "Arditiism" of the agricultural workers, the "Arditiism" of the war, under military occupation, and therefore under the absolute control of militarism and of irregular bands which followed d'Anunzio in his Fiume adventure.

Fascism is one of the important agrarian centers, where after decades of struggle the agricultural workers have, especially in 1919, won a complete victory over the landed proprietors who were forced to accept claims implying a limitation of the right of property. Face to face with this gravity altercations in the fear of threatening and more serious defeats, perhaps even of expropriation, the proprietors made ready for war, and organized all their forces for defense and attack.

Thus Fascism, in Italy, apart from its international white Guerretpet and from its origin - Arditiism - is the direct product of the bands of big industry; it carries the military and agrarian stamp. And mention must also be made of the great strength which the commercial petty-bourgeoisie brings it.

Italian Fascism found a favorable environment. In the first place it was the expression of the international bourgeois reaction which was raising its head everywhere, but mainly in Hungary, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. It is not unworthy of belief that Fascism in Italy was instigated and supported by the allied Powers themselves who were organizing capitalist reaction in all Europe.

Fascism was also aided by the weakness of the proletariat after revolutionary efforts — above all after the occupation of the factories in Italy. The Alcázarias, political party capable of leading the revolution — in a word by all the errors and weaknesses which at the very beginning set up an insufficient resistance to Fascism, and in this way allowed it to develop and to spread.

The worker's organizations which at that moment should have directed the action of the proletarian class, failed to do so. The young Communist Party and the revolutionary proletarians did not lay down their arms, however.

For the last ten months in Italy the Fascisti (supported by the police and the army) have been fighting every day against the workers. The former, well equipped, armed with guns and bombs, possessing many motor trucks, can quickly concentrate their forces at all parts of Italy and attack cities and villages according to all the rules of military warfare; the latter are poorly armed. The former march in military formation or protected by the police; and if they are repelled, the government forces intervene provided with armored motor cars and even with cannon. The workers are disarmed and imprisoned by thousands.

The actions of the Fascisti are now known to all. They destroy Communist and Socialist locals, printing the old Socialist and Syndicalist newspapers, and even the homes of revolutionary workers. They are exploiting the natives to the bone, they are murdering them and at the same time by the proclamation of martial law are repressing the heroic struggle of the workers with the most brutal methods of the White Terror and military dictatorship. They are assassinating and throwing into jail together with the natives the elite of the revolutionary workers, and chaining the proletarian press and the economic organizations of the workers.

The defeat which king Alphonso's stupid generals have suffered in the Moroccan colonial war and the attacks of the brutal and inhuman patrols, capitanists and military camarilla, close your ranks shoulder to shoulder for the coming decisive struggles.

Workers of Spain!

We are convinced that the Spanish proletariat is not letting the bloody reaction rule and reign unpunished or the war calmly continue. The heroic strike in Bilbao has shown that the proletarian masses are ready for the conflict and that they possess all the force necessary for the overthrow of the rule of militarism. The revolutionary proletariat of Europe is proud of its communist and syndicalist comrades in Spain who are closely united in the struggle.

The old Socialist party and the clique of leaders of the General Federation of Labor are still defending by the proclamation of martial law the attacks of the brutal and inhuman patrols, capitanists and military camarilla, close your ranks shoulder to shoulder for the coming decisive struggles.

Comrades! The situation is the same all over the world. The sooner the working-class is united, the more compact its national and international organization is, the sooner will it be able to establish the dictatorship. Join the unions affiliated with the Red Trade-Union International! Work together with the Communist Party! Then will the powers that now are sending you to the African shambles be destroyed through the triumph of the proletarian revolution. The attacks of the brutal and inhuman patrols, capitanists and military camarilla, close your ranks shoulder to shoulder for the coming decisive struggles.

Down with the war of rapine against the Moroccans! Long live the Communist International! Long live the revolutionary unity of the Spanish proletariat! Down with the White Terror! Long live the Social Revolution!

The Executive of the Communist International.

Moscow, October 19th, 1921.

Against the old "Arditiism", changed now into "Fascism" we are opposing the new organization of revolutionary workers.

While we drove the "Arditiism" of the cowardice and treachery of the Socialist Party, in spite of the peace-treaty signed with Fascism (which has up to now only revived the criminal activity of Fascist bands), that in spite even of the approaching attempt to establish a Socialist Government, which is perhaps even near, the Fascisti White Terror will always remain, in Italy, a terrible revolutionary lesson from which the masses will profit. And we are certain that the Communist Party will be able fully to accomplish its revolutionary duty.

APPEALS
To the Proletariat of Spain

The descendants of the bloody medieval robber barons are employing the last ounce of their strength in the sanguinary suppression of the natives of Morocco. For twelve years the shooting of the natives, the war of pillage, has been going on in the Moroccon plains at the expense of the labor and blood of the Spanish proletariat.

The Spanish bourgeoisie is making no mistake when it does not spare either gold, material or human lives in the suppression of the revolutioanous. For the Spanish proletariat is supplying all that is necessary for the carrying on of the war: Money, blood and life itself. King Alphonso and his camarilla — no matter how much they may pretend that ephemeral concessions of the bourgeois States, still defended by the Comintern, are opposing the new organization of the Spanish proletariat.

A terrible revolutionary lesson from which the masses will flourish in the Moorish colonies. For over twelve years the natives have understood it, and they are enlisting in the new fighting formation, created by the Communists Party — the "Arditi del popolo".