

# INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 2 No. 62

28th July 1922

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

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## The Class Struggle in Germany After the Rathenau Murder

By *Karl Radek*.

More than a month has passed since the German Nationalists killed Rathenau. It was a month of stormy events, of villainous deceit and, to some extent, a great lesson for the working masses of Germany. And what was the result? Outwardly, the result was that the German Government, which in the person of Wirth, had declared, "The measure is full; this cannot go on", decided that everything should remain as it was. The Law for the Protection of the Republic was passed by a bloc which extended from the Independent Socialists to the Stinnes Party. That is all. The fact that the monarchists of the Stinnes Party voted for this law is a guarantee that the German monarchists are in no way affected by it. And since, with the exception of a few discharged Prussian officials, the entire administration of the German Government remains in the hands of the monarchists, it is self-evident that the Law for the Protection of the Republic will be applied exclusively against those workers who really wish to transform the bourgeois pseudo-republic into a real workers' republic. The Government will retain its present formation "until Spring". The only change that can be perceived is taking place in the parliamentary groupings, or to put it better, behind the parliamentary scenes. The Independent Social Democrats, who up to the present, also supported the Wirth government have entered into an alliance with the Scheidemann crew, thereby pledging themselves to support openly the government which the bourgeoisie will not let them enter until the Spring. By this manoeuvre, the Social Democrats will have 180 votes in Parliament instead of the 109 which they have had until now. In answer to this step the Centre and Democratic Parties together with the Stinnes Party proceeded to form a similar bloc in order to balance the reinforced Social Democratic wing in the Government. But since Parliament is not now in session, all these parliamentary manoeuvres which are merely political, serve to mobilize the forces of the reaction and the revolution for the coming struggle.

No one believes that the crisis of the last month is over and there is no doubt that it will develop still further.

### The Growing Forces of the Revolution.

Immediately following the assassination of Rathenau, when the German proletariat rose *en masse*, the German bourgeoisie trembled in its shoes. The Cologne *Kölnische Zeitung* headed its leading article "On the Eve of a Second Revolution". And it was right, for although the thunder of a second revolution

had died away, the storm had not yet passed. The crisis of the last week accelerated the nuptials of the two Social Democratic parties. Two months before this crisis the workers of the Independent Party chased the learned Rudolf Hilferding from the editor's chair of the *Freiheit* because he defended the idea of an alliance with the Scheidemann crew and the policy of coalition. The Independent Social Democrats of Leipzig were unanimous in denouncing Hilferding's policy. Faced with the dilemma, for the second revolution or for the alliance with Scheidemann and the bourgeoisie, the leaders of the Independent Party have risked the step which they were justified in fearing. The alliance with the Social Democrats will result in the best elements of the Independent Party quitting their ranks. But this step will not be retraced, not only because the leaders of the Independent Social Democrats fear the approaching revolutionary wave but for reasons which are very prosaic and which were pointed out by Paul Lensch, member of the Scheidemann Party and chief editor of the leading organ of the German finance king, Herr Stinnes. This worlds' wonder writes in the Stinnes organ, that the Independents could not help but unite with the Scheidemann Party, for otherwise they would have to face financial bankruptcy. The Scheidemanns on the other hand, are not financially pressed because they are strongly supported by the Government in which they occupy thousands of well paid offices. What reason could there be for not uniting? Herr Henke, the former editor of one of the most radical organs of the German Social Democrats, the *Bremer Bürgerzeitung* (the same Henke, who on the 3rd of August 1914 told Karl Liebknecht and myself that the reason why he did not refuse to vote for the war budget was that he was married and the father of six children) was careless enough to charge that the Communists were receiving material support from the Comintern. The Independent Social Democratic Party will go to the Scheidemann manger and peacefully munch the hay of the German bourgeoisie. But the German workers will not permit this. According to newspaper reports, the largest Independent organizations, such as those of Düsseldorf, Frankfurt and Dresden, are opposed to this alliance and to this coalition party. There is not the slightest doubt but that this alliance will result in a split of the Independent Party and that as a result of this, considerable groups of workers will leave the Social Democratic Party.

The Communist Party had to resist a great temptation. In view of the Social Democratic treachery many Communists

were tempted to undertake independent action. The Communist Party maintained the united front as long as it was not betrayed by the Social Democrats. But even then it did not take up the fight alone because it is still a minority, and although it is stronger now than it was in March 1921, it has not yet won over the necessary elements of the working class. If the German Communist Party intensifies the defensive character of its agitation, if it succeeds in extending its sphere of influence, the day is near when it will be in a position to enter the struggle ten times more strong and with bright prospects of victory.

The crisis served to accelerate the regrouping of the working masses. The masses are moving towards the Left and will join the Communist ranks as the bourgeois offensive gains in intensity. The economic situation is becoming worse from day to day; the political situation is saturated with contradiction; the influence of the Communist Party is increasing continually. At the time of the first revolution the German Communist Party had less than 30,000 members. The approaching conflicts in Germany will see a Communist Party with a membership of a half million workers, and we can well afford to tell the jubilant German counter-revolution and the gentlemen of the Social Democratic Party who are preparing to celebrate their nuptials, "You are welcome to it, gentlemen; but remember, he who laughs last, laughs best".

## POLITICS

### The Hague Conference and the Proletariat

By P. Pascal.

I.

#### The Mock Conference.

The Hague Conference is dead, after a last convulsion, quietly strangled by France.

This was inevitable from the very beginning. It will be recalled that the Russian Delegation at Genoa had proposed a real conference, in which the parties would have deliberated upon a footing of equality, and with the power of decision. M. Poincaré, who fears nothing as much as pacification, succeeded in putting through the inept procedure of two separate commissions having no relations with one another except through the medium of three sub-commissions, deliberating behind closed doors and having only a vague power of enquiry. Litvinov stated at the first meeting, that that was the best way of killing the Conference in advance. The name *Conference* itself was abusive and too ambitious to designate a series of isolated, secret, and unauthoritative meetings.

This could be foreseen. The three sub-commissions, dealing with private property, debts and credits respectively, made haste to emphasize their purely technical and practical character, leaving to others the task of sanctioning their work, and laying down the political conditions by which the governments would be able to apply them in accordance with the findings of the experts. By these words M. Alphand, French president of the sub-commission on debts, knew very well from the 27th of June, that even if an agreement was reached, in spite of the precautions taken and in spite of his personal efforts, nothing would be settled, for Russia would still have to submit to the political conditions of the governments.

Immediately after this, the sub-commission invited the Russian Delegation to furnish them detailed information on the budget, currency, foreign trade, the railways, etc. . . . of the Russian Soviet Republic. This was necessary, they pretended, to know how credits would be used by the Russian Government, in spite of the fact that they were determined not to grant them. Then we witnessed a cross examination of Litvinov and Sokolnikov, that lasted several days. The Russian Delegation furnished memorandum upon memorandum, statistics upon statistics, explanations upon explanations without end. But when they in turn demanded information as to what claims they might expect from the Russian bondholders, or the former foreign property owners, their questionnaires were rejected without discussion and they were sent vague estimates of a provisional character, which left an opening for any kind of ulterior increase. They ordered Russia to pay, but refused to tell her or how much she should pay.

In the course of these enquiries, the judges, the delegates of capital, were not sparing in their insults to the Russian proletariat. One day, at a session of the sub-commission on credits, the Belgian expert, M. Witmeur, distinguished himself by his hypocrisy and meanness of spirit. Litvinov, calculating the

foreign monies which Russia would need in the next three years to commence the work of restoration of the ruin wrought by the war, the blockade, and intervention, fixed the sum at about 3½ billion gold roubles. M. Witmeur could find nothing better to do than to devote himself to a series of little exercises, which consisted of calculating the sum in French gold francs, then in paper francs, in gold lira, then in paper lira, which finally gave him the opportunity of 1.—pointing out with indignation the enormity of the Russian demands; 2.—of bemoaning with sobs in his voice the abyss of desolation into which Russia has fallen, evidently because of the Bolshevik Government. If M. Witmeur had had the courage to carry his calculations through to their logical end, and worked out the sum in paper marks as well, this abyss would have been still more imposing. This same M. Witmeur considered that the disappearance of Belgium from the economic world would be an infinitely greater loss than the disappearance of Russia. He is president of the *Association of Belgian Interests in Russia*. I mention this fact because it is very typical of the atmosphere in which this "Conference" was held, and of the attitude of many of the experts.

It would not be out of place to recall the variety of ways in which it was pointed out that people asking for money have certain duties, to which Sokolnikov replied with every justification, that, although Russia doubtless asked for credits, France and Belgium were asking for still more money from Russia. These incidents have the merit of not letting us forget for an instant the intransigent attitude and the desire for a rupture on the part of France and her vassals.

Russia had declared from the beginning, and had always insisted, that she made the payment of pre-war debts or the compensation of former owners of nationalized properties dependent upon the granting of credits, either directly or at least guaranteed by the foreign governments. It was the same logic; no credits,—no resources to compensate the creditors of the Czarist regime. And the experts of capital, while accepting this point of view, nevertheless were disposed to make it the cause of a rupture; no serious criticism of the figure of 3½ billions was offered. Under the aristocratic presidency of the Roman Baron Avezzano, or the more vulgar one of M. Alphand, there was played, in the pseudo-gothic of the Palace of Peace (everything is lying in this country) a quiet little game of question and answer.

On the 12th of July, the sub-commission on private property, declared brusquely that the restitution of all property and foreign enterprises was obligatory; the same day, the sub-commission on debts refused examination of a Russian proposal, and the president, M. Alphand, made haste to conclude: "it is impossible to pursue further negotiations as it seems vain to expect to find a bridge between the Russian and the non-Russian worlds". At last, on the 14th of July, the sub-commission on credits declared that no government would either accord or guarantee credits to the Russian Government as such. Then the three non-Russian sub-commissions declared the holding of further sessions quite useless.

What had happened? No new fact appeared to justify this sudden change of attitude. The truth is that an order had been sent from Paris to the French Delegation, ordering them to break off the negotiations at any price. M. Poincaré did not like the discussion and feared the conferences, where the French bourgeoisie risked being isolated. A firm decision always sways the hesitants, a psychological truth which of late years counter-revolutionary France has many times used to her advantage. England and Italy allowed themselves to be led, and thus, on the 14th of July, by the decision of the three non-Russian sub-commissions, negotiations were broken off.

But the blow was all the more violent for encountering no obstacle. The sudden death of the conference stupified the small, without doubt not forewarned, and even roused scruples among the great. The Russian Delegation in a letter to M. Patyn, president of the non-Russian commission, demanded the calling of a plenary session. At all costs it had to be avoided, that the responsibility for the rupture should fall manifestly upon the capitalist governments. Thus, a first and last plenary assembly of the two commissions was decided for the 19th of July. But it was admitted, upon the insistence of the French and the Belgians, that it would be held solely "for the purpose of hearing new Russian proposals".

The interest of this assembly, after the inexplicable coup de théâtre of the non-Russian Commission and the French intrigues of the days preceding, should have been to throw a little light on the matter. Litvinov also, after a short exposition of the work of the three sub-commissions, deemed it useful to formulate the demands which the opposing parties should themselves have formulated if they had wished for a sincere discussion; "Independently of the granting or the non-granting of credits, the Russian Government engages to pay pre-war debts

and to recompense in an effective manner the former foreign property holders, and to conclude within two years an arrangement to this effect with the interested parties. If the governments represented in the non-Russian commission find themselves in agreement with this formula, the Russian Delegation will ask its government to give their decision on it." Such was Litvinov's proposal, which was immediately supported by the English delegate, Lloyd Graham, and opposed, naturally, by the Belgian delegate, Cattier.

In the afternoon session, the non-Russian commission announced that it could not find any basis for agreement in M. Litvinov's statement and decided to suspend the work. Under these conditions the Russian Delegation could make no proposal to its government.

The Conference was dead, slowly strangled by France.

## II.

### The Results.

These appear to be as follows: the Russian Revolution remains firmly in the position, which it had formulated in Genoa. The capitalist world, equally immovable, conscious of its unshakable power, retires bravely impassive to its camp. They can wait. These blackguards of Russians will be obliged to come back and beg for terms and give up their ridiculous demands.

But the truth of the matter is altogether different; after having treated the Russian Delegation in this high-handed manner, after having repulsed their conditions with disdain, after having even neglected to give sufficient consideration to Litvinov's last offer, the experts of capital recoiled, afraid of their own work and of the negative results of their manoeuvres. And in this same final resolution they add that the Russian declaration "may serve to create a favorable atmosphere for further negotiations". They wished it to be understood by this resolution, neither fish, fowl, nor good red herring, that they left an open field for separate negotiations on the part of the Russian Government with the various governments or financial or industrial groups.

This psychology is easy to understand. They are burning with the desire to make great profits in Russia. But they are afraid of losing their money in that disturbing country. The new economic policy is an excellent thing; the whole bourgeois world knows and understands the magic word "Nep"; it is its hope and its consolation, but Lenin is ill, the opposition of the left is strong, and who knows what may happen.

But on the other hand, what a pity it would be to let the chance slip by. The list of concessions presented by Litvinov makes their mouth water. Naptha, oil, gold and platinum mines, sugar factories, agricultural exploitation, everything is there. They do well to effect indignation at the offer of colonization of the "famine-stricken steppes", "the desert wastes of the nomad tribes" of Turkestan, but they would be only too glad to do so, if possible, without any risks.

This then is the contradictory attitude which produced the ambiguous resolution of July 12th.

What does this resolution mean? It means this: Gentlemen of France and Belgium, you are pleased to reclaim your billions, your Makeevka, your Franco-Russian and your Russo-Belgian properties, and although you make not the slightest attempt to help, you prevent any general agreement. And you can do this at your leisure, you can reclaim until the death. We do not disagree with you, there will be no general agreement. But realize that in Russia we have neither debts, mines, nor factories, and having more vitality than you, we are less interested in the past than in the future, less in fortunes lost than in fortunes to be made. Realize that we, the English, Italians and Poles . . . we will arrange our own affairs with Russia. We understand one another very well.

And we can be certain this was the substance of that little speech. The official press insits in a most suspicious manner on the marvellous accord which has reigned between the non-Russian delegations. Certain indiscretions, such as the final resolution of the conference, have encouraged private and separate agreements. It was truly an admirable unity that was revealed on the last day between Lloyd Graham, the Englishman, who accepted Litvinov's proposal without reserve, and Cattier, the Belgian, who judged it to be unacceptable, even non-existent! The Hague Conference has at least had this effect; it has shown us once more very strikingly the differences existing, not only between governments, as the conference was composed of experts, all more or less bank directors or members of administrative councils, but also between the capitalist groups of the various countries.

Another result: the Conference has revealed the financial distress of the governments. For once the governments are sincere when they declare that they are incapable of giving any credit because they have no money. They are rich only in debts and deficits. This year, Italy will find herself with a deficit of

6½ billion liras. The situation is no less desperate in France, as Germany is not going to pay. Only America could, if she wished, save European finances, by renouncing the billions she has lent. They try to persuade her that it would be to her advantage to do this, but she replies by demanding her debts from England and from France . . . . and England demands her debts from France and Italy . . . . and France makes her demands upon Russia and Germany. The capitalist states have only one way out, to find someone who will pay for everybody. That is why, upon moral pretexts, they try to make a separate question of Czarist and German "debts", while in reality it is the same question, the indispensable but impossible liquidation of capitalist indebtedness. Germany will not pay, Russia will not foot the bill of a settlement of accounts, but the capitalist is not in despair. This we saw at the Hague.

There still remains private capital, which is in a far more healthy and flourishing condition. It is these gentlemen, who are burning with desire to make great profits in Russia. The situation resulting from the Hague is advantageous to the Soviet Government, for it will profit by a competition which would be avoided by a general agreement. It is infinitely more preferable for us to do business with Italian, French, English or even Belgian capitalist groups than with Italy, France, England or Belgium. In spite of their interests, the capitalist experts have been unable to agree; so much the better for us. And really, this situation is also advantageous for certain other states, such as England, which also has a foothold on the Russian market and has no desire to share it with anyone. Those who are going to lose by it, are France and Belgium.

The practical results of the conference?

The Russian delegation at the Hague had already received numerous concrete offers from foreign capitalists. After the resolution of the 19th, these offers increased. The realist capitalists are satisfied with the guarantees given; they are going to undertake or exploit enterprises which will be to the benefit of Russia as well as to themselves. From this increase in industrial and commercial activity we can but be well pleased as with any increase in economic wealth. But it is of no use concealing the dangers. Capitalism wishes to find in Russia a means of renewing its strength. It wishes to draw from her the necessary material to revive its industries; it wants to send her its unemployed as a solution of its own social problems; it wishes to exercise pressure on the Russian Government. The Russian Government rules in the interest of its workers and peasants; it is strong and on its guard. Rather than accept dangerous or disadvantageous conditions, it would prefer to do without foreign capital. Russia has no absolute need of outside help. She can raise herself and make unlimited progress alone, with her own forces. A good or bad crop changes the whole situation in Russia. And this year's crop is good. Only the process would be longer and more painful.

The western proletariat must come to the aid of Russia and determine what part it shall play in this process; the example of the American workers, who have obtained concessions from the Russian Government for the Kouznetsk mines in Siberia, and the great metal works of Nadejdino in the Urals, should not remain isolated. Why for instance, should not the cooperative societies unite their resources and equipment for the exploitation of agriculture in Caucasia. This would ensure that the capitalist profits would be reduced and the greater part of the fruits of their labor would go to the international proletariat. On this basis it should be possible to create workers' associations for work in Russia. A precedent is already in existence, and our western comrades should follow it. Russian Communism is nothing abstract; it is a concrete society which is working to realize it, a society in which the workers wish to reduce parasitism to a minimum. Those who call themselves its friends, must not only rejoice when this society enjoys a triumph, nor encouragingly, or condemn it when it is forced to retrace its steps. It must be supported in all the phases of the battle it is waging, and supported effectively.

## The Ministerial Crisis in Italy.

By Umberto Terracini (Rome).

At the beginning of July, after six months of government by the de Facta Cabinet, the Finance Minister made a long report on the Italian budget. The figures he gave made a profound impression on the deputies, all of whom, irrespective of group or party, were absorbed in the struggle between the Fascisti and the Communists, and by the internal crisis in the Socialist Party. They had completely forgotten that the state had such a thing as a budget and that it could neither live nor function if this did not respond to certain necessities. The Italian budget was presented under these disastrous circumstances and never in

the Italian Parliament were more alarming words spoken or more sombre forecasts made for the future. The deficit for the current year had increased to 4 billions and the national debt to 114 billions; new taxes are being considered and sweeping strokes of economy predicted for all the ministries. All these are necessary and can brook no delay. The Minister indicated clearly the possibility of a state bankruptcy, if no amelioration of the existing conditions is arrived at very soon.

In the meantime, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Schanzer, returned from his trip to Paris and London, where he had been making an attempt to arrive at a solution of the various problems of international politics which pressed so heavily upon the Italian State; the Eastern problem, Dalmatia and the problem of the African colonies. The news of the complete breakdown of his negotiations spread rapidly. France was irritated because Italy had always ranged herself on the side of Lloyd George against Barthou at the Genoa Conference, and England, though in need of solidarity with Italy for the solution of her problems, has contented herself with covering the Italian ministry with courtesies and promises without concluding a single one of the desired arrangements.

And just at this moment of general tension in Italian politics, the internal situation of the State became even worse.

The deFacta ministry was formed at the beginning of this year, at a time when the civil war between the workers and the Fascisti had reached the fever point and its program was formed upon the solemn promise to reestablish the normal conditions of life and to combat the systematic violence perpetrated against the proletariat. But the composition of the ministry itself rendered this vaunted program of pacification null and void from the outset, as its members included representatives of the Right, the agrarians and the nationalists, who were the instigators of Fascism and the subsidizers of the white terrorist bands. In fact, hardly was the short interlude of the Genoa Conference over, when the violence of the anti-proletarian offensive recommenced with even greater fury. But the period of pseudo-armistice had been extremely valuable to the Fascisti, for it permitted them to perfect their new tactics of vast armed concentration for the invasion and conquest of the towns in which the workers had succeeded in preserving a little strength, or where there were institutions of a trade union or economic character. By these actions Fascism revealed itself definitely as a movement pledged to the destruction of all proletarian organisms, irrespective of political tendency, which were opposed to the complete restoration of the domination of the capitalist class. It was at this time that the Italian Populist Party (Clericals), which besides a purely political organization, has also a good trade union organization among certain categories of workers such as the weavers, and among the land workers, began to feel the whole weight and danger of Fascism, as they became more and more the object of their atrocities. The episode of the Cremona invasion contributed to the forming and stiffening of the anti-Fascisti attitude of the opposition parties and cemented the parliamentary alliance of the Socialists with the Populists. Cremona is an industrial center dominated by two proletarian parties, the Socialists and the Communists. Outside the town there extends an agricultural district whose peasant masses follow the representative of the Populist Party in the person of the deputy Miglioli. This town of Lombardy was invaded by the Fascisti army, which wounded and killed the members of the three above-mentioned parties and burned the houses of their leaders. The spread of this news hastened the ministerial crisis at the very moment when the government thought itself saved from the repercussion which the sincerely collaborationist attitude taken by the Socialist Parliamentary group had provoked in its majority bloc.

The various parties employed the strange manoeuvre of fomenting local disturbances in order to support or overthrow the government according to their various policies.

This explains the action of the Fascisti backed by the government in throwing their armed companies against Novara, the capital of Piedmont and against Ancona, capital of the Mark to intimidate the opposition parties and to support deFacta who had always given them his aid and protection. Hence also the reason for the general strike in Lombardy and Piedmont which is also being prepared in Liguria and the Roman province, where it assumed such proportions that the Fascisti government had to fall under the pressure of the masses.

The crisis has shown such a curious and unusual character that we can well believe that the disintegration of the Italian state organism is well advanced. As a sign of protest and distrust, 100 Populist deputies, 120 Socialist deputies, the 15 Communists, 10 republicans, the reformists and the dozen so-called democrats of all shades are initiating a general strike and abstaining from Parliamentary sessions. This has been done so thoroughly that for several days the sessions took place in the presence of only two or three members and lasted only

about five minutes. And when the government wished to announce a change of direction in its internal policy, through the medium of president deFacta, a crowded chamber refused all discussion, limiting itself to a declaration by the leaders of each group and finally overwhelmed the Minister in a flood of contrary votes.

The complete bankruptcy of ministerial activity in the various domains of foreign policy, finance, and internal affairs could have produced no other result as it was easy for each parliamentary group to find reasons for its discontent and even the Fascisti, who had been supporters of the majority, hesitated as to whether they should pass over to the opposition, after having heard President deFacta announce the police laws against violence on the part of any party.

But even if the Ministry is overthrown it will be impossible, for the Italian government to pursue any other policy than that of the late ministry. Fascism, as the Communists have recently pointed out, is not an artificial phenomenon, but corresponds to the necessities of a special period in bourgeois government, when it is obliged to defend its position by every means against the encroachments of the proletariat.

The alacrity with which the masses have responded to the general strike in the regions especially threatened by the Fascisti offensive, the insistence with which they demanded an extension of this action, even in those regions which up to the present have not been touched by the terror, are a sure sign that two years of persecution have in no way weakened the fighting spirit of the proletariat, but on the contrary, points to a new increase of energy and desire to fight.

Otherwise this situation of continual civil war which paralyzes the industries of whole provinces and breaks up groups of the most efficient workers, cannot help but worsen the general economic situation of the country which can no longer succeed in finding markets for its goods and loses the confidence of other countries, so that there is not the slightest hope of putting its finances on a healthy basis. The budget is in ruins and strikes a new blow at an economy already in a state of disintegration.

The only possible policy in Italy today is anti-proletarian, similar to that followed by President deFacta the general approval for the new cabinet is given to Orlando, who up to the last moment voted with the fallen ministry. It is perhaps for the first time in the history of parliamentary states that the succession to a fallen ministry has not fallen into the hands of a triumphant leader of the opposition, but into the hands of one of its most fervent supporters. But this is a manifestation of the crisis in the Italian bourgeois state, which has lost the power of normal functioning.

No party or bourgeois group dares support an open anti-Fascisti policy. Even the Socialists, who are paying for the crisis with the lives of hundreds of workers at the hands of the Fascisti, say that they merely demand a government capable of applying the law and defending the authority of the state. And they accept and promise to support a ministry headed by Orlando which claims to be animated by sentiments quite other than favorable to the working class. As a matter of fact, Mr. Orlando has been holding long protracted negotiations with the deputy Mussolini, the Fascisti leader, who declared himself ready to accept part responsibility in the formation of the ministry. The same Mussolini, has been called to the Quirinal for consultation with the king who personally shields the commander of these companies of assassins who have turned the country into a battle field.

The de Facta Ministry was formed of representatives of all parties, except the extreme Socialists and Communists. The new Orlando Ministry will have the same features. The only change will be the attitude of the Socialist group, which, abandoning its traditional opposition, takes its place with the majority, casting its vote for the new government. This is a new step towards collaboration, for which the present time is not ripe, as the masses are filled with a fighting spirit. The triumph of Social Democracy can only come in the hour when they have succeeded definitely in subjecting the workers to the organized violence of capitalism.

## The Struggle for Power in Poland

By L. Domski (Warsaw).

The struggle for power in Poland proceeds with ever greater fury. It has gone far beyond the limits of parliamentarism, and is now being fought out on the streets. The National Democratic Right inflames its adherents through Anti-Semitic persecution, which has already given rise to a whole series of pogrom outrages. This applies especially to "liberated" Upper Silesia, where the Nationalist Press quite openly urges the beating of Jews, and offers advice on how to thrash and trample upon them without causing grave bodily injury, thus avoiding punishment. In the province of Posen, the Nationalists are work-

ing up ritual murder cases. In Vilna, on the occasion of the prohibition of a Jew-baiting meeting, the Nationalists made a very great disturbance, attacked the police and went away nursing a few broken heads. It may well be imagined what a storm in the Sejm thereupon ensued.

On the other side, the social patriots prepared for a general strike against the Korfanty government, and did not spare revolutionary threats. It was in this sinister and menacing tone that their leader, Barlicki, spoke in the Sejm, on July 7th, before the fall of the Slivinski cabinet:—

“I think that a storm is gathering. Out of sympathy, I warn you to halt before you reach the precipice. The Slivinski cabinet is the expression of the antagonism between us. If this opposition does not cease, it may assume quite other forms. The Slivinski Government is the last safety-valve...”

And then the leaders of the P.P.S. called a general strike against the threatening reaction. Admitted, that the Korfanty Government will be savagely reactionary. It is however, noteworthy that the statesman Pilsudski himself, by whose orders the “revolutionary” chase has been carried on, is silent about the “Reaction”. By threatening his resignation, he protested merely against the “Little Constitution” (the emergency constitution) which permits Sejm, in the case of the voluntary resignation of the chief of state, simply to nominate the prime minister. Thus Pilsudski wants, despite Parliament, to retain the determining power. He wishes to be absolute. And the social patriots support this reactionary demand, under the cloak of “the struggle against reaction”.

Actually, Pilsudski is simply imitating the tactics of his illustrious predecessor, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. After the parliamentary government of Witos, and after the extra-parliamentary rule of Pomikowski, he wants the anti-parliamentary government of Slivinski. To attain this purpose, he has chosen quite simple means. He will sanction no government which is not agreeable to him. Therefore the Slivinski government will remain at the helm, as a “provisional government”, until the end of the present session. On the suspension of the electoral law, the parliament can be dissolved; and Slivinski “arranges” the voting, so long as one does not ask how.

As we now see, “democracy” and “Socialism” are joined in a most unsuitable union. The appeal to democracy, however, is the hereditary failing of all Bonapartists. Pilsudski is even better equipped for this role than was Louis Napoleon. He started by being a Socialist.

In Poland, militarism and social patriotism are particularly closely connected. There have been times when the P.P.S. was the only militarist party in Poland. While the possessing class was flourishing under foreign rule, and therefore was most pacifically inclined, the social patriotic intellectuals organized an armed force in Galicia against Czarism. Pilsudski was their leader; many other present-day militarists, such as War Minister Sosnowski, were his assistants or pupils. Polish militarism (the Legions) was born in the Socialist cradle, and this just suited it: it became so insolent that it even defied capital, and instead of grasping its tools, flung itself upon its master. It is no secret that, during the war period, Polish militarism, under the leadership of Pilsudski, was master of the house, and that they forced the Polish bourgeoisie to undertake the Kiev campaign, which they by no means desired to do. This “anti-capitalist” attitude was easy enough for Pilsudski, as Poland is an agrarian country, and the industrial areas, during the period of the war and the occupation, suffered more severely. Pilsudski depended for support on the wealthy and middle peasantry and played the part of their defender against the landed nobility. He encouraged land reform; and thus gained, through quite democratic pretexts, almost absolute power. And, if only the Kiev disgrace had not happened. . . . But unfortunately it did happen.

Yet the peasants still support the militarist plans of Pilsudski. Not that they want a war; but, when Pilsudski wants 40 billions, in order to endow the officer caste yet more richly, to check the exodus from the army and thus preserve the instrument of the master class—then the farmers vote with both hands, all the more so as this provides careers for their sons.

It is well known why the Socialists support Pilsudski. These gentlemen would rather secure influence through Pilsudski's good will than through the class struggle. Also they are by no means indifferent to the material advantages which may be derived from the position of their old party comrade.

It is apparent why the bourgeoisie and the junkers hate Pilsudski. He is a “democrat”; he defends land reform and social patriotism. On the other hand, he lumps together Ukrainian, White Russian and Lithuanian nationalism to form a weapon against Soviet Russia, not caring—in his Bonapartist delusion and self-aggrandisement—that the nationalism of these

oppressed foreign peoples must finally turn against bourgeois Poland.

As for the struggle that rages in Parliament, the two sides are about equally strong. There is, however, a small centre faction that turns the scale. This is the “Constitutionalists' Club” which is composed of West Galician bourgeois and land owners. The West Galician owning class occupies a special position in Poland. During the war, they were friendly to Austria, and see in Pilsudski their old comrade in arms. They are less sympathetic to his demagogic national aspirations, as West Galicia, a purely Polish country, knows nothing of the nationalist struggle. They were not opposed to his war with Soviet Russia, as West Galicia is not strongly interested in Russian trade. On the other hand, through pure class interests, this group is bound to the parties of the Right. They vacillate from side to side; they took Pilsudski's standpoint in the Vilna question, but they overthrew Slivinski's cabinet. They voted for the formation of a cabinet by Korfanty and secured him a majority; they are, however, grievously disturbed by Pilsudski's threatened resignation, and are preparing for a collapse in the plenary sitting of the Sejm. If this collapse does come, then it will cause Korfanty's fall also, and the crisis will start all over again. If they stand by Korfanty we must be prepared for an unusually violent struggle in Poland. Pilsudski's threatened withdrawal is certainly a bluff. He cannot live, except as President. He will be implored to remain in power, and to drive his enemies to the devil. The forcible dissolution of the Sejm and a stormy election period will then be upon us.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### In England

By Harry Pollitt (London).

The comrades of the Red International of Labor Unions are watching with interest the situation in France. In particular are we interested in the splendid support that is now being given to the R.I.L.U. by the French Unions. It is quite the fashion for the labor leaders in England to frighten the masses by pointing out how the R.I.L.U. has split the labor movement in France, and large sections of the masses believe this through their lack of knowledge of the international situation.

We know that it is the reactionaries who have been the splitters and who by this policy of expulsion have condemned themselves in the eyes of the intelligent working class. In England the R.I.L.U. is not yet strong enough to merit this attention by the labor leaders, but there is every indication that the time is not far distant when we too will be placed in a similar position to the comrades in France.

Already at the Labor Party Conference at Edinburgh, in June, the Executive succeeded in getting the conference to pass a resolution that will prevent any Communist from representing either his trade union or his local Labor Party at future conferences. This is of the greatest significance because it is the beginning of an exclusion policy that will extend to the Trade Union Congress, for those who dominate the Labor Party Executive Committee also dominate the General Trade Union Council which is the Executive of the Trade Union Congress.

It may interest our French comrades who are opposed to the R.I.L.U. because of its connection with the Communist International, to know that in England there exist the closest possible relations between the Labor Party and the General Council of Trade Unions. So close is this relationship, that a joint Executive Council from the two bodies has been formed in order that the labor leaders may get a stronger control over the movement. This makes our work exceptionally difficult and certainly proves that in order to break down this reactionary stronghold, we of the R.I.L.U., must work in conjunction with the Communist Party, whilst retaining the fullest autonomy over our own work.

This has been done, and our experience has been of the greatest benefit to both sections of the revolutionary movement. This is especially seen in the mining and engineering industries, where after a long agitation we succeeded in getting the miners to discuss the question of affiliation to the Red Internationale of Labor Unions at their annual-conference at Blackpool. The engineers too, have formulated a similar resolution for the conference which is to take place in August. Although we know that there is strong opposition to such affiliation and that on this occasion we may be defeated, nevertheless, in reality it will be Amsterdam that is defeated, because the question of affiliation to the R.I.L.U. will become a burning issue when the delegates report back to their branches, as it will open up wide discussion on the respective merits of the two Internationals. We have nothing to fear from such discussions. Already the miners' General Secretary, Frank Hodges, by the very nature of his extra-

vagant charges, is causing hundreds of miners to begin to enquire what this Moscow International stands for.

The miners themselves are meeting in conference this week, when the Federation will have to report that out of the 13 districts which make up the Federation, 12 of them are working under the worst starvation conditions known. Indeed, their own Secretary Mr. Hodges, has described these 12 districts as being the "Famine Area of England". This speaks volumes for the brilliant leadership of this apostle of the Second International and the Amsterdam International.

Although the miners will meet under such appalling conditions, their Executive Board has no practical program to place before the conference. The supporters of the R.I.L.U. will make every effort to hammer out such a program, and in our press and in our speeches for weeks past, we have been calling attention to the grave problems that confront the miners and the way out of them. The attacks upon the English trade unions continue, and nowhere can we record any united effort to stop this retreat. The metal workers have scarcely got back to work after their last defeat, when they were confronted with the demand for another huge reduction in their wages. The Railwaymen are very apprehensive as to the future, for a big attack is being prepared against them, and here Mr. J. H. Thomas will be called upon to prove his leadership in a totally different situation than has confronted the Railwaymen before.

The effect of this continuous capitalist offensive is to make the workers realize as never before that the old forms of craft and sectional trade unions are useless in such a crisis as this, and before such powerful organizations as the capitalists possess.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on July 17th

At the session of the Executive Committee on July 17th, two reports on China and Japan were the main points on the agenda. The report on Japan was delivered by Comrade Katayama.

The Japanese Communist movement suffers under the most serious persecution by the authorities and is compelled to carry on its work underground. It is greatly hampered in its public propaganda and therefore according to Western European ideas is a weak party numerically. Thanks to the ability of some comrades, however, who concentrated their propaganda on the workers' economic organization *Rodosia*—an organization with syndicalist tendencies—they succeeded in a short time in doubling the membership of the Party. In the last two years there have developed federations of small labor organizations which now embrace 50 organizations. The trade union federation is the so-called Yuai-Kai which in several labor unions numbers about 1000,000 members. It has in recent times, owing to the entrance of a union of Syndicalists and Communists, been driven over to the left. The efforts of this federation have recently succeeded in absorbing all the smaller organizations, so that now nearly 300,000 workers are organized in it. The influence of the intellectuals is disappearing. The demonstrations of the 1st of May which were in part conducted under definite Communist slogans gave proof of the revolutionizing of the workers' movement. Since 1920 Japan has been passing through a serious industrial and financial crisis. China and Eastern Russia have ceased to be her chief customers. This brings the Japanese bourgeoisie, which has been hit by these losses, more and more into conflict with the Japanese militarists with regard to the question of Siberian and Chinese adventures, a conflict which has already found expression in a permanent governmental crisis. The Japanese proletarian movement which has also obtained a firm hold among the agricultural proletariat will have to solve great tasks and can rely upon the assistance of the Communist International in its struggle against reaction and imperialism.

Together with the reports several publications of revolutionary and Communist literature in the Japanese language were received.

Thereupon ensued a short discussion in which the information was somewhat augmented. The Presidium was instructed to occupy itself more thoroughly with these questions.

Comrade M. gave the report upon China, from where he had recently returned after a stay of eighteen months and had obtained a good insight into the complicated political and economic conditions of that gigantic country as a result of thorough study. According to his opinion China's politics are conducted by foreign powers and the Chinese classes—they are not yet differentiated—have no positive influence. A more nationalist movement which is supported by the great bourgeoisie

living abroad is to be found under the government of Sun-Yat-Sen in the South. The most active in this are the intellectuals, their propaganda is mostly Socialist and Marxist literature. This revolutionary nationalist movement meets with no response among the great Chinese population, the peasants. These peasants are mostly small farmers possessing small holdings and are without any influence upon political life. Their position is very peculiar and cannot be compared with the position of the peasants of any other land, so that it has been impossible up to now to set up an agrarian program and to rally them round it.

In the great industry of Central China (Shanghai) controlled by foreign capitalists, it was impossible to supercede the Middle Age craft and secret organization of the working class by a modern one. In the south, however, it is quite different. Here the influence of the leading Sun-Yat-Sen upon the working class is clearly to be seen as was the case in the last great seamen's strike which was carried through with exemplary discipline and was in close contact with the same. In Canton there are several trade groups firmly and centrally organized. There are already about 50,000 workers in the organizations of which that of the sailors, comprising 12,000 members, is one of the strongest. The speaker then described in detail the complicated inner conditions of China where one of the great powers is ruling against the others and takes advantage of the different Chinese groupings. The struggle of Sun-Yat-Sen against Peking was a struggle of the South favorable to reform against the reactionary Manchu bureaucracy of the North, ruling after the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. In this struggle Sun-Yen-Sen appears to be defeated. Although in the South the conditions for a Communist movement are extraordinarily favorable, being even to some extent desired by the Government, our comrades there have not been able, owing to their ignorance of the situation, to get into close contact with the working masses; they are leading a sectarian existence and justify their aloofness from the political questions on the alleged grounds of illegality. The youth of China also, especially the students are particularly susceptible to the ideas of Communism, they have not yet gone beyond studies of Marxism to practical Socialist work.

The Red Labor Union International and the Communist International have in China, and especially at present in the South of the country, great and far-reaching possibilities for work which must be earnestly considered and carried out.

During the discussion Comrade Marchlevski supplemented the report of the speaker with some observations he had made himself in the North. There it can hardly be a question of a labor movement and of an industry. In the towns there is an enormous proletariat which fulfils the functions of the horse and the steam engine. The rural population are according to our standards some hundreds of years behind the times. It is quite different however with the intellectuals. These openly proclaim their sympathies with Soviet Russia and with Communism—just as Sun-Yat-Sen in the South—only they could not bring themselves to understand its state capitalist ideas and efforts. They are in no way connected with the political movement and study the literature of Socialism in closed sects. Yet in the present state of civil war in which the development of China will rapidly accelerate we must seek with all our strength and thoroughness to establish the connection between this revolutionary movement and Communism which will extend beyond the study chamber into actual political work.

It was decided to address a letter to the Communist Parties of China and Japan, and Comrade M. was entrusted with the preparation of the same.

It was finally decided to issue an appeal to the international working class against the shameful sentence against the Polish Comrade Dombal and against the suppression and murdering of Rumanian and Serbian Communists. Comrade Bukharin was entrusted with the drawing up of this appeal.

## APPEALS

### Proletarians of all countries!

Comrades!

The bankruptcy of the capitalist system and of the bourgeois state become more apparent every day. This is accompanied by the passing of the proletarian masses from slavish passivity to active struggle. These facts strike terror into the bourgeoisie of every country.

This anxiety in the face of the insurgent class enemy, the futile attempts at all possible conference to find a way out of this situation, the venomous spite against the proletariat,—all

this has converted capitalist Europe into an armed and anti-proletarian camp, that desecrates its own shrine and tramples upon all "democratic" and "constitutional" guarantees. Freedom of the individual, inviolability of the home, liberty of the press, the right to strike and to organize are things of the past. The independence of the courts has been set aside. Even the immunity of Members of Parliament is not respected.

The bayonet, the bullet and torture have been placed on the order of business by the bourgeoisie in the last days of its rule. The world bourgeoisie seeks by means of torture and death sentences, with and without lawful trial, to turn aside the proletarian sword raised above its head. The white terror becomes stronger and the more pitiless the nearer the respective country lies to Soviet Russia. Next to Lithuania and Esthonia, Poland, Rumania, and Jugoslavia distinguish themselves through their cruel and unrestricted white terror. In Poland the Secret Police rules. Every day hundreds of workers fall into the traps set by the spies and agent provocateurs who have stretched their tentacles throughout the country; they have to undergo unheard of tortures in the torture chambers of the Secret Police. Floggings with rubber truncheons and rifle slings until the victim loses consciousness, constitute the "methods of investigation" practised by Mr. Snarski, and which put even the Czarist police in the shade. The Public Prosecutor, the guardian of the law, now prosecutes for actions which were not even punishable when Poland was without the blessings of a constitution and "democracy". It is only in recent times, since Poland was blessed with a constitution that the authorities have begun to prosecute those who take part in economic conflicts, such as strikes. Hundreds of peasants have expiated for such acts with long terms of imprisonment.

The bourgeoisie, however, pours out its furious rage on the Communist Party. Up till recently, "Democratic Poland" contented itself with applying to the Communist Party, clause 126 of the Czarist Criminal Code which threatens membership of a revolutionary party with 8 years hard labour. Today the famous clause 10 has been routed out from the dusty archives. Even the Czarist government made use of it only in exceptional cases. This paragraph punishes with fifteen years hard labour. In addition to this, the "independent" Justices have been ordered by the ministry to impose the highest penalty, i.e., the death penalty.

The government of Pilsudski supported by the Socialist traitors, Daszynski, etc., does not shrink from placing the political prisoners on the same footing with common criminals, regardless of all protests and of the twelve day hunger-strike in Warsaw, Cracow, Lodz, Lemberg and many other cities.

This structure of "democratic" Poland has been crowned by the arrest of Comrade Dombal, a Member of Parliament who was exposed to the grossest insults which compelled him to a twelve day hunger strike. He was finally sentenced to six years hard labor not even on account of membership of the Communist Party, but simply for his espousal of the idea of Communism. The bourgeois press, whilst reporting on the trial of Dombal, asserted that "the spirit of Lenin hovered" over the Court Room. The panic fear of "Bolshevism" decided the fate of Dombal.

The white terror, however, will not save the bourgeoisie; the Balkan and Danube states have already trodden this path. After the overthrow of the Soviet regime in Hungary, the bourgeoisie in these countries, following the example of the Hungarian reaction filled all the prisons with workers. Those arrested were shot à la Noske, "whilst attempting to escape". By means of the white terror they sought to intimidate the working class. In spite of all these repressive measures, the wave of Communism rose in Roumania at the beginning of 1921. In May 1921, the whole Party conference which declared itself in favor of affiliation to the Third International, was arrested. A whole series of exceptional laws against the Communists was enacted, thousands of fighters for the cause of the proletariat were thrown into prison; in Bessarabia where the Boyars rule unchecked the eyes of those arrested, were gouged out with bayonets, during their transport from one prison to another. Unheard of cruelties were committed. With such means the Roumanian bourgeoisie endeavoured to overcome the working class. But this provocation ended with a crash. The workers' movement increased in strength and the repressions of the government were shattered against the firmness and discipline of the proletarian masses. At the beginning of this year, the pressure of the Communist Movement compelled the reaction to retreat, but in so doing it had recourse to an unheard of provocation. In spite of a tolerably wide amnesty which also set free the Communists, the latter were murdered by the jailers on leaving the prisons.

In Jugoslavia the same thing is being repeated as occurred in Roumania. In the middle of last year, draconic laws were passed against the Communists, resulting in thousands of workers being sent to prison where they were subjected to all kinds of revilings and tortures. These things, however, did not achieve their purpose. The Communist movement had struck its roots so firmly that the repressive measures of the government proved helpless against it. In spite of the raids by the authorities on the red trade unions, in spite of the confiscation of their funds and their premises in favor of the social traitors' organizations, the working masses have remained true to the Red International of Labor Unions. The reaction finds itself in a cul de sac. Here too, under the pressure of the masses an amnesty was declared which restored fifteen thousand prisoners to liberty. Among the liberated, however, we still miss many workers and all Communists. They are still languishing in prison. The same fate which was meted out to their brothers in Poland and Roumania awaits them at any moment.

Comrades! The bourgeoisie has placed the white terror on the order of the day. The social traitors are bound up with it body and soul. This does not prevent them, however, from making a loud noise, when in Workers' and Peasants' Russia the murderers of the leaders of the working class are brought to trial. These social traitors condone all cruelties of the bourgeois governments, they declare war against all conquests by the working class. The passivity of the working class is the water to the mill of the capitalist offensive; the division of the proletariat gives the bourgeoisie the hope of victory. The guaranty of our coming victory lies in the mobilization of our forces, in the creation of a united front, in repelling the offensive of the bourgeoisie and the passing of the proletariat from the defense to the attack. Herein lies the only possible salvation of the proletarian masses faced with the white terror of bloody capitalism.

Long live the proletarian united front.

Long live the fight for a worthy human existence for the masses.

Long Live the Revolution.

Long Live Socialism.

*The Executive of the Communist International.*

## To the Italian Workers.

In the next few days the remnant of the Italian Socialist Party will assemble at a congress which will seal its fate. At this moment we address our appeal not only to the workers who are members of the Italian Socialist Party, but to all Italian workers, with the request that in view of the apparent collapse of the Italian Socialist Party, they ponder over the lessons of this collapse, and to decide whether this collapse shall turn to a final defeat of the Italian workers' movement, or be the beginning of its rapid revival.

### Either the Proletariat Advances or the Bourgeoisie Attacks!

In Italy there prevails the white terror of the Fascisti as in no other country in the world. "Where in the whole of Europe, in the whole world except in Mexico and some republics of South and Central America, is there a country like Italy which has been ravaged by the Fascisti, where under the connivance of the government and in utter disregard of law, Cooperative Stores, Trade Union Quarters and People's Houses are systematically burned down, Town Halls captured, the resignation of the authorities enforced, the priests driven away, unpopular persons banished and propaganda carried on by the revolver? In Italy alone has this culmination of reaction been reached." Thus is the situation described, not by a Communist organ but by "Italia", the paper of the Catholic Party. And how has this white terror come about?

After the end of the war, the Italian bourgeois state was economically ruined, without an army on which the bourgeoisie could rely, with a dispersed bureaucracy, with a revolutionary proletariat and a despondent bourgeoisie. The Italian Socialist Party was the hope of the Italian workers. It alone stood there, not only free from responsibility for the war which has ruined Italy, but also with the glory of having opposed the wholesale massacre of the war. The Italian proletariat hailed the Russian revolution with great enthusiasm and desired to follow its example. Strikes spread over the country, the workers captured the factories dominated the streets of the cities; not only the agricultural proletariat but the farmers also arose. And the sun of the revolution seemed to be rising in Italy. But the majority of the leaders of the Italian Socialist Party did not have the courage to organize this spontaneous movement of the proletariat and to lead it to the assault. Yes, even when in September 1920 it took up the offensive, when the bourgeoisie did not venture

to resort to armed force, the leaders of the trade unions, d'Arragona and Company, completed the pact with the bourgeoisie without interference on the part of the Party leaders who were content with the promises of Giolitti to introduce a Bill for workers' control of industry into Parliament.

*When the bourgeoisie became aware of the timidity and the anxiety of the Socialist leaders in the face of the revolution, it abandoned its fears and organized the Fascisti gangs which set up a reign of terror throughout the whole country, killing thousands of revolutionary workers, attacking workers' homes and thus becoming the masters of the situation.* Serrati promised to prepare the revolution systematically by propaganda and organization and he systematically prepared the disorganization of the revolutionary forces and the victory of the Fascisti.

### **Either the Revolutionary Socialists Remove the Reformists or They Will Be Vanquished by Them!**

All this was foreseen by the Communist International and it declared to the leaders of the Italian Socialist Party: You claim that the Italian proletariat is not yet ready to seize power; well, if this is the case, it is the more necessary to prepare the struggle for power. And the first step in this direction is to break away from the reformists, from Turati, Treves, d'Arragona. They are few in number but they control the mass organizations of the proletariat, the trade unions and the cooperative societies as well as the parliamentary fraction. They are opponents of the proletarian revolution, believing in collaboration with the bourgeoisie. It is impossible to prepare the struggle for the proletarian power along with them. Serrati has declared most solemnly, that the Italian reformists are not traitors to the proletariat, but disciplined comrades who will submit to the will of the Party. And Serrati decided to break away from 50,000 Italian Communists; to break away from the Communist International merely in order not to be compelled to break with the handful of reformist bureaucrats from the trade unions and the cooperative societies, in the municipalities and in Parliament. At Leghorn the Communists severed connections with the Socialist Party in order to prepare by their own means the difficult work of educating the proletariat for the approaching conflicts. Serrati apparently remained master in the house of the Socialist Party; the Central Committee was in his hands. *And now the Parliamentary fraction is in open revolt against the Central Committee and advocates collaboration with the bourgeoisie, enters into the bourgeois government, and d'Arragona the leader of the trade unions lets the mask fall. He openly demands the entrance of the Socialists into the government and threatens in the event of opposition to form an independent workers' party. And Serrati is compelled to threaten the reformists with the split, the split which he so obstinately opposed at Leghorn.*

What has happened? The attacks of the Fascisti gangs have been successful. The weakest section of the proletariat, the agricultural workers, and the workers in the small cities, betrayed as they were to the white terror by the passivity of the Italian Socialist Party, allowed themselves to be persuaded by the reformist trade union bureaucrats, parliamentarians and municipal councillors that they would be delivered from this terror if the Socialist Party participated in the government and took the state machinery into its own hands. This is nothing but an *illusion*. We do not know whether the bourgeoisie will still permit Treves, Turati, Modigliani and d'Arragona to enter the government. It has no further need of them after they have demoralized the proletariat, after they have helped to disarm it. And it will refrain from taking into the government a flock of Socialist sheep for whose sake it would have to come into conflict with the fierce wolves whom it has itself brought into the world. But even if the bourgeoisie should provide a shelter for its trembling flunkies beneath the government roof, it would be absurd to think of fighting the Fascisti with the bourgeois apparatus. The Fascisti have obtained weapons from the bourgeois royal army; the officers are working with them and the government is as powerless against the Fascisti as it is strong with them. But until the reformist section of the working class is convinced that the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie fails to protect them, it must decide whether to *break with the Reformists*,—or not.

If Serrati does not now break from the reformists, then he is their conscious confederate and all his protests against the reformists are mere gestures and an attempt at conscious deception of the workers. Then, Serrati is a lost man; then, the last honest worker must turn away from him, from a man who is consciously deceiving the proletariat in order to keep his position and to eat his bread in peace. If Serrati and the followers of Serrati determine to break from the reformists,

we ask them: and what further? How do you intend to fight against the reformists? What are you now fighting for?

### **Your Two Alternatives: Either in the Ranks of the Communist International or Death!**

The Serrations speak of an independent Socialist Party to fight against the reformists. How will they fight against the reformists, what will be the end of this fight?—these are the questions. Do they want to fight them with phrases, on the dangers of collaboration with the bourgeoisie? But why have they not succeeded up to now in convincing the workers of Mantua, Ferrara, Emilia, and Tuscany that collaboration is bad? They could not convince them because they could not show them any other means of saving the workers from the attacks of the Fascisti and because they were not disposed to look on inactively whilst they are being killed by the Fascisti. The reformists can only be fought by rallying the working class to fight against the attack of the Fascisti, thereby showing the proletarians the method of struggle. This method of struggle is shown them by the Italian Communists in their proposals to the *Alleanza del Lavoro* in which they concretely declared what the workers ought to do in order to defend themselves. Comrades Maffi, Lazzari and Riboldi are therefore perfectly right in asserting that it is not sufficient to use mere phrases against the reformists; it is necessary to organize the fight against the Fascisti together with the Communists. There lies the way of struggle against the reformists. Anything else is but new deception.

If the Serrations have honestly recognized their mistakes, nothing else will remain for them to do but to reconsider everything that they had said and written against the Communist International. They will then realize that all their feeble thoughts have only been produced by the fear of breaking with the reformists. They demanded that the special conditions in Italy be taken into consideration, and they reproached the Communist International with having overlooked them. Now we see whether we were right, when we said that the Italian reformists are of the same brand as the other traitors, the Scheidemanns, the Hendersons and the Renaudels. They repudiated the suggestion when we compared d'Arragona with the heroes of the Amsterdam Trade Union International. At present d'Arragona is sitting with the Amsterdamers. They were afraid of the preparations for the revolutionary struggle and now they perceive that to renounce them means preparing the victory of the Fascisti. If it were only a case of dealing with Serrati himself we could scornfully declare to him: You have asked for it George Dandin! But behind Serrati there are still thousands of workers and it is therefore impossible for us to deride, but we must declare: it is possible for every party to make mistakes, even honest leaders can make mistakes; but they must prove their honesty in acknowledging their errors, by learning from them and turning to the right path of the struggle which the Communist International points out to the proletarians of the whole world.

Workers of Italy! Socialists, Trade Union Comrades and Communists! You now see how correctly the Communist International has foreseen the development of events. You, Italian Communists, left the Italian Party as a small minority, and now you have gradually become a growing power. You will become the proletarian party if you succeed in gathering the whole revolutionary proletarians for the common fight against the increasing misery and the increasing raids of the Fascisti reaction; if you will only understand how to rally millions and millions of proletarians in town and country under the slogan of the Proletarian Workers' Government.

Proletarian revolutionary members of the Social Democratic Party! You have seen where you have arrived by tolerating the vacillating leaders, when you broke with the Communists and the International in order not to break with the reformists. Now it is time to accomplish this break with the reformists and to join the Communists. Therefore unite with the Communists against the reformists and their followers if they refuse to understand the lessons of their collapse.

Down with reformist treachery!

Down with coalition!

Long live the revolutionary class war against the bourgeoisie!

Long live the Communist International, the leader of this struggle!

Revolutionary workers of Italy, close your ranks under the banner of the Communist International.

The Executive of the Communist International.

Moscow, July 22nd, 1922.