



# The COMMUNIST

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## May Day

International Labor Day! On this day the workers of the world assemble to review events that have transpired the past year and to prepare for the struggles of the future. On this day we take inventory of our victories and of our defeats. In every civilized spot on earth this is the day the workers meet, this is a day set aside exclusively for labor, by labor itself. It is not a national holiday, like the First Monday in every September in the United States has been set aside for American Labor to celebrate while every other working class does not even recognize it as different from any other day. The first Monday in September is not Labor Day from the viewpoint of the revolutionary workers, but is merely a nationalistic holiday that is utterly meaningless. This Labor Day, May First, is a genuine labor day, set aside by a world congress of labor and celebrated everywhere. On that day the workers of the world do not march under the banner of any nation, but under the red flag of the proletarian revolution. It is that emblem that represents all the achievements, all the hopes, the aspirations and the very life blood that flows in the veins of all workers of the world, no matter to what nation they belong or what color their skin is. Just as the blood that flows in the veins of every human being is red, so is the flag of International labor, red, symbolizing the life blood of the working class that has been shed on a hundred thousand battlefields in our long struggle for freedom.

In the United States, because of the brutal tactics used by governments of city, state and nation to suppress every vestige of militant action on the part of the working class, it is considered a crime to carry a Red Flag. But the workers meet just the same and although there are red flags in but few places, the sentiment that inspires the workers who march under that flag is there and can never be crushed and the time will come when even in this reactionary nation that flag will float defiantly in the breeze and the ruling class that now orders the government to

resort to oppressive measures against us will have passed into history.

Today the working class of America stands face to face with the most powerful, the most brutal and sinister ruling class on earth, a ruling class drunk with its newly acquired power won by the shameless betrayal and terrible sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of workers of this country. Their loathsome tactics were exposed to all workers when they conspired with their government (not ours) to crush every attempt on the part of labor to better its own condition. During the war the government promised us that victory for America would mean peace, prosperity and plenty for all. The workers won the war for their masters and the United States gained in wealth and power beyond the most fantastic dreams of any conqueror in the world's history and then, in its arrogance, it turned like a hyena upon the very working class that had made possible its victory. Every struggle on the part of labor has been crushed since the war and crushed with the active assistance of the ingrate government of the United States.

The steel workers, the railroaders, the miners, the garment workers, the workers in the printing industry, the building trades workers and all other trades have been assaulted by the combination of employers, judges, police, army, cossacks, and every other oppressive agency that a greedy and merciless ruling class can command.

The workers have retreated until they stand with their backs against the wall, but at last they are fighting back. The textile workers have been on the firing line for many months, the mine workers have entered the struggle, the railroaders will be forced to fight or face more reductions. A new wave of strikes is sweeping the country and labor is learning the value of ever more militant tactics as the actual struggle develops.

Everywhere in the world, the workers are marshaling their forces for the purpose of resisting capitalist oppression. The

wave of hesitancy and compromise that paralyzed action of the workers during the past year and a half is vanishing and is being replaced by a grim determination to fight the oppressors of labor to the limit.

In every capitalist country and under every flag of every capitalist nation the workers have been betrayed. On this May Day, the Clarion Call of the Communist Party of America, in harmony with the rallying call of all the parties affiliated with the Third (Communist) International, is to rally to the militant struggle against the master class and to crush them by any means within our power.

## The Mine Strike

The nation-wide strike of the miners began April 1 and all signs indicate that the struggle will be a bitter one. It is in reality a lock-out, instead of a strike, because the employers, the mine barons, violated every agreement they ever had with the miners in relation to calling conferences before the expiration of their contracts.

The details of the strike will be found in other publications capable of handling the developments from day to day. The question that interests Communists is the question of tactics in relation to the struggle. Our tactical position should be determined by one consideration only and that consideration must be: How can we increase our power and prestige among the masses of workers, in order to mobilize large numbers for the revolutionary struggle? Such an event as a nation-wide miners' strike offers unlimited opportunities for Communist propaganda. Every advantage must be taken of legal channels to force the leaders of other unions, particularly the railroad and transport unions, to act with the miners against the capitalist class. The "open shop" drive of the employers should be the starting point for our agitation. This propaganda for the "open shop" is a direct assault upon labor for the purpose of destroying all our organizations and while we are thus attacked we should take advantage of the obvious lessons to be drawn from such a mass attack. The only effective counter-attack must also be a mass attack. Therefore it is the imperative duty of Communists to at all times agitate among the rank and file of the workers for unity of action in all the basic industries. The conference of the railroad union heads held in Chicago and their promises to assist the miners on strike must be made to live. Instead of merely passing resolutions and rendering financial assistance the Communists in all these bodies must insist upon actual unity of action against the capitalist class. That means there must be strike action on the part of the railway and transport workers in order to win the demands of the miners. In a few weeks the railroad unions will be compelled to fight against more reductions unless they come to the aid of the striking miners. The policy of the employers of labor is to crush first one organization and then another until labor is completely crushed. The assistance of the federal and state governments will be used, as in all previous instances, in the interests of the employing class, whose creature it is and whose interests it must always serve.

The assaults of the militia, the police, the cossacks, the courts and every other governmental weapon must be utilized for the propagation of Communism. We must always point out the oppressive character of the government and endeavor to force the struggle from merely economic ends into an open political

Through the struggle will dawn upon the minds of the workers the necessity for the forcible overthrow of the capitalist government and the establishment upon its ruins of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat under the crimson emblem of the International Working Class.

Down with Capitalism!

Long live the International Solidarity of the Working Class!

J. DAVIS, Exec. Sec'y

*Central Executive Com. of C. P. of A.*

struggle against the capitalist state. The action of the government in the interests of the employing class becomes ever more brazen and ever more workers realize, in the actual process of the struggle, that every strike takes on a political character. Propaganda aiming at the disruption of the military forces of state and nation should be widespread. There is not any immediate advantage to be derived from such propaganda at this time, as far as actual results among the ranks of soldiers is concerned, as both the militia and army are volunteer organizations. But some of them have been deceived into these governmental machines under the pretext that such organizations are personally beneficial. Such individuals may be used to propagate Communism by pointing to the fact that the soldiers are also members of the working class and illustrate it by the treatment accorded the World War veterans in the present unemployment crisis.

As to private detectives, thugs and gunmen who infest certain mine areas, they should be dealt with in the same manner one deals with rattlesnakes. Any attempt of mine guards to invade private homes of strikers and forcibly eject them should be resisted and such a terrific fight carried on against the mine-guard system that it will be wiped out completely.

Communists should take the lead in all agitation against the capitalist state in addition to constantly urging the mass of workers in all basic industries to strike in sympathy with the coal strikers. The strikes that are sweeping the United States presage a new period of revolt in which vast masses of workers will participate. All the illusions created through the artificially created semblance of prosperity at the close of the war have vanished. The workers realize their condition is gradually becoming worse and that the very existence of their organizations is threatened, so they are in no mood to accept assurances of the government that everything will be well if we only submit to the advice of the learned economists of capitalist imperialism. The leaders of labor, who have always served the interests of the employers against the workers are trembling before the militant demands of the rank and file of the workers for decisive action toward unity and are constantly endeavoring to palliate the workers without meeting their demands, which would involve an open fight against capitalism, therefore against the capitalist state. This cowardice, treachery and betrayal of labor must be incessantly emphasized to the mass of workers.

We are entering a new period of struggle and every strike has revolutionary potentialities, no matter how insignificant its start. In the case of the mine strike, which threatens to involve the workers of the transportation industry the possibilities are immense and may be the first of a series of sharp struggles that will

culminate in open civil war against the state. As these struggles increase the army will be recruited to ever greater proportions through some form of compulsory service, because it will be impossible to secure enough volunteers to do the dirty work of strike breakers. Such an army would be very susceptible to Communist propaganda and in the struggle the time will come when a part of the army will refuse to shoot at workers and will instead join with the workers and turn their guns against the capitalist class. Then will ensue the final struggle, which will culminate in the proletarian dictatorship in the United States.

The workers themselves, especially in large industrial centers where the mining and steel industry predominates, also in railroad centers, should organize for purposes of defense in the coming struggles. When the mass of the workers are actually prepared to resist it will be more difficult to obtain mercenaries in the army and militia to engage in strike breaking, as such action will then require more courage than is now involved in shooting into crowds of defenseless workers.

So, for Communists in this immediate struggle there are a number of important tasks. The demand for sympathetic strikes on the part of railroad and transportation workers, through a

direct appeal to the rank and file to force the leaders to act, is the first in importance.

Of almost equal importance is the propaganda tending to expose the state as an instrument of oppression used by the capitalist class to hold the workers in subjection to their masters. Every act of violence should be used to illustrate this, in order that the worker may come to hold the capitalist government in contempt and recognize the necessity for its destruction. In order to teach these lessons it is absolutely necessary to engage in all the immediate struggles of the workers, to serve on committees of all kinds and to actually teach Communism through personal examples of self-sacrifice and of ability to represent the interests of your class.

The future is brighter than it has been for the past two years, for the struggles beginning in America have their counterparts in all Europe. The new wave of the struggle is world-wide and again capitalism will be on the defensive. This time we are better able, speaking in terms of the world movement, to handle the situation and this time the forces we are mobilizing for the final struggle will emerge triumphant.

TO YOUR TASKS, COMRADES!

THE FUTURE BELONGS TO THE WORKING CLASS!

## “The United Front”

On the question of the United Front it is necessary for communists to keep constantly in mind the difference between the tendency toward unity on the part of the mass of the workers themselves, and the demand for unity on the part of *the leaders* of the reactionary groups in the labor movement, both right-wingers and centrists. While it is the duty of communists to utilize every opportunity to secure a closer unity of action on the part of the mass of workers, it is at the same time the imperative duty of communists, now as much or more than ever before, to never cease the theoretical attack upon our enemies of the past, who still remain our enemies today, those reformistic and centrist traitors in the Second, Second-and-a-Half and Amsterdam Internationals. In the United States, although we demand communist participation in an effort to force the leaders to actually work for a United Front of the working class, we must never lose sight of the fact that Gompers is still Gompers and that the renegades of the Socialist Party, who have constantly betrayed the workers, are still renegades. The question of unity is never for one moment to be considered as formal unity, that is as organic unity, but only unity of action to a limited degree and for the solution of immediate pressing problems. The United Front is unity from below and does not imply unity of *leaders*. We insist that the leaders endorse and actively engage in the struggle for the United Front of the working class, and any refusal or hesitancy on their part to rally to this fundamental need of the working class at this time, when capitalist imperialism is shattering the ranks of labor with powerful blows, will only place one more weapon in our hands against them and only reveal to ever larger numbers of workers their true character as traitors, who only pay lip service to the question of unity, but who avoid action in the interest of unity.

Negotiations are entered into with leaders of the reaction only because they control some of the machinery of the workers' organizations. By controlling this machinery they are in a strategic position and the communists are forced to deal with them in order

to obtain a favorable hearing before the membership of their organizations. Unity negotiations with such elements should be used in order to gain the greatest possible publicity, to put the leaders on record before their own membership, so that their betrayal of the interests of the workers will be plain to everyone. It will also be plain to the workers that it is the communists that are taking the initiative in formulating the demands of their class for a united struggle against the most flagrant ills from which they suffer.

Unity is essentially a demand from the rank and file of labor. It is not a tactic that was invented by any group, but it evolved in the actual process of the struggle. The communists, in dealing with the vital question of unity must also keep in mind the fact that there are millions of workers who are not affiliated with the standard organizations of labor. There are many thousands in the ranks of the syndicalists, the anarchists and other groups of workers who must be brought into the general action against capitalism. But vastly more important than any of the lesser groups, outside the old line labor organizations, is that vast mass of millions of non-partisan workers, not affiliated with any organization, political or otherwise, and whose interest in the internal struggles between different tendencies in the labor movement has not been aroused. Particularly is this the case in the United States, where we have the most powerful capitalism on earth and the weakest labor organizations. It is from this group of unorganized workers also that demands for a united front come. The various quarrels indulged in between old line organizations in America, such as endless jurisdictional squabbles, the job trust psychology and other grave defects of organizational unity on the economic field have resulted in keeping literally millions of workers out of any organizations. A trend toward unity of action on the part of the existing unions would result in enlisting the support of the broad masses of American workers who have never affiliated with any organization. To propagate more efficient forms of organization is one of the imperative duties of Com-

munists in the United States. Nothing should be permitted to stand in the way of constant agitation for unity and every opponent should be unmercifully denounced as a traitor to the workers and a lackey of the capitalist class. There is no denunciatory language strong enough to apply to such treachery and the communists should be ever on the alert for symptoms of such base betrayal of the demands of labor.

As has been said in the various discussions among the best theoreticians in the Communist movement of the world, the demand for the United Front was not created by leaders from above, but is the result of a historical process that has been going on since the close of the World war. The demands made by the war upon industry drew ever larger elements of the population of the various belligerent countries into the ranks of the wage-earning class—into the proletariat. This widespread proletarianization of small farmers, merchants and professional strata of the population, including the children of these sections of the lower middle class, has proceeded at a tremendous pace. The close of the war resulted in a gradual shut-down of industry and the total abolition of many of the gigantic industrial establishments created for war purposes. Unemployment again stalked through the earth. The newer proletariat began to realize that capitalism, with its wages system, is a slave system, without any of the redeeming features of previous slave systems. The uncertainty of the existence of the wage-slaves was indelibly impressed upon their minds. The reaction from the days of war hysteria and pseudo-prosperity profoundly affected the whole of society. On the part of the working class the result of the disillusionment caused them to be receptive to revolutionary propaganda. They had been lead to believe that the war was the dawn of a new era of peace and plenty, that it was an agent of liberation of the world from misery and poverty and uncertainty. Added to the reaction after their illusions had been so ruthlessly dispelled was the positive achievement of the Russian revolution, which had its reflex in an ideologic response to the revolution from the more advanced ranks of the proletariat throughout the world, who were enabled to enlist thousands for an immediate struggle against capitalism. True, this movement was primarily one of blind fury as the result of shattered illusions; illusions that had been carefully created by rosy promises of democracy and freedom for all forever. This blind fury the Communists of the world tried to mould into revolutionary channels. During 1919 and 1920 the movement was at its height. The world plunderers, the bourgeoisie, were on the defensive for a time. But gradually and with a steady downward trend the movement subsided. The masses, exhausted by the war, turned from the path of revolution to the alluring promises of those moderates in the labor movement who taught a bearable existence now for the workers and the beginning of a gradual, peaceful, evolutionary progress toward better conditions. The reaction, which had miserably betrayed the world proletariat during the war, achieved a momentary revival, and thereby gave the bourgeoisie a chance to organize against the workers and to retrench themselves firmly in the strongholds that had been trembling before the onslaught of the furious masses, under revolutionary leadership. Therefore instead of an ever-increasing development of the militant struggle of the proletariat, which meant the certain death of the reactionary labor bodies and their internationals, we see a revival of those internationals along with the bourgeoisie they serve. When the bourgeoisie thrives the yellow internationals also thrive, because they are inseparable parts of one whole. When the power of the bourgeoisie declines the power of the yellow

leaders of labor diminishes in like degree. A new situation has been created and to this new situation the Communists must adjust themselves.

So long as large masses of workers are dominated by the ideology of the reactionary tendency in the labor movement it is impossible to bring them under the banner of Communism by standing aloof from them and beckoning from a distance to rise to our height, as some of our leftists imagine. Instead of indulging in separatist tendencies we must identify ourselves with every struggle of the workers; we must permeate every strata of their organizations and fight side by side with them for even the most trivial of their demands. We must literally impress upon them the fact that we have "no interests separate and apart from the interests of the working class as a whole."

To the new recruits of the working class from the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie and semi-proletarians and to those younger men and women of the working class who are just entering industry, the present pitiable trend of their class, retreating before the heavy onslaughts of the capitalist class, evokes one idea that dominates all other considerations and that is the idea that labor can win if only it is *united*. Therefore they wave aside as unworthy of consideration all discussions of tactics and principles within the ranks of labor and press their one demand for a *united front*. The assaults of the capitalist class upon the workers has resulted in not only a reduction of money wages, but a reduction in *real* wages—the wages received today are inadequate to maintain even the standard of living of a few years ago. Unemployment is becoming ever more widespread, the uncertainty of existence for the worker increases, adding to the terrible struggle to maintain any decent sort of existence the haunting fear of actual want and poverty bordering on starvation. This is true of the entire world.

Again the workers are on the eve of a great disillusionment. But the phantasy that is now in process of being dispelled is the delusion by which the bourgeoisie were able to remain in power and to recuperate from their criminal conduct against the workers during their imperialistic war. The illusion that is now being dispelled is the idea of a gradual, peaceful, evolutionary advance promised the workers by the servants of the bourgeoisie, the reformists. Instead of the gradual improvement of the condition of labor as the reformists would have us believe, there exists everywhere a progressive increase of misery, suffering and degradation. The workers press forward with demands for an alleviation of their condition and force their leaders to act. Strikes are spreading everywhere and everywhere the workers are being defeated and driven lower and lower. In every strike the masses of workers see the rank failure of the half-measures of their leaders. The traitorous leaders constantly endeavor to postpone action. From being in a receptive mood and susceptible to reformistic illusions as the revolutionary wave receded, the workers are now turning from the right-wingers and centrists and pressing forward with their own demands. The leaders, fearing to alienate the support of the workers by openly taking a stand against their demands, pay lip service to them openly, while endeavoring to sabotage them secretly.

In the United States the revolt of the workers against the reaction is assuming ever more menacing forms for the old line labor leaders, but, as yet, there is not any perceptible trend toward communism, as is the case in European countries, particularly Germany, where the history of the proletariat of today embraces actual revolutionary experiences. There the workers who were indifferent to the Communists and who followed the

Social-Democrats a few months ago, now look with favor toward a Communist revolution.

In addition to the failure of the promises of the capitalist class after the war and the vanishing of the phantasy of a gradual improvement of the condition of the workers, there is another factor to be considered and that is the ever growing menace of new imperialistic wars, the preliminaries of which have already taken place in some instances, as for example, the so-called Washington conference on limitation of armament, which was merely a pretext for a piece of diplomatic manouevring that can be nothing but the forerunner of other and more devastating wars, if allowed to develop unchecked. The promises made by the warring governments and the traitorous and reactionary labor leaders who supported the World war, to the effect that it was a "war against war" and that it would be the "last war," are today revealed as lies. The various conferences, called for the alleged purpose of discussing "permanent peace," etc., are all tricks of diplomacy and a striving to gain some strategic advantage preliminary to another bath of blood for the workers in the interest of imperialism. Those servants of capitalism, who so loyally defended them in their hour of dire need, those reactionary leaders of labor, now speak in terms of the highest praise of these diplomatic parleys, evidently believing that such conferences will really end wars, instead of being merely stepping stones to new wars. That only displays their astounding stupidity.

All these changes taking place today have their effect and, combined, they impress upon the mind of the Communist, reviewing events from a Marxist point of view, the fact that the international labor movement is entering another period of militancy. Again the revolution enters the ascendancy. But today it is not the plain blind, unorganized mass of 1919-20, but a proletariat seasoned by the horrible aftermath of a criminal war. Rich in the experience of blasted hopes and immune to the pacific doctrine of a gradual and peaceful transition to a higher form of organization, the world proletariat enters another phase of its development. Its demand today is for a *united front*, because the masses instinctively realize the hopelessness of their cause without it, and they also want to beat back the encroachments of the bloodsuckers of capitalism by hurling their mass power into the balance against those problems that are on the order of the day and crying for solution.

Too well do the reactionsters of the reactionary movement realize that they must respond to that insistent demand or perish and so in words they also advocate unity. The call for a United Working Class Front was issued by the Executive Committee of the Communist International on December 18, 1921, and immediately aroused responses on the part of other internationals. Each reactionary group of leaders has endeavored to interpret the Moscow call to its own advantages, thereby hoping to vindicate its past treachery before the masses, but the position of the III is not in any way altered by what its enemies say or do. There has been no retreat on the part of the Third International. The call for a united front is simply old tactics applied to new problems. There has been no alteration in the fundamentals of the International since the enunciation of the famous twenty-one points of the Second Congress of the Third International. The III, however, feels that it is now in a stronger position than ever before and that it can enter into temporary alliances for definite objects, without sacrificing any principle whatsoever. It is now definitely organized, has established complete freedom of action in its relation to other internationals, and can at all times denounce and criticize without mercy, and not suffer as a violator

of proletarian discipline. This is vastly different from the position of the left elements in the world labor movement at the outbreak of the World war and after its close. At that time the cry of discipline could be raised and the lefts could be accused of splitting the workers movement. The splits from the yellow international established freedom of communist action and that freedom is one of the most precious possessions of the Third International and the parties affiliated with it, and will never be surrendered under any consideration. *That would be the supreme betrayal of the workers of the world* and its suggestion by a Communist should be sufficient grounds for the severest measures of discipline.

The *United Front* was not proposed for the purpose of securing *organic unity* with the right and center, but for the purpose of exposing them to the workers. They both play the roles of lackeys of the bourgeoisie by introducing splits into the labor movement at critical times, and always endeavor to conceal their perfidy by accusing others of responsibility for the splits. The III is determined to place these gentry on record by demanding that they actively participate in the organization of a united front of the workers. Meanwhile the Third International and the parties affiliated with it, must be doubly sure that never, *for one moment* must they relinquish complete autonomy of organization, of criticism and of denunciation of its opponents. No action should ever be taken by any Communist party that could compromise it or endanger its position. Therefore the declaration of the Comintern in its call for a United Front proclaims:

"Complete liberty of action having been secured in respect of organization to ensure *agitation by ideas* amongst the workers, Communists in all countries are now seeking to secure wide-spread and integral *unity of action* amongst the workers. The heroes of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals preach unity in words, but in fact act to the contrary. The social-peace reformists of Amsterdam, having failed to suppress by their organization the voice of protest, criticism and revolutionary appeal, are now trying to get out of the blind alley into which they have brought themselves by introducing splits, disorganizations and organized sabotage into the struggle of the working masses. One of the most important tasks for Communists at the present time lies in exposing by deeds this new form of the old treachery.

" \* \* Imposing upon themselves a discipline of *action*, it is obligatory that Communists should preserve for themselves, not only up to and after action, but, if necessary, *even during action*, the right and possibility of expressing their opinion on the policy of all working class organizations, without exception. *The rejection of this condition is not permissible under any circumstances.* While supporting the watchword of the maximum unity of all working class organizations, Communists, in every practical action taken against the capitalist front, must not on any account refrain from putting forward their views, which are only the logical expression of the defense of the interests of the working class as a whole."

Numerous dangers are invariably encountered in any case of unity of action with such treacherous elements as the leaders of the reaction, but a strong, well-grounded Communist party need have no fear of being swamped, providing it abjures all suggestion of organic unity and clears its ranks of all reformists, centrists, liquidators, etc., who are merely politicians looking for an opportunity to abandon Communism and unite with semi-reformistic and centrist enemies of Communism. A special warn-

ing is issued to those Communist Parties that still contain within their ranks reactionary elements, that is those elements that have not yet broken with centrist and semi-centrist ideology, which always strive to destroy Communist unity in order to achieve unity with undesirable leaders of the reformists who are enemies of Communism. The call for a united front is distorted by such elements to mean permission to amalgamate with centrist elements, therefore with the bourgeoisie whom the centrists always serve. To seek agreements upon fundamentals, to enter into an agreement and to unite with centrists upon the basis of a party program that implies submission to the machinery of that party cannot possibly be termed a United Front of the working class, but is a *United Front Against the Working Class*. It is the imperative duty of all Communists to brand such dangerous centrists as enemies of the working class and to mercilessly expose them at every opportunity.

To the extent that there is danger from centrist and semi-centrist elements within the Communist Parties to that extent must the parties be on the alert to detect any wavering from the path of genuine Communist tactics. Once discovered such defects and those responsible for them should be eliminated. There is one advantage, however, to the policy of the United Front that can be made of immeasurable benefit to parties suffering from this particular virulent pest, and that is the fact that it brings our own hesitating and compromising elements into direct contact with similar elements in other camps and eventually results in organic unity of these undesirables. This organic unity of the Communists of the right and the "leftists" of the reformist groups, results in freeing the Communist Parties from the dead timber of reformism.

Zinoviev, in his article on the "United Labor Front" appearing in the Russian "Communist International No. 19," says regarding the question of unity: " \* \* Unity in all revolutionary actions or even semi-actions against the capitalists—yes! Unity with the leaders of Amsterdam and the Second International to sidetrack the differences which exist between communism and reformism—*never, not for anything, and under no circumstances*. \* \* In making this or that agreement the Communists cannot for a minute forget that reformism is, to use the splendid expression of Comrade Barbusse, the specific venom of socialism. The more frequent are the practical agreements with the workers in other organizations, the firmer, clearer and sharper must be our ideological fight against reformism. Or else the cadaverous venom may infect even the healthy organism."

The reaction constantly sings the song of "one organization of the workers," as they desire an end to the independence of Communist action and criticism of their treachery to the workers. All the traitors, the social patriots and centrists of the world are now shouting in unison for "one mighty international." Their dreams of today are for the reconstruction of that International of ignominious memory, the Second International, which assisted the bourgeoisie to drench Europe with the blood of the workers of every continent on earth. How well pleased would these traitors be to see the Communists abandon their independent organization and merge with them again, so that the infamy of 1914 could be repeated on the eve of the next World war! The same despicable suggestion is made to the Communists of America by the Socialist Party, the Workers Party, that recent amalgamation of centrists and reformists, who even sank so low as to use the demand of the Third International for a United Front to conceal their treachery and perfidy. To such impudent suggestions the Communists can only reiterate the slogan of the

Third International: "*Unity from Below, Unity of the Workers Against the Capitalists*" and "*Under No Circumstances and Never Organic Unity With the Reformists and Centrists*."

In Zinoviev's article, previously referred to, while discussing the situation in Germany and the actions of Paul Levi and Company, he makes a splendid point and one that is very applicable to the United States at the present time, though to be sure, there is no comparison between the American Communist movement and the German Communist movement as far as numbers and influence are concerned. Says Zinoviev:

"In supporting the slogan for a United Front, the German Communists at the same time will have to fight with redoubled vigor against those who are trying to bring centrist ideas into the ranks of our own party. An irreconcilable struggle against the new party formed by Levi, Daumig, and others, is an act of self-preservation of our party. We can and must support every practical step in the field of building up a united labor front among the masses, but at the same time we must also show the most merciless resistance to every "leader" who tries to push the party backward. Paul Levi & Co. affirm that they do not want to set up a separate party, but at the same time they are actually setting it up. \* \* Levi cannot, so far, set up a noticeable independent party and, therefore, he organizes something like a formless club. \* \* *To make any concessions to these liquidators who try to break up the Communist Party from within, would mean committing the greatest possible crime against the newly-born revolutionary mass movement.* \* \* Who cannot understand this dialectic, understands nothing. Whoever, from the fact of the blind striving of the working masses toward a united front, draws the conclusion that the Communist Party must connive with the 'leaders' who have gone over to the enemy's side, *is not fit to construct a Communist Party, but is fit only to destroy it.*"

When such an attitude is so imperative for a mass movement and is spoken of in such vehement terms by the President of the Third International, how much more necessary is it for a party, as yet small, just striving to make its impress upon the working class of a nation, to fight against the same tendency? From the above quotation, the duty of all Communist parties in relation to such alliances is very plain and there is not any language strong enough to condemn such a tendency in any Communist Party anywhere.

Over and over again is the admonition repeated by every theoretical writer of standing who has discussed the United Front, that never must there be any organic unity, but that there must be ONE Communist Party and that party must forever remain independent of any alliances with leaders or parties of reformistic tendencies, except in so far as to unite the masses of the workers for certain immediate struggles against capitalism.

The United Front is unity from below, let us reiterate, unity of the mass of the workers themselves, under divergent leadership. But in no way can it be interpreted to mean unity of Communists with leaders of the Menshevik groups who merely use popular slogans in order to obtain support from the workers by deception. Some of the American Mensheviks call this "fooling the workers into communism." That is certainly a new euphuism for betrayal of the workers into the swamp of bourgeois reformism.

The United Front does not mean that Communists should support groups of "revolutionary" adventurers, who, in order to obtain a following for their reactionary machines, proclaim unity

of their elements as unity of the workers. The fact that such adventurers announce that their unity of muddleheads is unity of the masses is of no concern to the Communists, who must bring about real unity of the workers for a united struggle against capitalism. It should always be borne in mind that no principle of Communism can ever be sacrificed for what appears to be a momentary advantage. To yield one inch on principle is a betrayal of the Third International and therefore a betrayal of the working class, whose vanguard the Third International is.

In entering the struggle for the United Front, in participating in the every-day struggles of the workers the Communist must always take advantage of every set-back suffered by the workers in order to emphasize the failure of reformism and the necessity of proletarian dictatorship. It is only through experience that the majority of the working class will lose its illusions concerning bourgeois democracy and reformism.

The United Front agitation imposes various tasks upon the Communist Parties, and they are determined by the conditions existing in various countries. For instance, in the United States, it is the duty of Communists to take the lead in the movement to unite all working class elements for the struggle against unemployment, the open shop, reduction in wages and to actively participate in all strikes and other struggles of the workers, through Communist nuclei in all workers organizations. The propagation

of Industrial Unionism must be one of the cardinal tasks of the Communists in this country as life itself is every day proving the inadequacy of the old forms of craft unionism to cope with the highly organized apparatus of the ruling class. Gompers and Company and other reactionary leaders should be unceasingly denounced because of their refusal to assist in the formation of a United Front against the capitalist class. Out of their experience the American working class will itself create new forms of organization as it finds itself being reduced to ever lower levels of existence, and in these struggles the Communists can wield a tremendous influence by keeping constantly before the workers the necessity for unity of action on the part of the entire working class against the capitalist class.

Although weak in America, the members of the young Communist movement should find encouragement in the fact that no matter what the situation is today or may be in the near future, there is one thing certain and that is that History itself is on the side of the Communists. The inexorable movement of society today is toward the downfall of capitalism and the establishment of communism.

Capitalism is falling, Communism is rising!

A new wave of the revolutionary movement appears!

The future belongs to Communism!

## Apologizing For Liquidators

The "majority" group of the former C. E. C. of the C. P. has issued another fraudulent publication. This time it was circulated among their membership, instead of being suppressed as was their previous number. The latest edition is supposed to be No. 6 and No. 7 combined. The first No. 6 they issued contained some truths regarding their liquidators that would have exposed them as monumental frauds and liars to their own membership, so rather than tell their members the truth and openly confess that they did conspire with the centrists of the Workers' Council group in organizing a dual political party that was to be the instrument for the complete liquidation of the C. P., they destroyed the entire edition and published another paper, calling it No. 6 and 7, combined. In the new paper the article, written by Lewis, exposing the conspiracy of the caucus for liquidation, was left out. To expose the liquidators would mean that, in order to carry out instructions of the Comintern, they should be removed from office or expelled, so rather than create a break in their Centrist front, they suppress the facts. They do not consider it advisable to tell their rank and file about the activities of an executive committee, especially when that committee is trying to betray the party.

In the new edition of the spurious party's paper, Ballister devotes four pages to twisting and turning in an effort to convince the followers of the "majority" that the organization of the legal party has the approval of the Comintern. That the organization of the legal party means the liquidation of the C. P. is stated in plain language in the platform adopted by the legal party. It openly declares that "there has not been, up to the present time, any political organization that can lead and unify the workers against capitalism." Such a declaration ignores the fact that a Communist Party ever existed, or that if it did exist that it was capable of unifying and leading the struggle of the

masses. It implies that the legal party can unify and lead the struggle of the masses, in spite of the fact that every Communist knows that the only organization that can lead the masses in the conquest of political power is the Communist Party.

The "majority" also demonstrated its total depravity when it deliberately lied to the Comintern about conditions in the United States. In the report on the so-called Workers' Council, organized by Engdahl, Lore & Co., Carr made the statement that "they (the centrists in the Workers' Council) have followers among hundreds of thousands of party-less people who previously belonged to the Socialist Party." The best refutation of that claim is the fact that the centrists of the former "majority" and the Workers' Council groups have been endeavoring for four months to build up a "mass" organization and still have not succeeded in getting a membership of even half a hundred thousand, to say nothing of *hundreds of thousands*. The report of Carr to the Comintern was to the effect that there were thousands waiting an opportunity to flock to the standard of a legal party and that so imminent was the danger of a genuinely centrist party gaining an impregnable foothold with the masses of American workers that not a day was to be lost in launching a legal party in order to defeat the centrist aspirations. It is quite true that time was pressing as far as the Workers' Council group of pie-card artists and fakirs was concerned. In another month they would have been bankrupt and the gallant self-appointed leaders of the "masses" would have had to seek other means of living off the working-class movement, or go to work for the people they really serve, the capitalist class.

Carr's report implied that immediate steps toward organization of an open legal party would eliminate the centrists of the Workers' Council. There was not any suggestion that the centrists of the former "majority" of the C. E. C. contemplated

uniting with the centrists for the purpose of forming a centrist political party. Not all the specious argument of Ballister, in his campaign of trying to fool his own members into accepting the legal party, can conceal the rank betrayal of the membership of the C. P. of A. by the former "majority." That the C. P. of A. still exists is not due to the fact that any stone was left unturned by the liquidators to crush it, but solely to the fact that the genuine Communist membership could not be bamboozled or terrorized by unscrupulous centrist politicians, masquerading as Communists. Those deluded members that still remain with the liquidators are becoming ever more restless as they observe the march of events. They see the Workers' Council gang of centrists, who desired to enter the Third International in order to change it from within, gaining control of the machinery of the legal party. Out of Ballister's own mouth he convicts himself and the crew he represents of treachery to the principles of Communism. He correctly states that the Comintern has declared for participation in elections, but "not in the same manner as the social traitors and centrists." If organizing a purely reformistic party, under control of centrists, is not participation in elections in the same manner as centrists, we would like to know what it is? One of the most notorious centrists of the Workers' Council group, J. Louis Engdahl is now managing editor of the official organ of the legal party. Other notorious centrists edit other organs, including the German daily, edited by one of the most obnoxious and persistent centrist politicians that ever infested the American movement.

Did Ballister or Carr or Marshall yet inform the Comintern the facts regarding the organization of the legal party? Did they confess that it was nothing more nor less than a public apportionment of jobs to the leaders of the would-be betrayers of the C. P. and the organizers of the Workers' Council? Indeed they did not!

In addition to lying about the strength of the Workers' Council group among the masses in the United States, Carr, in his report on conditions in America made statements to the effect that "the best of the anarchists who were active in the labor movement have already joined the ranks of the Communist Party." In the first place there have not been, for more than thirty years any anarchists in the labor movement in the United States, with the exception of a very infinitesimal number in points in New Jersey and Massachusetts. They never made any impress anywhere on the labor movement. Anarchism has been dead for so long that it is never considered among the workers in this country. Furthermore there has been but one avowed anarchist who joined the C. P. Neither Carr, Ballister nor Marshall have had experience in the labor movement of this country, or any other, sufficient to enable them to discuss the movement intelligently, to say nothing of speaking authoritatively. In his report he also states that "of the Proletarian Party only a few local groups have remained; all the rest of the members have gone over to the Communist Party." There has never been a single branch of the Proletarian Party affiliated with the former "majority" of the C. E. C., and as for the membership in general of that party there is not a single ex-member supporting the legal party organization and the former "majority." The opinion of all the members of the Proletarian Party was summed up in the denunciations which their fraternal delegates hurled at the legal party on the floor of their convention.

The contemptible trickery of Ballister well supplements the misrepresentation of Carr and we presume will be further elaborated by Marshall, who all his life has been a peanut politician

and a trimmer who, like the Centrists of the Workers' Council group, has no principles that cannot be abandoned for a job.

Ballister resorts to probably the vilest trick that has ever been inflicted upon the Communist movement of America by writing a creed of his own, wherein he accuses Dobin, Henry and Moore of "violating the principles of Communist honor," and heading the article "*Decision by the Communist International.*" The reader may easily be led to believe that Ballister's article is really an official document of the Comintern, whereas the Comintern has never sanctioned any such article. The headlines of that article should have been "What the Centrists of the Former Executive Committee of the C. P. Would Like The Comintern to Say."

In the report of Ballister he also quotes the Theses of the Comintern to the effect that the tendency toward liquidation is very dangerous to the revolutionary movement and that "party members who persist in such views must be ruthlessly expelled from the party." We would like to know how this mandate has been applied by the former "majority" of the C. E. C. Were those Centrists who openly introduced motions to liquidate the party, according to the report of Lewis, appearing in the suppressed No. 6 of the *Communist*, expelled from the party? Were those with a tendency toward liquidation, like Cook and Raphael, disciplined for their activities? Indeed they were not! Instead all of them are today on the pay-roll of their so-called party.

Again the treachery of the former "majority" is shown when they published what purports to be the decision of the C. I. on the minority appeal. The almost unbelievable deception practiced on the Comintern by the Centrist delegates of the former majority can be better understood in relation to a statement appearing in the decision of the Comintern. Says the decision:

"There is no occasion to re-open the question here, since the Theses fully cover the subject. *You must work out the details of the problem in accord with the provisions of the Theses* and all party members must work in agreement with them."

It does not require a Marxist theoretician to perceive that the Theses were entirely ignored in the organization of the Workers' Party. The Theses have been deliberately and studiously ignored in order to maintain the support of the avowed centrists. When the Theses are mentioned in defense of the conspirators who tried to betray the C. P. of A. to Centrism a number of questions confront them, which they must answer in the negative, thereby pleading guilty to the treachery with which we have repeatedly charged them. Did they expel the liquidators? Did they call an underground convention to prepare for the public launching of the legal apparatus? Did they prevent the Centrists from organizing a party? The explanation of the former majority to the effect that they did not "have time" to call a convention of the underground is a plain lie, a part and parcel of the fabric of lies that has been created so that the tricksters can defend themselves before the Comintern.

Finally there has been no recognition of the W. P. by the Comintern and there has been no final decision on the party problems in America in relation to the organization of that Centrist party. Our secretary has received a communication to the effect that the Comintern will make no decision in relation to the American question until the report of our international delegate has been received and considered.

It would be a source of great satisfaction to these traitors to know that they could receive a final and favorable decision, or



that they could bluff the membership of the C. P. of A. into believing their lies, but such is not the calibre of the membership.

Just as we have exposed the treachery of these Centrist liquidators here, so we must expose them before the movement of the entire world. As to continuously engaging in polemics with unscrupulous liars we deeply regret that our official organ has been compelled to serve that purpose. But this reply to them is final as far as we are concerned. The question will be definitely settled through regular channels and our magazine will continue

its work as it should, that is, function as the party organ concerned with problems of Communism. We shall continue to criticize and expose every act of treachery to the working class perpetrated by the Centrists of the W. P., but their attacks upon us are unworthy of further notice. The majority of the membership of the C. P. of A. was not fooled into acceptance of the W. P., and are proceeding with the work of Communism in the United States in accordance with the principles and tactics of the C. I.

## On The Y. C. L.

One of the most dastardly of the many crimes perpetrated by the centrist clique of fighting liquidators against the working class of America, is its traitorous and criminal activity in the Y. C. L.

Originally the Y. C. L. was organized by the erstwhile apologists of the S. P. who were merely jealous of the powerful Germer-Hillquit machine, and yearned to capture it for themselves; and the present set of fighting professional leaders, the old gang of C. L. P. and U. C. P. politicians.

The Y. C. L. from its very birth was tainted with the decay and rotteness of its protagonists. At its very birth it suffered the crimes of its centrist parents, and came into the world a cripple. While some young revolutionists of the C. P. were working within the young peoples movement, organizing them, propagating communism among them, the leaders of the Y. C. L. worthy followers and imitators of their elders to whom they owed their positions of leadership have made the Y. C. L. a sham and a joke in the eyes of the more advanced young workers.

True to the traditions of their good mother the S. P. whom they will never forget, the set of fighting centrists, the unholy outcome of the renegade communist liquidators and professional petit-bourgeois "leaders" who are yearning for the prestige and glory of the old S. P. days, and are now at home in the half-breed yellow and pink W. P. have carried their intrigues and plots into the movement of the revolutionary youth. Like the S. P. and all parties of the deceased second international, they have sought by every means to tie the hands and feet of youth and to offer it up as a sacrifice to their sinister conspiracies against the working class of America.

The centrist leaders have appointed their tools to all the important offices of the Y. C. L. and these are corrupting the organization. One of their chief agents is an adventurer of the worst sort, notorious for his swindling and betrayal of the I. Y. P. S. L. These young leaders are learning very fast from their more experienced centrist directors, and are following out and imitating capitally their crushing policy of lying, demagoguery, deceit, and frightfulness. They are succeeding very well. They will soon maintain complete control of the organization and will prepare to sell it body and soul to the centrist W. P. But it will be an organization of scheming politicians only that they will control.

The centrists have made a sham and a joke of the Y. C. L. At a time when youth was bled white by the imperialist war—when it began to feel its exploitation more acutely than ever—as a result of the post war bankruptcy of capitalism—when their youth instinctively re-echoed to the vast revolutionary energy generated by the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, these centrist poli-

ticians used the Y. C. L. as a tool for their petty intrigues. Like leeches they have sucked out the revolutionary energy of youth and paralyzed all its movements.

Numbers of the most tried and sincere young revolutionists, in fact, those who have built up the organization, and gained a vast influence among the more advanced young proletarian elements, are being ruthlessly expelled for objecting to the deadly centrist control. The centrists are still scheming and plotting. There is no revolutionary activity of any kind among the young. No propaganda, no attempt to educate the masses of young workers. Indeed, the centrists have succeeded in shaping an organization of young politicians already rotten with centrism. They have discredited the name "Young Communist" and have made it a stench in the nostrils of earnest young revolutionists.

The revolutionary instinct characteristic of youth and the almost elemental desire and impulse toward unimpeded revolutionary self-activity combined with the healthy contempt of youth for the practical scheming and slow watch-your-step opportunists is beginning to manifest itself, and is already creating a ferment in the organization of the revolutionary youth.

Youth will never allow itself to be led astray by the centrist misleaders. They will destroy them as they have destroyed the social patriots. Communist Youth has nothing in common with the opportunists. Youth is Revolutionary and has its revolutionary traditions. Liebknecht and the young Spartacists of Germany, the Russian, French, and Swedish young Communists were the first in the struggle against the social-patriotic second international, and were the first to organize Communist Parties.

### ON WITH THE STRUGGLE!!

The Young Communists must throw off the crushing weight of "Centrism." The Communist Party of America, the only party capable of leading the workers in the struggle for the destruction of capitalism by means of the DICTATORSHIP of THE PROLETARIAT functioning through SOVIETS, offers its aid and advice to the young Communists; but it realizes that the Young Communists have tremendous tasks and revolutionary duties of their own.

They must have an independent organization of their OWN. They must forge a steel chain of young Communists and with all the audacity and indomitable energy of Youth throw themselves into the struggle. They must permeate every organization of youth: the WORKSHOPS, the FARM, bourgeois-philanthropic and stupefying SETTLEMENTS, MILITARY, SCOUT and SPORT organizations.

THE YOUNG COMMUNISTS must SNATCH Youth from

the ideological dominance of the bourgeoisie and its prostituted middle-class henchmen. They must lead the masses of the most exploited strata of the working class, the young workers in their

struggle for their immediate needs, give them a Marxian Education, ORGANIZE THEM, and TRAIN them to be efficient fighters for COMMUNISM.

# The Present Task

By EDWARD RYAN

The present task of the Communists in the United States is well expressed in the words of the Thesis on Tactics issued by the Third Congress of the Comintern, "It is the duty of the Party to unite the masses politically for the struggle against American capitalism." This does not mean such chaotic unity of the masses as was represented by the Socialist Party. It means unity on the basis of an uncompromising class struggle, not only in theory, but in practice. From a Communist viewpoint that is the only mass unity that is worth working for. How can such mass unity be achieved? Thus far very little has been accomplished in this direction.

This fact should be a matter of deepest concern for all of us. It is all the more reason why we should learn the lessons which the experience of the past has taught. If we will not or cannot learn these lessons, we shall remain exposed to the danger of repeating past errors, to the detriment of the important tasks which now challenge us. If we are to make any real advance toward our goal, we must avoid, at all costs, a repetition of those glaring mistakes which, thus far, have permitted the American working class to remain politically one of the most backward in any technically advanced country.

While it is true that the use of erroneous tactics by revolutionary organizations helped to perpetuate the backward political condition of the masses, it is equally true that what is mainly responsible for this condition is a force outside the control of these organizations, namely the conception of political "democracy" which dominates the minds of large numbers of the workers. In Russia where the Czarist state ruled with naked force, the workers realized that the government, no less than the capitalists, was their deadly enemy. On the contrary, owing to the veiled nature of the American bourgeois dictatorship, the American workers are lulled into the false belief that the state is neutral in the class conflict. Considering these facts, it is at once plain why an American revolutionary organization that centres its attack openly upon the parliamentary field is doomed either to conformity with bourgeois political conceptions or to destruction.

The Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, and the I.W.W., represent three distinct kinds of revolutionary experience in the U. S. Within these organizations, the chief reasons for their ineffectiveness were: (1) an erroneous conception of proletarian political action; (2) the policy of building separate "revolutionary" unions; and (3), the policy of confining the struggle to the industrial field. The S. P. and the S. L. P. both made the first mistake; the I. W. W. and the S. L. P. were guilty of the second; and the I. W. W. vitiated its efforts with the third. The first tendency made for diluted revolution and reformism; the second for separating the more revolutionary from the backward elements; and the third tended to limit the class struggle to a purely industrial struggle, thereby ignoring the powerful capitalist state. The state, however, did not respond by adopting the

same attitude; in fact, it "noticed" the I.W.W. rather extensively.

Nevertheless, while theoretically weak, the I. W. W. in actual practice developed more class conscious fighters among the workers than either the S. P. or the S. L. P. An analysis of the I. W. W. tactics shows why this was so. The I. W. W. attacked the problem on the industrial field, where class antagonisms germinate. But the I. W. W. developed a limited kind of class consciousness, owing to its syndicalist strain. However, the experience of the I. W. W. shows that the backward masses in the United States can be stirred to more class conscious activity on the industrial than on the parliamentary field. The S. L. P. was more active in a parliamentary sense than industrially, while the S. P. was wholly parliamentary. We should learn from this experience that for a considerable time to come, the chief activity of Communists should take place upon the industrial field, leveling up the class consciousness of the workers. But our conception of "political" ought not therefore to be limited by this industrial activity which is but part of the work of a revolutionary political party, though, at the present time it is the most important part. In proportion as we are successful in this work, will it be possible to guide the struggle of the workers to a general assault upon every stronghold of the capitalist power and finally upon the capitalist state itself.

With these ideas in mind, how does the Workers' Party meet the requirements of the times? Is it so constituted as to carry on the industrial struggle in the way needed at this time? Will it be free from the tendencies which will make it merely a repetition of the Socialist Party? By its very form of organization and the centrist ideas of its leadership, the Workers' Party is limited chiefly to parliamentary activity, thus miseducating its membership and those workers who may be influenced by it to a distorted conception of the class struggle. In so far as the W. P. succeeds in doing this, it will simply reproduce the failure of the Socialist Party. In so far as it fails to do even this, it will remain what it is today, a mass party with the masses left out.

While it is necessary to avoid the mistake made by the Workers' Party, it is equally necessary to avoid that made by the syndicalists. It is true that the syndicalist was on the right road in beginning his work on the industrial field. His mistake lay in permitting it to end there. Like the parliamentary opportunist, though in a reverse way, the syndicalist is influenced by bourgeois ideas to confine his activities to the industrial arena. The Communist Party, on the other hand, points out that these antagonisms which arise from the industrial field must be deepened and broadened to include the whole structure of capitalism. It is in accord with this conception that Communist activity is absolutely necessary in all working-class organizations, and particularly in labor unions. From this view-point, the work of Communist nuclei in these unions becomes of cardinal importance. If there is ever to be an American proletarian mass party,

grounded on an uncompromising class struggle, it must be built on the firm foundations which the work of these nuclei will provide. If this foundation is not as large as we might desire, the solution is plain: Carry on the task in the workers' organizations

with untiring energy, with a realization that every nucleus organized will increase our direct contact with the masses, thus laying the foundation for the future success of the American Communist movement. Comrades, on to the task of the hour!

## The Future Belongs To Communism

Much valuable time and good paper have been wasted on the Genoa Conference. Much of the big talk about the *significance* and *importance* of the Genoa Conference on the part of the European world imperialists who are eager to restore the dominating position of capitalist Europe in the world economy—prattling petit bourgeois liberal moralizers and muddle heads who believe in the infallibility of conferences to solve the insoluble contradictions inherent within the capitalist system of exploitation—and centrist opportunist compromisers who see in the Genoa Conference their much sought for opportunities to retreat farther and farther from the clear cut Marxian policy to the vascillating opportunism and manoeuvring characteristic of centrism, all this is but an indication of the instinct of class desire of these gentry to see capitalism emerge regenerated from the mortal wound inflicted upon it by the World war.

The Centrist misleaders see in the farcical and abortive Genoa Conference a general strengthening of capitalism. The capitalists, they argue, have gained a new lease on life. The revolutionary period is over, a new phase of the peaceful development of capitalism has set in. The revolutionary movement must retreat all along the line. Soviet Russia is forced to compromise with the bourgeoisie and the opportunists of the stripe of Levy, Serrati, Longuet. And their cheap and vulgar second hand reflexes in America, Salutsky, Cannon, Engdahl, Lore and Co. are jubilant at the retarded tempo of the revolution. Their craven hearts are overjoyed at the temporary offensive of the bourgeoisie which these same leaders made possible by betraying the workers in 1918 and '19 when the whole of Europe was engulfed in revolutionary outbreaks; and when decisive revolutionary action on the part of the leaders influencing the large masses would have crushed capitalism in a number of European countries. "Ah!" gleefully shout Serrati, Levy and their foolish American imitators, Olgin, Engdahl and Co. erstwhile open supporters of the counter revolutionary Second and Two and One Half Internationals. "We were always right; the C. I. has changed *its* position and now agrees with us." They threw overboard the propagation of the use of force and armed insurrection in the struggle for the destruction of the bourgeois state and the institution of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Imperialism is now on the offensive; therefore conclude the Communist renegades and liquidators. "The C. P. should cease to propagate a clear revolutionary class policy and the mass action of the workers."

But this crew of opportunists and compromisers because of their middle class interests and the psychologic force of theoretical self delusion characteristic of petit-bourgeois professional theorizers and intellectual self imposed leaders of the working class cannot or will not apprehend events in their true relations.

"The economic conditions of the world in general and the decline of Europe in particular presage a long period of hard times, disturbances and crises." During the war, the Social Democratic henchmen of the bourgeoisie strengthened by the vascillating centrists promised the workers the millennium. Fairly decent conditions in some industries and the reduction of the

large army of unemployed caused the workers to be fooled by their glittering promises of prosperity and low prices after the war.

In Europe the Proletariat has been doomed to greater privation since the war. With the end of the war millions of workers were liberated who went through the experiences of the war with promises of later peace and "good times." "The economic crises consequent upon the war and underproduction came down upon the proletariat with terrific force." The whole of Europe was seized by revolutionary spasms that well nigh rent the old order.

In Italy and Germany the revolutionary movement of the Proletariat was marked by gigantic struggles. England, France and even America were gripped and almost paralyzed by a number of sporadic and convulsive strikes. At no time was the opportunity riper for decisive action. Indeed, it was only the treachery of the Social Democrats and the petit-bourgeois opportunism of the trade union leaders and the vascillating impotence of the centrists that allowed the bourgeoisie to recuperate and to assume the offensive against the Proletariat.

Only petit-bourgeois apologists can lay the failure of the proletariat to destroy capitalism during or immediately after the World war to fallacies in the Communist principles. Only bourgeois psychopants of the worst sort can attribute the present policies of Soviet Russia regarding free trade and concessions to the bankruptcy of Bolshevik theory and principle.

The chronic decay of capitalism has set in. Nothing can stop it. No Genoa chimeras or liberal bourgeois finance panaceas can retard it. Capitalism is doomed.

Only a short period since the Versailles peace and already new antagonisms are far advanced. The bloody imperialist powers are preparing for a new World war centering around the antagonism between England and America. The Washington disarmament farce and the Genoa fiasco as is shown in ever bolder relief daily, have succeeded in one thing only—and that is the sharpening of the antagonism and the attempt at alignment of the other nations on one side or the other. France, the greedy petit-bourgeois world usurer is economically on the verge of complete bankruptcy. It has its stake in the shape of usurious loans to the small Central European Countries; will stop at nothing in its efforts to dominate central Europe by demanding its terrific indemnity. Germany is being drained and bled white by the terrific indemnity which falls especially heavy upon the proletariat. The conditions of existence of the German working class have reached a point of slow starvation. All the other countries of central Europe merely exist by begging, and are subject to chronic starvation. Everywhere the lot of the proletariat is unbearable and is growing steadily worse. High prices, a general lowering of wages, coupled with tremendous armies of unemployed are prevalent throughout the world including America, which has reaped tremendous profits from the blood and ruin of the war.

The workers everywhere are losing faith in the illusory post bellum promises of their trade union and social democratic

leaders. Already a revolutionary fermentation is evidenced, marked by a general turning to the left of large masses and the organization in a number of European countries of large Communist Mass Parties. The present international capitalist offensive against the working class is but a lull in the struggle. "Evolution in general and the proletarian revolution in particular do not travel in straight lines progressing from stage to stage on an upward curve. Political evolution proceeds rather in cycles." Periodic defeat in the general struggle is to be expected. This, however, is only the temporary ebb and recession of the revolutionary wave in order to gain new strength and proceed forward with renewed energy at a more terrific pace in what Comrade Zinoviev calls "THE NEW WAVE".

"The intensification of exploitation, the destruction of millions of lives, the threatening of new wars, the lowering of millions below the minimum of existence, the constant insecurity of the conditions of the proletariat will force the workers to repeated revolts and to continuous strikes."

The Communists must prepare for new struggles; now, more than ever must they carry on an unremitting conflict against middle class centrism and opportunism. The more intelligent vanguard of the proletariat must be rallied around the Communist Party; they must be prepared to meet the new wave with a clear revolutionary policy of UNITING THE WORKERS FOR

MASS ACTION AGAINST CAPITALISM—FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CAPITALIST STATE BY FORCE AND THE ERECTION ON ITS RUINS OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

To quote the Thesis of the Third Congress of the Communist International:—"Whether the Revolutionary movement in the near future is going to proceed at a rapid or protracted rate, the Communist Party must in either case be a party of action. It must stand at the head of the struggling masses. The shattering of old delusions, the terrible uncertainty of existence, the domination of trusts and the bloody methods of the militarized state—all these are rapidly welding the overwhelming majority of the proletarian masses together. The great masses are searching for a determined leadership and for a closely welded and centralized Communist Party to take the lead. Whatever the turns in the course of the struggle, the C. P. should always strive to fortify the contested positions; to get the masses used to active manœuvring; to equip them with new methods calculated to lead them to an OPEN CONFLICT WITH THE ENEMY FORCES."

DEATH TO BETRAYING CENTRISM AND COMPROMISING OPPORTUNISM!

ON TO NEW STRUGGLES! THE FUTURE BELONGS TO COMMUNISM!

## Perspectives and Lessons of the Revolutionary Crisis in Italy

From the Communist International No. 18

By ARDITO ROSSO

### 1. THE COLLAPSE OF THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

The known facts concerning the collapse of the Italian Socialist Party, which are not difficult to find out with exactitude, seem to be at the same time symptoms and symbols of the downfall of the entire Socialist movement in Italy. The process of collapse of the "old and glorious" Italian Socialist Party took place with a loud "explosion" of the proletarian movement in Italy, a series of phenomena which evoked in the International, astonishment, perplexity and, finally, a deep distrust towards the Italian movement. The proletarian International was immediately inclined to make a mistake in its appraisal of these phenomena, in the opposite direction from its mistakes of just after the war. Just as at that time the revolutionary dispositions and possibilities of the Italian proletariat were incorrectly overestimated, so now they are just as incorrectly underestimated. Furthermore, it would be useful for us to clear up the situation of things in Italy, not only in order to throw light on new perspectives of the revolutionary crisis in Italy, but also to draw from it a lesson which is useful for the Italian as well as for the entire international proletariat. The investigation of the present situation in Italy inevitably leads us to the necessity of the explanation of the process of the collapse of the Italian Socialist Party and the entire labor movement in Italy. This, in fact, is an immense process, which can be compared to the fall of a giant with feet of clay, or to the destruction of a gigantic organism consumed by internal fires.

The exact and undoubtedly correct figures give us a picture

of the immense growth of the Italian Socialist Party and its rapid, catastrophic collapse.

A year after the war, at the Congress of Bologna in 1919, the Italian Socialist Party numbered 1981 local organizations, 91,469 members, 47 deputies, and 350 communal councils.

At the Congress of Leghorn in January, 1921, there assembled 3000 delegates, representing altogether 4567 local organizations, 219,327 active members, 156 deputies, and 2220 communal councils. But four months hardly passed, and in May, 1921, the number of electors to the National Council of the Italian Socialist Party already bore witness to the striking collapse which had already taken place in its ranks.

At this session of the National Council, which assembled in Rome, the question was considered of the participation in the parliamentary elections—a question important enough for the Italian Socialists. The entire Italian Socialist Party was represented by the votes of only 63 thousand members, 58 thousand of whom voted for participation, and 15 thousand for keeping out of the elections.

A more careful investigation of the condition of the Socialist organizations in the various districts of Italy gives us a still clearer idea of their dissolution.

It is sufficient to examine what happened in the provinces of Bologna Ferrara, and Reggio-Emilia—in the so-called red provinces. In these provinces the political organization of the party, depending on a whole network of economic organizations, had acquired such influence that the leaders of the local Socialist

movement affirmed, quite sincerely perhaps, that it was superfluous to have a Socialist revolution, since Socialism was already in existence. In these provinces an overwhelming majority of the deputies and of the communal and district councillors were Socialists; the political bourgeois groups constituted an insignificant minority.

In a few months the entire edifice of the political and economic Socialist organizations was destroyed and wrecked by the reaction. This occurred here, however, not as in other countries where the Communist movement was destroyed by the reaction—here we do not see the conversion of the legal movement into an illegal, the creation of an underground Socialist movement—here, on the contrary, there appears before us a complete dissolution of the Socialist movement. In the above-mentioned provinces very many active Socialists refrained from all participation in political life, at the very time when the mass of sympathisers of the “red” economic organizations went over to the standards of the Fascisti. It was only thanks to agreements with the bourgeois parties, with Fascism, that the Italian Socialist Party was enabled to retain or to regain certain places in the revolutionary centers of the Italian proletariat.

The incident which took place in Trieste is typical. Here the Socialists, wishing to gain a position of leadership in the Labor Council, united with the Republicans, setting up a common slate at the elections for Executive Committee of the Labor Council—and, in spite of that, they remained in the minority as against the Communists.

What happened in Turin is typical and disgraceful. Here the manufacturers took up arms against the Communist enterprises, particularly against the “Fiat” plant, where they were able to dismiss all the revolutionary workingmen and all the Communist “Commissarii di reparto.” Making use of the capitalist attack thus undertaken against that “fortress of Communism,” Turin, the Socialists hoped to weaken the position of Communism, and, by an open support of the manufacturers, they were enabled to occupy many positions on the factory councils.

The collapse of the economic and political organizations of the Socialist Party in all the provinces of Italy is easy to follow up not only through the bourgeois newspapers, but also in the Socialist press. Under the stormy and threatening attack of the class struggle, the Socialist organization not merely fell to pieces materially, but it also lost its revolutionary tactics, abjured the fundamental principle of the struggle of the proletariat against the organized bourgeoisie. One can easily convince oneself of this from the official documents of the Italian Socialist Party and of the “Confederazione Generale del Lavoro”—the strongest Italian proletarian organization connected with the Socialist Party.

Amid the smoking ruins of the labor council and of the newspaper editorial departments, amid the breaking up of the Socialist groups—the proletariat remained completely without political or economic leaders. Its former leaders are demanding protection of the bourgeois government, are seeking salvation in parliamentary protests, in attempts at the establishment of tranquility and order, and in agreements with the Fascisti.

Graphically, the progress of development of the political and economic strength of the Socialist organizations in Italy can be represented in the form of a parabola which, from the end of the war till September, 1920 (the metal workers’ movement), rises gradually, but which, from this time on, falls with remarkable suddenness, much lower than the point from which the rise started. While it was at the highest point of this parabola, the Socialist Party was the only real strength in the economic and

political life of Italy; now the Socialist movement has lost all its strength and is compelled to protect its very existence by means of agreements with the bourgeoisie.

*The facts concerning the last parliamentary election*, which took place in May, 1921, apparently contradict the facts of the collapse of the Socialist movement in Italy; in reality they confirm all that we have said above concerning the wreck of the Socialist movement. It is quite true that the number of elected Socialist deputies is but very little less than their number in the preceding parliament; it is also true that, if the Socialists of the province of Reggio-Emilia had not kept out of the elections, and if not for other accidental matters, the number of elected Socialists would have equalled or even exceeded the number elected at the elections of May, 1919. But, first of all, we must take into account the fact that the votes which the proletariat gave the Socialist Party candidates meant nothing else than a protest against the baditism of the Fascisti. In the greater part of Italy the proletariat could not express its protest by means of a vote for Communist candidates, since practically nowhere did the Communist Party have its own electoral organizations. In 13 of the 40 electoral districts into which Italy is divided, the Communists had absolutely no opportunity of setting up their own list of candidates. The electors who cast their votes for the Socialist Party consist, furthermore, to a great extent of the representatives of the petty bourgeoisie who gravitate toward reformism, and who (according to the words of the Socialist deputy Casalini) voted for Socialism only because it freed itself from Communism and took up a course more towards the right. On the other hand, noticing how the Socialist slates were set up, and, in particular, who was actually elected, one can say with assurance that the Italian Socialist Party at those very elections started on that road which led it to destruction, since it completely gave up its irreconcilability and its fundamental revolutionary position. 80% of the candidates, as well as of the elected Socialists, were clearly outspoken reformist confederates of Turatti, who is now without any doubt the head of the parliamentary group and who has already, at the first session of parliament, made a speech with the keynote of co-operation with the government. But we must notice something still worse: among the Socialist candidates were certain comrades who only entered the party at the time of the election, and who had formerly been expelled from the party and even carried on a fight against it.\*

As consequences of the election, there are to be noticed events which prove the collapse of the Italian Socialist Party. The Socialist Federation of the province of Reggio-Emilia, the strongest in Italy (numerically), was expelled by the Central Committee

\*A characteristic case is that of Lucci and Bovio, who were elected in Naples as Socialists, while at the preceding elections they had been opponents of the Socialists; and there are the disgraceful cases of the election of Ferri (in Mantua) and Vagno (in Apulia), who had both been expelled from the Socialist Party. In the face of protests, there were on the Socialist slate, syndicalists who had before the elections particularly protested against Socialist reformism, and even anarchists who were so far attracted by that splendid plaything of parliament that they foreswore their revolutionary principles. There is the characteristic case of the election of Faggi and Vittorino, who were syndicalists and elected in Apulia. In Sardinia was elected a certain Socialist by the name of Corsi, who had hardly become a deputy before he hastened to declare his homage to the King of Italy, who happened at that time to be in Sardinia. Those occurrences which happened in the very bosom of the Socialist Party at the time of the election are also symptoms. Many labor deputies, followers of Seratti, lost at the elections: e.g., Abbo, Bellagarda, etc. One of the “high priests of the only Communism,” Alessandri (a Communist contributor to the French journal “Populaire”), also lost at the election, and, finally, D’Aragona, chief secretary of the “Confederazione Generale del Lavoro,” failed of election at Milan and came into parliament only because Lazzari, elected in two districts, gave him one of his own places.

of the Party for breach of party discipline. In the Central Committee itself there took place a crisis in consequence of the resignation of Baratonio, a typical representative of centrist charlatanism, who might have formed a "left" Italian Socialist Party.

*The historical significance of the liquidation of Italian Maximalism and Serratism* must be considered as extremely great.

Indeed, the collapse of the Italian Socialist movement, from the historical point of view, has a great significance not only for Italy but for the whole International: the wretched bankruptcy of the Italian Socialist Party, looked at from an international point of view, is a final blow to the organization of the dying Second International. The Italian Socialist Party was, among its compeers, better than them, or, more correctly, less bad. It was the only Socialist Party which, from the very beginning of the war, did not sympathise with the war, while all the rest of the parties in the Second International united with the bourgeoisie in a "Holy Alliance."

In face of the war, the Italian Socialist Party did not betray the proletariat, although it preserved a helpless neutrality under the motto: "Do not help the war, but do not sabotage it," and failed to show any real help to the proletariat. The treason which the Italian Socialist Party did not commit in relation to the war, it did commit in relation to the revolution. This proves irrefutably that all the parties in the Second International stood on an organizational and political platform which necessarily had to lead to the betrayal of the proletarian masses.

True, the Italian Socialist Party perished from the same intrinsic trouble which condemned to death all the parties in the Second International; namely, from reformism and social-pacifism. The majority of the leaders of the Italian Socialist Party had always been reformists and pacifists. Unfortunately, they were almost all so dishonorable and seized with the thirst of careerism that after the war they nominally became revolutionists and Bolsheviki, only in order to attract the masses, to become deputies, or to get high places in the professional unions. The proletarian masses were, unfortunately, so naive that they believed in the revolutionariness of the Maximalists and gave their fate into the hands of the Italian Socialist Party. The latter was the only significant proletarian party in Italy, and therefore its collapse meant the wreck of the entire Italian proletarian movement.

The furthest development of reaction in Italy in the last few months had to be, of course, bringing light into the Socialist movement and turning the Italian Socialist Party into the only course fitting it, that is, into the path of reformist social-democracy. We must emphasise that the Italian Socialist Party, in its fundamental tendencies, was purely Social-democratic; in 1892, at the Genoa Congress, where the Party was formed, its fundamental program was modeled on the German Social-democracy. If, thanks to the experience of the Tripolitan war and the exceptional position of Italy at the beginning of the imperialist war, the Italian Socialist Party escaped the dangers of open Social-Patriotism, still, the majority of the party and of its leaders always remained Social-Democrats; Serratian Maximalism and Bolshevism, if not altogether a dishonest and adventurous matter, must still be regarded as an after-the-war phenomenon based on an insufficient knowledge of Communistic principles. Later, when new conditions of the class struggle and demands dictated by the historical problem of the proletariat clarified beyond possibility of evasion the proletarian movement in Italy, that process of clarification had to go on by means of the liquidation of Socialistic Maximalism; which is now happening in Italy. In fact, the Italian Serrattians are now suffering the fate of all rene-

gades from the Third International; the bourgeoisie and the Social-Democracy use them in their struggle against Communism; but as soon as they have sufficiently served the purpose of the counter-revolution, they are thrown overboard. Indeed, the reformists of the Turati tendency have now obtained mastery over the Italian Socialist Party; in their latest political expressions the Mensheviki in the Italian Socialist Party have already shown this openly. In the speech made in parliament by Turati in the name of the parliamentary Socialist group, he lauded the cooperation of the Socialists and the bourgeoisie and exclaimed at the end of the speech: "Hurrah for Italy!" Treves at the latest session sent his greetings to the Mensheviki of Georgia and expressed his protest against "barbarian" Bolshevism.

At the moment to which we have now arrived, the "Communist-Unitarists" and the Serrattians have let out of their hands the control over the Italian Socialist Party; for the honorable "Communist-Unitarists" there remains nothing else to do but to leave the Italian Socialist Party and to enter the ranks of the Italian Communist Party, if they actually do obey the decisions of the Third International. They will never have the power, even if they wish to do so, to throw the reformists out of the Italian Socialist Party, and they themselves ought to leave the party.

After the final liquidation of Maximalism and Serratism in the Italian Socialist Party, there will take place the unification of the Communist Party—a process very similar to that which was observable in Germany at the split in the Independent Social-Democratic Party.

One factor helping the process of liquidation of the incoherent and powerless Italian Maximalism, was Fascism, whose victory completely changed the situation in Italy during the last year.

Let us now acquaint ourselves with this phenomenon, its sources, and the nature of its activity.

## 2. ITALIAN FASCISM

The rise of the Fascist movement, and the conflict over Fiume, are two very interesting phenomena in the life of Italy.

From a certain standpoint they can be regarded as an expression of international reaction under Italian conditions, but at the same time they possess specific qualities which are rooted in the peculiar international position of Italy.

The position occupied by Italy in international life is very characteristic; since Italy, in spite of its having joined the Entente and therefore obtained its share in the victory, experienced the fatal consequences of the war in political and economic spheres in the same degree as the conquered nations.

In view of this contrast between the fires of military victory and the economic situation in Italy, there arose an immense movement among the proletarian masses against the bourgeois form and for social revolution. But this same contrast also gave rise to discontent of a purely nationalistic character.

Italian Fascism takes its origin and has its roots actually in this nationalistic discontent. In Italy there were many Social-Democratic and petty bourgeois elements who wanted war and heartily supported it; they were more Wilsonists than Wilson himself, they believed in the revolutionary and democratic character of the World War. These elements, out of whom was formed a large part of the so-called "interventionists" fell at the end of the war into two tendencies: one, with Bissolati at the head, understood the injustice of the peace treaty, and tried to lessen the excessive national demands, and came out decidedly against the seizure of Southern Tyrol and Dalmatia (the representatives of this tendency were called "rinunziatori"—renouncers).

The other section of the "interventionists," social patriots and ex-Socialists, under the leadership of the renegade and former leader of the Italian Socialist Party, Mussolini, gorged itself with excessive nationalistic demands; it thus showed itself to be a nucleus of the Fascist movement. This Fascist tendency, originally quite unpretentious, set up active agitational nuclei. To it belonged a group of honest and idealistically inclined nationalists, futurist artists, led by D'Annunzio; they directed their agitation against the neutral position taken by the bourgeoisie under the leadership of Giolitti and Nitti, accusing them of ignorance of how to use the fruits of victory. The Mussolini group struggled against the Italian Socialist Party which "by its defeatism in time of war and its anti-militarist propaganda after the armistice sabotaged the victory and took from Italy the strength it needed in order to get from its former allies a recognition of its rights." Strictly speaking, as we have already shown above, in the first period of its development Fascism was very insignificant, and neither the government nor the capitalist class took it seriously; at the elections in Milan in November, 1919, Mussolini had altogether but 4000 votes.

The prime development of Fascism must be traced back to the time of the events of Fiume, when D'Annunzio, who stood at the head of an expedition of legionaries and Fascisti, occupied Fiume in the name of Italy. This gained for Fascism the sympathy of the nationalists and, on the other hand, it convinced the less intelligent portion of the capitalists and reactionaries that there was another living force in the country besides the proletariat and Socialism.

The events in Fiume materially aided the growth of Fascism. At the time when the idealists, headed by D'Annunzio, found themselves in Fiume and were amusing themselves with nationalistic lyrics, another group of Fascisti, under the guidance of Mussolini, who remained in Italy, were making use of the nationalists' sympathy. They appropriated money collected for Fiume, and made of that city a basis for their own organization and for the arming of the hands of Fascisti, who then launched into a bloody struggle against the Italian proletariat in the interests of capitalism and militarism.

Up to the fall of 1920 the Fascisti represented only very small groups which, none the less, could count on easy success in the struggle against the proletariat. At that period the entire proletarian mass rallied around Bolshevism, while the intelligentsia, the petty bourgeoisie, and the semi-proletariat did not give their support to any one definite political group.

*The petty bourgeoisie* for a long time remained wavering in its relations to the Socialist and Fascist movements. A comparatively numerous division of the semi-proletariat and the intelligentsia found itself as a result of the war in a very difficult position, both politically and economically.

After the war the proletariat, politically, definitely followed the Maximalist tendencies, at the same time recognizing the Socialist Party as its party. The proletariat built up its economic organizations, so that it was at once able to guarantee political power for itself; this power kept on growing in opposition to the influence of the weak political organizations of the bourgeoisie. The economic welfare of the proletariat also increased, because the manufacturers were forced, under the influence of fear, to give in to the demands of the working class.

In Italy there was observed a phenomenon which bore a general international character: the city and peasant proletariat was in a better position than the middle class. The latter was forced to bear on its shoulders all the heavy conditions of the consumer's life, and, deprived of economic organization and political party, could not secure good conditions of life for the "brain workers."

For the first time in Italy, strong groups of the intelligentsia and of semi-proletarians—especially those who had come back from the war—by force of sincere conviction, or in obedience to that general law by which the middle class always inclines towards the strongest party, went over to Socialism and were inclined to participate in revolutionary attacks against the capitalist regime. But the Socialist organizations, in the majority of cases, repulsed these elements; the Socialist Party of Italy even tried to evoke in the masses an unfriendly feeling towards the intelligentsia, particularly to those who were to the war, making no distinction between the exploiters and their victims. The proletarian masses also refused to help the invalids, and their hatred to those who were responsible for the war was also turned against its victims.

Repulsed by the political organizations of the Socialists, and finding no place in the economic organizations, the representatives of the middle class, in view of the strength of the proletariat, were ready to listen to the whisperings of the enemies of the proletariat, that the poverty of the population, the increase in the cost of means of life, etc., are due to the unreasonable demands of the working class, which arose out of too high rates of wages.

To Fascism, the middle class gave the interpretation that Fascism appeared to be a protest against labor aristocracy and against the abused utilitarian and opportunist Social-Democracy. One cannot omit to mention also that the representatives of the Socialist Party of Italy and of the red labor organizations in the communal and district administrations frequently acted as if they were preparing uprisings against their own system in the Italian provinces where they played the leading role (Bologna, Reggio-Emilia, Ferrara); everything was done (under the name of Bolshevism) under the system of special privilege and individual exploitation, in no way modifying the bourgeois system.

Under such circumstances, the leaders of Fascism, in accordance with the representatives of nationalism and with the millionaires who had been created by the war, devised the clever game of conducting the anti-proletarian propaganda in the name of the "greatness" of Italy, in the name of the necessity of those returned from the war reaping the fruits brought in by their sacrifice, and in the name of the deliverance of the class of consumers from violence on the part of the producers. On the other hand, the constantly growing danger which arose in Italy, arising from the seizure of the factories and the pasture lands by the metal workers and the peasants respectively (August-September, 1920,) evoked in the bourgeois government an extraordinary fear and aroused the capitalists to strengthen the preparation of reaction. The fortunate result of the Fiume expedition and the first successes of the Fascist groups convinced the government and the capitalist class that it would be convenient to make use of Fascism in the capacity of an illegal organization. After the formation of the first bands of Fascisti in Fiume and Milan, there began immediately an attack on those provinces where there was the best soil for that; that is to say, where the petty bourgeoisie was most oppressed, namely, in Bologna and Ferrara.

(Continued in Next Issue)

# THE INTERNATIONAL

By EUGENE POTTIER

(Translated from the French by John W. Shattuck)

## I

Arise, condemned ones of all countries,  
Prisoners who hunger and who thirst!  
For, thundering like a great volcano,  
Truth will from its crater burst!  
Of the past, we'll sweep away all traces.  
You mob of slaves, arise from thrall!  
The world is going to change its basis:  
We're nothing now, let us be all!

## CHORUS

'Tis the final struggle.  
Stand together, each in place,  
For soon the International  
Shall be the human race.

## II

There are no universal saviors,  
Not God, nor ruler, great or small.  
Workers, work out your own salvation  
And order the good of all!  
To make the thieves disgorge their profits,  
To free the mind from prison rot,  
We'll blow our own forge into fury,  
And strike the iron while 'tis hot.

## CHORUS

## III

The law deceives, the state oppresses,  
And taxes bleed their victims white;  
The rich are subject to no duties,  
A hollow sham's the poor man's right.  
Enough in tutelage we've languished!  
Equality wants other laws.  
"No rights," she says, "are without duties,  
No duties without rights as cause."

## CHORUS

## IV

In hideous apotheosis,  
Have all those kings of mine and rail  
Ever done otherwise to labor  
Than rob, plunder, and assail?  
For, what the people have created  
In safes is hidden by that band.  
So, ordering its restitution  
Is but the people's just demand.

## CHORUS

## V

The rulers with but smoke have filled us.  
Peace with ourselves, on tyrants war!  
Let us apply the strike to armies  
And scatter the ranks afar!  
And, if those ghouls are still determined  
To make us heroes of their fight,  
They'll soon discover that our bullets  
Are used our generals to smite.

## CHORUS

## VI

Workers and peasants, all together,  
We are the world-wide working class.  
The drone must elsewhere seek his dwelling;  
This earth is but for the mass!  
How many on our flesh are feasting?  
But, if those crows and vultures will  
One of these mornings outright vanish,  
The sun will shine as brightly still.

## CHORUS