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POLITICS

Soviet Russia and Disarmament.

by *Karl Radek*.

At the Genoa Conference Soviet Russia proposed general disarmament which was rejected by the capitalist representatives. Now it turns to the Border States with the proposal to effect a partial disarmament. This is another unequivocal proof of the true nature of the policy pursued by our Workers' and Peasants' Government, — a policy of peace.

From that moment on, when the working masses of Russia showed the proletariat of the world that they were able to take care of themselves in the face of the bayonets of imperialistic intervention and the Russian White Guards, the capitalist press throughout the world began to shout about the "imperialistic" Soviets. The lackeys of the bourgeoisie, the Social Democratic press of all shades, took up the cry of their masters, and in the name of pacifism and in the interests of the "working class", they began to rave against the "imperialistic" policy of Soviet Russia. For two and a half years "the little semi-liberal fools of the English Labor Party", of MacDonald's cut, and the Kaiser-Socialists, who all through the war, tried to justify every cruelty and bestiality committed by English and German imperialism, together with those jelly-fish "Marxists", shouted about the "red Militarism" of Soviet Russia, pointing out in a professorial manner, that a bayonet is a bayonet, whether it serves to defend or to kill the working masses.

At the Genoa Conference, the Soviet Government delivered a hard blow at the bourgeoisie and its lackeys, by its proposal to include the question of disarmament in the order of the day. This was not a mere manoeuvre of the Soviet Government to unmask its enemies. It was a step necessitated by the most vital interests of the Peasants' and Workers' of Russia. We desire to concentrate all the energy of the workers and peasants upon constructive, peaceful work, in order to be able as soon as possible to restore our economic household, that was destroyed by the imperialistic war, by intervention, and by the blockade. But we cannot possibly disarm ourselves, so long as the capitalists refuse to disarm themselves also. If Europe were to disarm by international agreement, Soviet Russia would then be able to

concentrate all its energy on constructive peace work, being fully convinced that the working classes of the other countries will be capable to take care of their own ruling classes by themselves. Any reduction of disarmament however small would be a step forward, for it would permit us to strengthen our economic position, thus making it possible for us to show the great masses at home and abroad, how great the creative powers of the working class really are.

But our proposal was not well received by the representatives of the capitalistic governments. The first one to protest was *M. Barthou*, the representative of the same imperialism which, through its mouth-piece at the Washington Conference, *M. Briand*, tried to justify the existence of a million-strong French army, with the existence of the Red Army. But even *Lloyd George*, who declared that our proposal was a very fair one, and that the household of Europe cannot possibly be restored without a reduction of armaments, had in mind not the disarmament of England, but the disarmament of France.

In all cases, English Imperialism insists upon the right to keep up a large navy, which according to English Government officials is to serve only as a means of keeping England in touch with her colonies that are strewn all over the world. English imperialism does not command a large land-army; and for this reason, it favors the disarmament of France, or the reduction of its military forces, with which it is in competition for the hegemony of Europe.

The general proposal made by Soviet Russia in Genoa for international disarmament was not even examined. With a view of diminishing the military burdens that are exhausting the whole of Europe, especially the Eastern European countries that have been bled white, the Soviet Government, not being satisfied with the proposal that it made in vain at the Genoa Conference, again raises the question of at least a partial reduction of armaments. Yesterday, (the 13th of June), the Soviet Government sent notes to the Polish, Lithuanian, Estonian and Finnish Governments, in which it proposes that a conference be called in the near future for the purpose of discussing the question of a final reduction of armaments throughout Eastern Europe. (The official text of the note will be published in our next issue.—*The Ed.*) This note emphasized the fact that the Soviet Government is ready to enter into an agreement on this question with those of its neighbors with whom it has no treaty relations and to whom it is therefore unable to address itself directly. Such are the relations, for example, between Soviet Russia and Roumania. If Roumania were to agree to reduce its armaments proportionally, this plan

could be carried out in spite of the fact that the disputes between Roumania and Soviet Russia are as yet unsettled. But the Soviet Government would probably raise no objections if the Roumanian Government were to propose peacenegotiations with Soviet Russia.

The above-mentioned proposal of the Soviet Government came simultaneously with the great political crisis in Poland, which we reported yesterday. Marshal *Pilsudski*, the head of the Polish Government, handed in his resignation in protest of Skirmunt's policy of peace. *Pilsudski* claims that Poland is in danger of being attacked by Russia who is party to a military agreement with Germany, directed against Poland. *M. Pilsudski* who is responsible for the Kiev adventure, the adventurous attack on Soviet Russia that cost the lives of tens of thousands of Polish and Russia workers and peasants; *M. Pilsudski*, the accomplice of France in the strangling of Germany, cannot possibly imagine that two countries can refrain from uniting against his own policy of war. Now is the time for the Polish Government, the Polish Parliament, and the Polish laboring masses, to learn whether Soviet Russia entertains any imperialistic plans or not. Now is the time for the Polish people to find out whether Poland actually needs her militarism that wastes billions belonging to the poor Polish masses. If Poland rejects Soviet Russia's proposals, every Polish citizen will know that *Pilsudski* is craving for war and for the expenditure of public moneys. Poland attempted through its rulingclasses to effect an alliance with the Baltic countries and with Finland; it tried to raise their hair with a story about the danger that threatened them and their independence. And these countries to a greater or lesser degree listened to Poland's fairy tale. But now, the governments of Lithuania, Esthonia, and Finland have an opportunity to get at the truth about the plans and intentions of Soviet Russia, and it is they who will be responsible if the military burdens of these small peoples are not lessened.

The proposal made by Soviet Government is merely the continuation of the peaceful policy which it always pursued. We consider the sword only as means of defending the peasantry and the working-class, and we are striving for the full or partial opportunity to beat the sword into a plow. And now, the working masses of the whole world, particularly those of Eastern Europe, will come to realize this truth, no matter how loud the Daszynskis and the other willing lickspittles of capitalistic imperialism may shout about our "imperialism".

France and the Revision of the Versailles Treaty

by Paul Louis (Paris).

The French bourgeois press finds a little difficulty in understanding the vote of the Reparation Committee on June 7th, and the report of the Bankers Committee on the 11th.

The French bourgeoisie have lived since 1914 under a certain number of simple ideas which are peculiar to them.

1.—"They have gained a great military victory over the Central Empires."

2.—"The whole world is rejoicing at this victory because the French bourgeoisie is at the head of civilization."

3.—"This victory has given every right to this bourgeoisie, whose prestige is universal."

4.—"Every Power allied to France from 1914 to 1918 is bound to remain indefinitely in this alliance and to support France in her demands."

5.—"The governments of the Bloc National, which in the face of the deficit and a huge public debt have said: 'Germany shall pay', are not able to retract that statement. Germany must pay and all means are justifiable to force her to execute the Versailles Treaty to the letter."

Since 1919 an evolution has been proceeding in the political conceptions of the foreign bourgeoisie, even with those who had associated themselves with France in the world conflict. That is what the French governing class has not been able to realize in spite of the most evident realities.

Whilst this possessing class, less active and less intelligent than others in the economic order, continues to fight during peace, wishing to glut itself to satiety on its so-called victory, and counting on brute force to crush the resistance of Germany and to squeeze from her milliards and milliards, the English, Italian and American bourgeoisie are nursing other thoughts.

France has suffered less from unemployment than the great industrial countries, Great Britain and the United States.

Precisely because its agrarian population is much denser the industrial cataclysm has weighed less heavily upon it. But the American and English bourgeoisie fear that their proletariat

will free themselves from Laborism and reformism, if they are not able to furnish them with regular work. They believe they will abolish unemployment and restore business to its normal or quasi-normal state if Russia and Germany are reincorporated into the world market. The whole program of Lloyd George's foreign policy is guided by this consideration.

Let us leave the Russian problem. The English bourgeoisie, after having enriched itself with the German fleet and colonies, perceived that this treaty was disastrous for those who had been obliged to sign it. After a while, it outlined the revision under certain conditions. *M. Poincaré*, like his predecessors, had examined this document and pronounced it intangible. What he had said, "Germany will pay", could not be unsaid without avowing not only the bankruptcy of his diplomacy but the financial bankruptcy of France.

After having squeezed the workers as much as it could in order to seize the supplementary taxes (which run into milliards), the Government states that, if Germany does not pay, it will have no other resource than to tax the rich, which it refuses to do, or to refuse the payment of interest to its bond-holders, a hypothesis which fills it with horror.

That is why after having proclaimed the entirety of the French claim on Russia at Genoa, they have proclaimed the entirety of the French claim on Germany. Knowing that the Bankers Committee had asked for an extension of its mandate, to be able to apply the international loan to a reduction of the Reich's debts to the allies, they were opposed to this decision. In the Reparation Commission, France stood alone against England, Italy, Belgium and America, whose bourgeoisies were inclined, through fear of an aggravation of the economic crisis, to a revision of the Versailles Treaty. It was a severe defeat for *M. Poincaré*.

The latter had believed that the bankers would not wish to use their extended mandate. They issued a decision showing the necessity for the reduction of the Interallied demands upon Germany. The second check for the French bourgeoisie. There is no possibility of escape from the revision of the Versailles Treaty, which is demanded by every proletariat and every possessing class except that of France. And as the French bourgeoisie is at the head of world reaction, this double defeat is of importance.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Defeat of the English Metal Workers.

— Another "Victory" for Amsterdam.

By Frank Smith (London).

The British Metal War has been *won* and *lost*. The Metal Section of the Federation of British Industries—ably led by Allan Smith, Knight of the British Empire—has compelled the peace loving Trade Union leaders to beg and sue for terms. An armistice was signed on Tuesday June 13th by J. T. Brownlie—Commander of the British Empire—on behalf of the Amalgamated Engineers, the largest section of workers involved in the lock-out. This was made possible through the tactics adopted by the 'yellow' union leaders during the 14 weeks of war.

On May 24th the Employers tabled their so-called 'modified' proposals to the 47 unions outside the A.E.U. These proposals were submitted, after being carefully censored by the leaders of the 47, to the ballot vote of the rank and file. A promise was given that no recommendation as to voting would be given on the ballot papers, but this did not prevent certain of the officials of the unions from sending a covering letter to each of the Branch Secretaries, advising the rank and file to accept the new terms. This action was particularly noticeable in the case of some of the 'parasitical' organisations, especially the alleged union which is supposed to cater for "Enginemen, Firemen, Motormen and Electrical Workers". The General Secy, (Parker), of this organisation in a circular letter to 'his' members said "I have no hesitation in *advising* the *whole* of our members . . . to accept the employers proposals". So much for the agreed policy of no recommendation agreed to by the Big Bugs of the 47. Once again by a majority of the members voting, the 47 unions, with the exception of the Boilermakers, and the Foundry Workers, deserted the members of the A.E.U. involved in the dispute.

On June 3rd the Executive Council of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, held a National Conference at York. This conference was convened for the purpose of throwing the responsibility of a resumption of work on the shoulders of the rank and file delegates, and thus preserving the reputation of the full

time officials in the eyes of the great bulk of the membership. This is proved by the fact that in spite of hundreds of resolutions calling upon the E. C. to summon a National Conference during the first few weeks, for the purpose of extending the dispute no notice was taken of these resolutions by the 'good democrats' at 110, Peckham Rd London.

However this tactic missed fire because of the arguments used by the Red delegates, who pointed out that only a very small proportion of the total membership were on the streets, and any settlement arrived at would have to apply to all members irrespective of whether they were now unemployed, locked-out, or still engaged in work in 'non-federated' workshops. A mere 81,000 were engaged in the official lock-out, 89,000 full members were unemployed before to the dispute, and 3,600 were involved in the ship-repair strike; all of which meant that over 212,000 who had never had the opportunity of expressing their opinions would be involved in any settlement.

There was a strong minority in favour of all engineers being officially withdrawn on June the 9th, but the Chairman of the Conference used all his powers to get this form of action turned down. He finally succeeded.

A resolution was moved from the London delegates, advising the members to turn down the employers terms. Brownlie refused to accept this resolution, and said it was out of order, which it was, according to the programme mapped out by the 'yellow men'.

On the eve of June 3rd the sane E. C. of the Engineers suspended the majority of the Sheffield District Committee, because this committee had carried out the mandate given them by several mass-meetings of the members held in their area. They had ordered the withdrawal of all members, both federated and non-federated, who came under their jurisdiction, and had refused to secede from that position when ordered by the E. C. to instruct the members employed in non-federated shops to return to work. Therefore Sheffield was not officially represented at the York Conference. The E. C. had instructed a 'safe' member of the minority of the District Committee to proceed to York, this in spite of the fact that 2 delegates had been elected by the members in accordance with the rules of the organisation.

These yellow men can always be unconstitutional when Reds are appointed to represent the mass opinion of the membership.

On June the 14th Brownlie sent a circular letter to the capitalist press advising the men of the A.E.U. to vote in favour of the Employers so-called 'modified proposals'. This action on his part was directly against the expressed desires of the Delegate Conference. He was hailed as a sane statesman by the capitalist dope-sheets.

The results of the ballot of the A.E.U. were 75,478 in favour, and 39,423 against the new proposals of the F.B.I. The total membership of the A.E.U. is round about 406,000, so that less than 28.3 per cent of the members took the trouble to vote. The great mass are disgusted at the manner in which the fight has been carried on.

What are these terms accepted and recommended by the Amsterdammers? They are: "(a) The employers have the right to manage their establishments and the trade unions have the right to exercise their proper functions. (b) In the process of evolution, provision for changes in shop conditions is necessary, but it is not the intention to create any specially favored class of workpeople".

This sounds the death knell of craft unionism in Britain.

The whole of the terms have been 'modified' to read that the employers have the sole right to say when *over-time is necessary* on productive work... In case of any difficulty arising on this issue it is quite easily solved. The men must first work the overtime, and the question may be discussed afterwards. So simple!

The same procedure applies to the manning of machines. The employer has the sole right to say what class of labor shall operate any given machine; what hours the men—or boys and girls—shall work, and also the wages the labor shall receive.

One month after the termination of the dispute, the representatives of the employers and the workmen shall have a joint conference, to devise and arrive at an agreed system of payment by results.

This agreement will easily be arrived at by the leaders... No definite agreed basis has been reached that will guarantee, as in all similar disputes in the past, that all workers who were locked-out on March 11th will be allowed to return to their respective workshops. This means that the employers have scored a signal success, and that thousands of the older workers, so

well accustomed to rule of thumb methods, will not be required by the Boss in the future. A further 20,000 will be added during the next few months to the 90,000 already unemployed. All because of the sane leadership of the Amsterdam supporters.

The armistice has been signed, but as Clemenceau would say "the war is continued in the peace". At the slightest opportunity it will again break out. Speed the day!!!

The total result of the recent dispute has been to prove in a very certain fashion the futility of craft unionism. It has compelled the old workmen to realise that they cannot depend on trade union funds to beat the Boss. Most remarkable of all it has compelled the purely craft union men to be rather bitterly disposed towards the leaders, who by their peace loving methods, have lost the men their last chance of retaining their status in the workshops. Altogether the recent engineering trouble has marked one more mile stone on the road to the purely industrial form of labour organisation. One more mile stone on the way to a full realisation of class consciousness inside the British trade union movement, that stronghold of social patriotism. It has added one more mill stone to the necks of the Yellow Leaders. It has assisted the rate at which the old fashioned trade unionist will enroll in the ranks of the army of the proletariat. It has speeded up the dawn of the economic battle, which cannot be very long delayed. Finally it has clearly proved that the Amsterdammers only lead the workers to damnation.

The Labor Situation in America.

by Earl R. Browder (Chicago).

The offensive of the capitalist forces against wages, working conditions, and the existence of the unions, has taken on increasing scope and bitterness. On the other hand, a great many workers' organizations have been meeting in convention, and almost every case has registered an advance in working class consciousness, and an awakening to the threatening dangers of the situation. The capitalists are gaining at many points; but they are paying the price of seeing the great mass of hitherto unconscious workers gradually begin to look about for real weapons of resistance.

The Railwaymen.

The railwaymen in the shops, maintenance, etc. (all except the road service men) have just been given a slashing cut in wages. The newspapers estimate the "saving" to the companies at about 350,000,000 per year. Another cut of the same proportions is promised within the near future. The locomotive engineers, the firemen, the conductors, and the trainmen, are expecting that they will be the next to undergo drastic levies upon their wages.

The shop men (about 600,000 out of a total of 1,800,000 men employed on the railroads) met in convention in the latter part of April, and voted a strike on the entire national railroad systems if their grievances were not remedied. Strike votes are being taken in several other unions, making much more than half of the union men involved voting on the proposed strike.

The movement for amalgamation of all railroad unions into one great industrial union, has been taking on tremendous proportions. A great convention of the railway clerks and freight handlers, held at Dallas, Texas, in May, voted overwhelmingly in favor; innumerable local unions are taking it up; two of the great unions, (the engineers and firemen) have voted to amalgamate; and the issue is becoming the line of cleavage between the "radicals" and revolutionists on the one hand, against the bureaucracy in the unions.

The Miners.

The great strike of the United Mine Workers of America has just ended its second month of battle, and is standing solidly than ever. Instead of weakening in the fight, it has carried the struggle into the hitherto unorganized fields. Going into the struggle with only about 500,000 members, it has increased this number to 665,000 and closed down operations in the Connelsville Coke region of Pennsylvania, which supplies the great steel mills, and which has been non-union during its entire history. Production of non-union coal has been cut from 10,000,000 tons to 4,000,000 tons; which is about 5 % of the consumption of the country normally. The reserves are being rapidly exhausted. Moves on the part of the operators to open negotiations for a settlement are expected within a week or two. The effort will be made to break the solidarity of the miners, by offering partial

settlements with some districts. This is being prepared for by a vigorous campaign by the Communists, under the slogan "No separate agreements".

Textile Workers.

75,000 textile workers are still on strike in the states of Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Vermont and Maine. These strikers were mostly without organization or funds when they began the strike in January. They are now in the grip of starvation, but are holding on. Collections of money for food are being taken throughout the country, and with the meagre supplies thus secured, the battle continues.

Building Tradesmen.

The struggle in the building trades is shown in its greatest intensity in the Chicago situation. The fight here has been going on for more than a year. The "open shop" and wage reductions were crystallized in the "Landis Award", so called because the decision was rendered by Judge K. M. Landis, a notorious capitalist henchman. Immediately after a gigantic protest demonstration by the unions, on April 29th, in which 140,000 workers paraded the streets of Chicago, the employing interests, with the cooperation of the state and county police and courts, made a raid on the union offices and arrested the officers of the building unions. More than 140 union officials were arrested, and five of them were held on a charge of murder, arising out of the killing of two policeman. The employers have declared war to the knife against all unions not bowing to their dictation. Slugging of workers, bombings, and all sorts of violence, are being resorted to particularly by the employers. Now the effort is being made to legally "outlaw" the unions, under the old law which was used to hang the leaders of the great 8 hour movement of 1886, in the Haymarket affair.

The Left Wing Grows.

That the organized left-wing of the unions is taking on power, is evidenced by the fact that Samuel Gompers has begun a tremendous campaign against the Trade Union Educational League. This organization has been carrying on an educational work of great scope, propagating the ideas of industrial unionism, of the necessity of overthrow of capitalism, of affiliation to the Red Trade Union International, and vigorous offensive against the capitalists. Gompers has become afraid of the progress of its propaganda, and is travelling over the country denouncing it. The capitalist press carries great scare headlines over his stories; and the official union press is full of his fulminations. The League is denounced as the "great red menace" to the labor movement, and an "instrument of Lenin". The publicity of this attack is arousing interest among great masses of workers.

The Red International in America.

The Red Trade Union International became a direct issue in a mass union in the United States for the first time, when William Ross Knudsen made a campaign for the presidency of the International Association of Machinists, (metal workers) against Wm. H. Johnston, a socialist. Knudsen made his campaign on the platform of the Trade Union Educational League, including affiliation to the Red Trade Union International, industrial unionism, the Workers' Republic, and militant class struggle. During the time when the election was on he spent most of his time collecting famine relief funds for Soviet Russia, instead of campaigning on his own behalf. This is the first time that any high union office has been challenged by a revolutionist, yet with his outspoken program and activity, Knudsen received about 30 % of the votes cast. This union had over 300,000 members in 1920, and at the present time has around 200,000. Wholesale voting by the officials on the large number of apathetic members, in favor of the conservative Johnston, carried the day against Knudsen; but not before he had demonstrated a rising rebellion against the bureaucracy in the American trade unions.

Political Awakening.

Greater numbers of workers are awakening to the need of working class political action. Sentiment for this is rapidly crystallizing. This is being led by the reformistic elements. The railroad men, the miners, the needle trades, and most of the metal trades, are making attempts for political activity of Labor. Without doubt the near future will see the launching of a labor party, a distinct step forward for the workers of America, who in the past have always been hooked onto the fail of the frankly capitalist parties. The American Hendersons and Scheidemanns will quickly disillusion the masses when they get to Congress. In the meantime the employers' "open shop" drive is doing quite a bit of educating for the revolution.

The Berlin Syndicalist Conference

by *Andrès Nin.*

Since the First Congress of the R.T.U.I. there have been many attempts by the Anarchist elements, who prefer revolutionary isolation to unification of the fight against the bourgeoisie, to sabotage the work accomplished in Moscow by the delegates of the revolutionary trade union organizations of all countries. They began by raising a quite unjustified polemic with regard to the famous resolution establishing relations with the Comintern, and afterwards launched the idea of the formation of an autonomous revolutionary Syndicalist international. The result of this action against the R.T.U.I. has been the convocation by the transitory leaders of the *Unione Sindicale Italiana* and the French C.G.T.U. of a conference of revolutionary union organizations which took place on the 16th of the current month in Berlin.

Although the negative result of this congress is certain, we nevertheless put forward certain considerations for the edification of those «libertaire» comrades and revolutionary unionists who are not disposed to follow the initiators of a tactic entirely contrary to the revolutionary interests of the proletariat.

1—The decisions adopted by the Charter Congress of the R.T.U.I. were the result of a fraternal accord between the Communist elements, revolutionary unionists, Anarcho-Syndicalists and non-partizan revolutionaries who were represented there. Reciprocal concessions were made and a most important fact, the program of action, which could be adopted by all revolutionary syndicalists without scruple, was adopted unanimously.

2—The source of all the existing misunderstanding is found in the protest formulated by the Central Committee of the *Comités Syndicalistes Révolutionnaires* against the resolution establishing relations with the Communist International. The Executive Bureau of the R.T.U.I. immediately stated that in the above-mentioned resolution there was no attempt to subordinate the Syndicalist movement to the Communist Party and in the meeting which had taken place immediately after the Congress there participated representatives of the Comintern and the R.T.U.I. and the French Syndicalist delegates, without excepting those who had voted against adhesion, the sense of the latter was stated when it was affirmed that it was in no way a matter of subordination, but a coordination of effort for revolutionary action.

3—The General Council of the R.T.U.I. in its meeting in Moscow last February examined the situation created by the attitude of certain Revolutionary Syndicalist organizations. After having reaffirmed that there had never been a question of subordinating the trade union movement it was decided unanimously to make an appeal to all Revolutionary Syndicalist organizations inviting them to participate in the work of the Second Congress whose aim would be to find a solid basis for the unification of all sincerely revolutionary forces, after having cleared up the existing misunderstandings.

4—Later, the Executive Bureau of the R.T.U.I. in the spirit of this resolution, invited the French C.G.T.U. and the *Unione Sindicala Italiana* to send delegates to Moscow whilst entering into *pourparlers* tending to facilitate agreement. This attempt was met by the negative of the invited organizations.

As we see, the R.T.U.I. has done everything on its part to come to an agreement. We are sure that this agreement will be realized in spite of the contrary wishes of the provisional leading organs of certain organizations, who do not represent the will of the revolutionary mass of workers. As we said at the beginning, we establish these considerations exclusively to fix the responsibility of each party and to denounce to the proletariat the manoeuvres of those who attempt to divide it at the moment when its union is most necessary. The attempt at division will nevertheless not succeed. They failed in Berlin at the December 1920 Conference; they failed in Düsseldorf in October 1922. They will fail again in Berlin this year. A single fact is powerful enough to demonstrate it: the two most important and representative organizations which initiated it are the *Unione Sindicala Italiana* and the French C.G.T.U. We are in a position to be able to affirm that at the St. Etienne Congress it is more than probable that adhesion to Moscow will be decided, although with reservations and that the actual leaders exclusively appointed to organize this conference will be dropped from the Administrative Commission. With regard to the U.S.I. it is known that the immense majority is favorable to the R.T.U.I. and that the decisions adopted in the last congress at Rome were the result of a trick.

With what forces, then, will they be able to constitute a new International?

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Day of Judgement

by Karl Radek.

Moscow, June 20th.

This is only the tenth day of the S.R. Trial. But every day of this trial presents a new and vivid picture of the crimes committed by this petty-bourgeois party against the workers and peasants of Russia, and against the World Revolution. Phase by phase, the days of the Russian Revolution are being unrolled before the court. First comes the uprising of the Petrograd workers. The Social Revolutionary Kerensky opposes the proletariat with Krasnov's Cossack troops. The S.R. Gotz organizes the insurrection of the Junker schools against the workers and soldiers that are fighting against Krasnov. The Constituent Assembly meets. A voice of the past. Against it stands a living Soviet Russia, that is building up its organization.

The Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party organizes an armed insurrection in the guise of a peaceful demonstration. It aims at the overthrow of the Soviet Power. But its gun misses fire because it has neither workers nor soldiers on its side. The S.R.'s then seek support in the camp of the White Guard organizations. But these organizations are also sterile and helpless. A new power appears on the scene—the Czechoslovaks, who have been deceived and bought by the French generals. They march against the Soviet Power, for they are being told that the Soviets will hand them over to German Kaiser. The S.R.'s, in the person of Captain Makhno, deliver Samara to them, and organize an army of White officers about them as a nucleus. In the classic testimony of Pascal of the French Mission, before the Supreme Tribunal, the whole picture of French Imperialism's counter-revolutionary activities, appears in all its splendor and glory as it lends life to the terrorist activities of the S.R.'s.

The Court has only begun its work. But the beginning alone already promises to present more evidence and proof of the guilt of the Central Committee of the S.R.'s than was dreamt by anyone.

Vandervelde sensed this truth after two days of the trial. He probably thought, when he left for Russia, that he would have to wage the usual Parliamentary "battle" for the freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and for other rights of men and citizens. But what he had to face was the blood-reeking guilt and the bloody deeds of the S.R.'s. He cut a miserable figure in the new land and before the new ruling-class. How insipid and lamentable were the words with which he hoped and attempted to dazzle the court and those present. When the purely formal questions of the trial came up, words froze on the lips of the Minister of Justice of His Majesty, the King of the Belgians. Rosenfeld and Theodore Liebknecht, who still believe themselves to be Socialists fighting for Socialism, were dumb-stricken. *Only one thing was left for them to do; either to take flight or to concede the guilt of the S.R.'s.* They preferred to flee rather than make a public admission of the guilt of the S.R.'s. We do not know whether they will now appear before the workers of Europe and tell them that they left the court-room because the defense was not given enough freedom. Should they do so however, they will be challenged by the simple fact that on the prisoners' bench we still find all of the S.R. defendants, who are still waging their "defensive" battle inch by inch. It is clear that were the court not to allow them sufficient play for their defense, such a fact would be difficult to explain. How are the foreign defenders of the S.R.'s to explain away to the European workers the fact that the bourgeois Russian defenders of the S.R.'s are still in the court-room, defending their clients. But what is still more, we, to whom conventionalities are foreign, take it upon ourselves to announce that *Theodore Liebknecht* in a conversation with *Clara Zetkin* told her in the presence of Comrade Brandler that if he had known what it was all about, and what the bill presented to the S.R.'s at the trial looked like, he would never have undertaken their defense. The defenders took flight before the truth which they dared not bring before their opportunistic Internationals. They obstinately insisted upon leaving Moscow on Monday, *only not to have to witness that big day* which we lived through at the S.R. trial, which would have closed their lips forever and prevented them from ever claiming that in the court-room of the Supreme Tribunal the Communists are merely trying to get rid of the Social Revolutionary Party. *That big day saw the whole working-class rise as one to pronounce the verdict even before the Revolutionary Tribunal has done so.*

That was the anniversary of the assassination of Comrade Volodarsky, the leader of the Petrograd workers. We raised his body up high and showed it to the Russian working-class. We

did that not in order to rouse them against the few puny personalities that decorate the prisoners' bench, but in order to call out Working Russia to decide whether she will permit another civil war, now being proclaimed in the court-room by the social traitors, or whether she is ready to stand behind the Soviet Power and to erase from the face of the earth anyone who dares to raise his hand in the effort to throw the exhausted country into another hell of civil war. In Petrograd, we saw tens and hundreds of thousands of workers marching to Volodarsky's grave on the Field of Mars, and in Moscow, endless lines of workers marching to the Red Square and past the walls of the Kremlin, where the first victims of the S.R. insurrection that broke out in Moscow in October 1917 lie. We must truly say that it is a long time since Moscow saw a workers' demonstration of such magnitude. The garrison did not appear because it can do so only at the command of the Government. The Red Army was represented by its cadets, and all those hundreds of thousands of demonstrators, moving in endless columns, were workers of Moscow, the builders of the future Russia, the men and women who passed the acid test of civil war, and who now warn the S.R.'s in an unmistakable manner: "Hands off Workers' and Peasants' Russia". Comrade *Piatkov*, that staunch representative of Working Russia, that brave fighter on the fields of the civil war, the man who led the fight against German Imperialism in the Ukraine, who fought against White Poland, organized the Red Don Basin, and is now the President of the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal, appeared on the Red Square and addressed the hundreds of thousands of workers as follows: "The verdict cannot as yet be pronounced, but rest assured that it will be just and unsparring."

Anyone who witnessed the demonstration, be he friend or enemy of the Soviet Power, must say to himself: "If there are any S.R. in Moscow, they did not come out, not even as much as a group of them, not because they feared any repressive measures of the Soviet Power, but because they were swallowed by the immensity and by the real proletarian character of the demonstration."

The great scenes in the streets of Moscow reached their climax in the court-room, before the Revolutionary Tribunal. Division after division of the demonstrators chose their delegations and sent them to the Tribunal with their resolutions. The delegations from the various factories of Petrograd appeared in the court-room. The Revolutionary Proletarian Tribunal received them in the presence of the S.R. defendants, not one of whom dared to make a scene in the face of this great historical event. The bourgeoisie resorts to a thousand and one tricks at every one of its trials, and then shouts about its "liberty" and "impartiality". But the Proletarian Tribunal openly announced:

"It is important that we know the opinion of the working masses, although we can pronounce our verdict only on the basis of an impartial examination of the facts."

The court-room became the scene of a great historical tragedy. These were Communists and non-partizan workers. There were working-women. There were old men and young children. And from their hearts there arose a wave of passionate accusation that enumerated all the crimes committed by the Social Revolutionary Party against the working-class and against the Russian Revolution. The Court listened attentively to the story of the worker Faryik Michelson, who had apprehended Fanny Kaplan when she made the attempt on Comrade Lenin's life. It silently heard the non-partizan worker relating the story of how the S.R.'s shot workers in Kazan. The Revolutionary Tribunal and the leaders of the S.R.P. listened in silence, and not one of the defendants dared to move a lip when some of the most serious accusations were brought up against them. They were silent and everyone of us felt at that time that at the bottom of their hearts they admit that have nothing to say. Perhaps they thought that the workers' delegates were being deceived. Perhaps they tried to justify their crimes to themselves. But not a soul of them dared to speak up and say that here were "pseudo workers", reciting their memorized accusations. For every syllable pronounced by the workers who appeared in the court-room revived reminiscences of untold sufferings that the working masses had to undergo because of the civil war, that civil war in which the S.R. fought against the working class.

The leaders of the S.R.'s sat buried in thought listening to these prosecutors, not to the Government prosecutors, but those of the class that assumed the role of Prosecuting Attorney and Judge. And it seemed that one could discern in the court-room history's verdict against the Social Revolutionary Party. This verdict is more terrible than that which the Revolutionary Tribunal can possibly pronounce. The Court can sentence only persons, but the sentence pronounced by the workers of Moscow and Petrograd, and which resounded through the court-room—was the death sentence of the Social Revolutionary Party.

THE COLONIES

Manifesto of the Communist International on the Liberation of Algiers and Tunis.

French proletarians!

Proletarians of Algiers and Tunis!

Millerand, the President of the plutocratic French Republic, the man who can rightly lay claim to the title of one of the "first social traitors" of France, formerly elected representative of the Socialist workers, who has become the colleague of General Gallifet the chief slaughterer during the Paris Commune, the advocate of popular trials, who has been bought by the great financial corporations, the chief fellow culprit of Poincaré in causing the outbreak of the world war, has just visited the enormous territory of French Imperialism in North Africa.

Whilst he, accompanied by a strong guard, visited these subjected countries, whilst he stayed among these exploited and subjected peoples, his gendarmes arrested and ill-treated the Communists of Tunis with redoubled eagerness. This social traitor who has succeeded to power, this Millerand—to see him now as the instigator of the suppression of the native emancipation movement and of the imprisonment of the Communists Louzon and El Kefi and many others,—this delightful picture is now afforded us by present-day colonial France.

For the first time since the conquest of North Africa by French Capitalism, the natives, groaning under the heel of the great planters and slave owning officials, find among the countrymen of their exploiters a mighty and reliable ally who espouses their cause and will support them until victory is at last achieved: this ally is the party of the proletariat, the Communist Party of France, section of the Communist International. The first flush of the dawn of emancipation has appeared to the Arabian proletarians, subjected to shameful exploitation by native aristocrats and French conquerors. The imperialist war has inflamed the spirit of revolt in Tunis and Algiers, as in Egypt and India. And simultaneously with the nationalist demands, class demands are being put forward, more and more urgently.

The revolt of the Moslem masses, which could not be put down by the measures of English imperialism and which arose the mightier after each suppression, cannot halt at the frontiers of English occupied territories and already it threatens French Imperialism.

The French colonies paid a heavy tribute in blood during the great imperialist war. Taking advantage of the ignorance of the masses and forcing their will upon them by terror, the foreign rulers of the country succeeded in raising enormous native regiments, whose blood was shed on the fronts of western Europe and the Balkans in defense of the bourgeois cash boxes.

In Tunis resistance to recruiting began in 1914 but was bloodily suppressed. The bourgeois press, as if by agreement, was silent upon these tragic events and by this disclosed the true character of the war which ostensibly was conducted for "Democracy and Civilisation".

French civilisation expresses itself in Africa in pitiless suppression, in the imposition of unbearable taxes, in the unheard of misery of the peasant and workers. Algiers was recently visited by a disastrous famine. Tunis has for forty years suffered under a Czarist-like regime which rules with the tri-colored banner under the cynical name of "Protectorate".

In Tunis it is even impossible to publish a Communist paper in Arabic, and the French and Tunisian Communists, fraternally united in the struggle against bourgeois dictatorship, are subjected to the same persecution.

Not content with exploiting the Arabian, Jewish, French, Italian, and Spanish workers of North Africa to complete exhaustion, the French slave holders are attempting to recruit a great native army which they wish to use as the main instrument of suppression of the proletarian revolution in France. It is a question of raising black troops in order to convert them into White Guards. It is a question of employing the ignorant proletarians of Algiers and Tunis against the class conscious proletarians of France.

But the hour has gone by in which the French bourgeoisie could have realised this plan with impunity. As the rebels of Tunis find allies among the French workers, soldiers and sailors, so the revolutionaries of France will find their allies among the colonial regiments. The fraternisation of the exploited

of all colours, all religions, all races, realizing more and more their class interests, has already begun. It cannot be stopped.

The repressive measures which are now redoubled in Tunis will not stem the tide of freedom. On the contrary they will but increase this movement still more, they will deepen it and make it irresistible. The blows aimed at the Communists will strengthen the prestige of Communism, redouble its influence and establish the Communist Party in full light before the eyes of the native masses as the sole pioneer of their rights.

The French proletarian knows the cause of the African proletarian is his cause and defends it accordingly. He will assure the victory of revolution in the colonies and at the same time strike a blow at French Imperialism in its most vulnerable part, in its imperialist efforts at expansion.

The fight for the emancipation of Algiers and Tunis is in the beginning, it will only end with the triumph of the slaves.

The Communist International greets the French and native comrades persecuted and imprisoned by the ruling caste, it greets the comrades Louzon and El Kéfi and all others. It greets the Communist organisation of Tunis and the Communist party of France which carries on the fight against suppression and assures it of the complete solidarity of the International Proletariat.

The Communist International calls to all the oppressed and exploited in Algiers and Tunis:

Moslem, Jewish and Christian Proletarians!

Arabian, French, Italian and Spanish Proletarians!

Unite together against the exploiters beneath the flag of the Communist Party!

Soldiers and Sailors of France!

Do not shoot your Tunisian and Algerian brothers!

Fraternise with the people in their struggle for freedom! Proletarians of France!

To the help of the African proletariat!

Long live the Communist Party of France, long live the Communist organisations of Tunis and Algiers! Long live the revolution of the Colonial Proletariat!

Moscow, May 20 th, 1922.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

To the Central Committees of All Communist Parties.

The Presidium of the Communist International and the Berlin Bureau of the Communist International Famine and Economic Relief in Soviet Russia are compelled to turn once more to the Parties of the Communist International in order to call their attention to the importance of the execution of famine relief work.

The famine in Soviet Russia continues. In single districts of the Volga district the situation has improved but in other parts of the Ukraine and of the Don and Crimea districts the famine catastrophe is more terrible than ever. The news which has arrived in Moscow from these districts has impelled the Presidium to turn again to the Communist Parties.

Captain Kwissling, the representative of the Nansen Committee in Charkov, placed the number of famine victims in these areas at unquestionably 5 millions: these are divided into three groups:

- 1.—No. of inhabitants absolutely without provisions, who are in immediate danger of starvation 2,000,000
- 2.—No. of inhabitants, living on hay, etc., insufficient to maintain life 2,000,000
- 3.—No. of inhabitants, who have at present provisions enough for the maintenance of life, but who will shortly be among the starving 1,000,000

In the Urals there are at least 2,000,000 more probably 3,000,000 living under the same conditions as above. These are distributed in the following governments:—

Tcheliabinsk, Ekaterinburg, Ufa and the Bashkir Republic 3,000,000

In the Ukraine, the starving inhabitants are distributed as follows:—

In the Saparezhye Republic, in a population of 1,288,000 900,000

In the Ekaterinoslav Republic 520,000

(The figure will rise to a total of 730,000)

In the Nikolaiev Government, in a population of 1,700,000 800,000

Total 10,222,000

The months before the harvest are the most difficult of the year. There is the great danger that the peasants will begin to cut the indifferent crops too early and therefore the most strenuous efforts must be made during these weeks to bring speedy aid. The bourgeois governments up to the present have done as good as nothing for the starving. A common action, which alone would have sufficed to overcome the famine, was denied Nansen. Individual countries have given trifling sums, but some have not yet undertaken to send actual provisions for the amounts voted.

The Presidium of the Communist International and Berlin Secretariat of the Comintern for the Russian Famine hold the present moment appropriate for Communist Parties in all Parliaments to endeavor to have passed resolutions for the prompt voting and speedy materialization of aid for the famine in Soviet Russia. The two institutions therefore call upon all Communist parties and sections to see that such steps are taken in their Parliaments. And we ask all Communist sections in all Parliaments to see that the other sections of working class parties are united with them in demanding from the Government immediate and effective relief.

It must be impressed that the State make the means of relief realizable as quickly as possible and that the sums voted are really sent to the starving in Soviet Russia. It is most important that in the first place provisions be sent in good preservation. If the starving are yet to be saved these provisions must be sent immediately. In the second place money and clothing are needed. It must be clearly learnt in what manner the promised relief will be sent and when the provisions are to be sent to Russia.

This action, to be carried out as quickly as possible in all Parliaments, must not affect the efforts made up to now on the part of the proletariat to help the starving in Russia. On the contrary, they must be continued. Simultaneously with Parliamentary action it is the duty of all Communist Parties, through the Party Press, public propaganda and meetings, to support the Parliamentary efforts as strongly as possible.

Not a day longer can we delay, not an hour is to be lost. The lives of millions of Russian peasants and workers are at stake.

For the Presidium of the Comintern: *Zinoviev.*

For the Berlin Secretariat: *Willy Munzenberg.*

The Working Class Continues its Relief.

The ship "Dollart" left Hamburg on June 13th for Petrograd with a cargo of 300 tons of Argentine grain sent by the International Workers Relief Committee. The purchase was conducted by the Wholesale Buying Society of the German Consumers' League.

A further shipment of 300 tons of rye and 3,000 kgs. of cacao fat is in preparation. A gift of sugar, cocoa and milk to the value of 40,000 marks from the German Union of Hand and Brain Workers to the children of the Russian miners will be sent on the same transport.

Russia, at present just before the harvest, is passing through the most difficult part of the year. Especially in the towns are the workers in great need of help from their fellow workers of the West. Unless new help is received, the danger threatens that the peasants, in their despair, will cut the grain too early and so endanger the whole harvest.

Comrades! Do not allow your efforts to relax! Give and Help with what you can!

New Problems in Famine Relief

by *A. Vinokurov.*

The famine campaign of 1921-1922 is coming to an end. The following fact is sufficient to characterize the present situation on the Volga Famine Front. At the present time about 11,000,000 people are receiving sufficient relief. It is expected that in the near future this number will increase considerably. In that case a very considerable part of the starving people are being relieved. It is clear however, that the relief work cannot stop at that point. It must go on developing until the new harvest.

But outside of this there are new problems arising in the field of famine relief. The famine has left behind it many marks of destruction in the households of those who were the victims of the bad harvest. It is therefore necessary to make good

these losses and to take the necessary measures for the restoration of the destroyed households.

The following fact throw some light on the extent of the havoc worked by the famine.

In the Saratov District, the area sown in 1914 amounted to 3,900,000 dessiatines; in 1922 this area dropped to 1,800,000 dessiatines, that is, to less than one half. The number of horses decreased to $\frac{1}{2}$ of that used in 1914. A similar decrease was suffered by the larger domestic animals. In 1914 there were $1\frac{1}{2}$ heads of domestic animals per household. In 1921, there was only one domestic animal per three households. A similar condition is to be found in the agricultural inventory. Instead of $1\frac{1}{2}$ plows and $1\frac{1}{2}$ harrows per farm in 1914, we find in 1921, only one plow per *three* farms and one harrow per *two* farms. This points to the danger that even if there is a good grain harvest, there will be no means of gathering the expected grass harvest, without outside help.

The Ufim District presents a picture that is no less disquieting.

The 1,751,000 dessiatines area, sown in 1911, decreased to 863,000 dessiatines in 1922, that is, again to less than one half. The number of horses, which was 552,000 dropped to 216,000, that is to about 40% of what it was formerly.

Besides the ruined agriculture, havoc is seen in the local industries of the famine regions. There is a great shortage in the materials necessary for improvements in the various factories, whose working capacity has greatly suffered.

It is not only the economic organs that have suffered from the famine, but also other Soviet Departments; the departments of health, education, social insurance and those of local, district and town management.

It is absolutely necessary to consider these ruins in detail and to take steps for their reconstruction. There are some alarming symptoms to be seen; the agricultural population is already beginning to sell its grain to the speculators. This must be fought energetically. Epidemics are spreading, etc., etc.

The Famine Relief must start working on new lines. Without stopping the aid furnished to the famine victims, it is necessary to launch an immediate campaign for the restoration of household economy in the regions that have suffered from the famine.

First of all the Government must help. The Executive Committee instructed the Central Famine Relief Committee to take the necessary steps to restore famine-ruined households. Work has already been begun in that direction. A committee has been appointed to investigate the damage caused by the famine, and to make recommendations in the line of concrete relief measures. On the 20th of this month, there will be a Famine Regions Conference, in Samara, with the representatives of the Economic and Famine Relief Organizations. This conference will have the special task of estimating the effects of the famine on our domestic economy, and estimate the minimum necessary to revive it.

On the 9th of July, an international conference for the Relief of the Famine Sufferers in Russia, will take place in Berlin, which will consist chiefly of labor organizations. This conference will also take up the question of Economic Relief in the famine-ruined Volga District.

The workers and peasants of Russia are not exempted from cooperating in this relief-work.

The aid furnished by them up to the present has given some good results; 7,000,000 poods were furnished in food-products alone. Without cutting off this aid until the new harvest, it is necessary to reorganize the relief-work on new lines, emphasizing the economic relief of the ruined Volga District.

Those districts that have had a fair harvest should now aid in the economic restoration of these neighbourhoods that suffered from the famine. Everything is needed in this relief-work; cattle, agricultural supplies, and financial aid to help the starving peasants against the speculators.

The Food Provisions Relief is coming to an end. A new campaign for the restoration of our domestic economy destroyed by the famine, is to be launched. The various organs of the Famine Relief Organization, should take up the new problems and bring the struggle against the famine and its effects to a successful end. We were the victors in the first phase of this struggle. We should also emerge victorious from its final phase.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Crisis in the Italian Socialist Party

By Umberto Terracini (Rome).

The new and perhaps last crisis which the Italian Socialist Party is now passing through, shows how sound the standpoint of the Communist Party of Italy was when—often with the disapproval of the comrades of the other parties of the Communist International—it denied that the Italian Socialist Party had any revolutionary spirit and sharply attacked its leading men and publications.

The occasion which again brought to light the deep lying inner process of dissolution, was the recent bloody events in Bologna, where the Fascisti by concentrating an army of 20,000 adherents militarily organized, well equipped and armed, showed a sample of the manner in which the class war in Italy will be carried on in the near future. The week of terror which the proletariat of Bologna had to pass through gave the reformists of the Socialist Party a cheap pretext to renew their attacks against the "Maximalist" Central Committee of the Party for the purpose of getting hold of the central apparatus of the party, after having succeeded in getting hold of a great number of local branches and of the extensive network of trade union and cooperative organisations.

In fact the efforts of the reformists within the party are no longer directed towards using the most favorable moment for a split with the "Maximalists", and the severing of the Right Wing of the party, by this means securing the formation of a Labor Party and making way for it. This was perhaps the original plan of the Coalitionists, as the followers of Serrati soon after the Congress of Livorno in January 1921 solemnly declared their revolutionary will and their continued adherence to the Communist International. If these phrases were put into practice by practical, persevering and concrete activity, the reformists perhaps would have remained for a time in the party in order there to carry on their propaganda among elements favorable to them to use the broad masses and the whole influence of the party for the approaching Parliamentary elections; and then, after having achieved that object, would have severed relations which hampered the free development of their political plans. These plans were directed towards forming a Coalition Government with some groups of Liberal and Catholic Parliamentary Left Wingers; plans which the "Maximalist" Central Committee, recently elected at the Congress in Milan at the end of 1921, very sharply opposed. The blustering words of Serrati's followers were this time again as empty as before, void of any sincere will to begin a revolutionary work of preparation, with no understanding of the vital and immediate interests of the proletariat, of international relations and without any earnest discipline. The Socialist Party led by the Maximalists exhausted its whole energy and its whole activity in a fierce, inexorable struggle against the young Communist Party.

The conflicting elements of the Italian proletarian political problem crystallized themselves at the two opposite poles; in the Socialist and in the Communist Parties. After the Communist Party had thrown itself into the bloody struggle against the attack of the capitalists and proclaimed revolutionary slogans like the dictatorship of the proletariat, the conquest of political power by force, and the unity of the proletarian forces, the Socialist Party was more and more compelled to adopt and defend the slogans of Social Democracy: against every form of dictatorship, against all force and for the gradual conquest of the state by Parliamentary activities.

Having arrived at this point, the reformists observed that the most rapid and safe way to their ends was no longer by means of the formation of a new party which would have comprised only a part of the Socialist forces, but by completely capturing the party with all its institutions, with its press, its resources and traditions. By means of blackmail and intimidation of the Maximalists they threatened again and again with the spectre of the Labor Party and they began their skilful but contemptible action for the success of which they sacrificed everything but their ambitious aims:— the economic interests of the proletariat, by splitting it up in the trade unions and in the factories, so that this proletariat, isolated and broken up into thousands of little groups, had to fight against the prepared and united capitalists; the unity of the trade union organisations by reason of the fact that the leaders of the C.G.L. (General Confederation

of Labor) sabotaged and laid traps for those organizations in which the Communists were in control; and lastly the life and personal security of the workers by delivering them over through their cowardly tactics of flight and the "Pacification Agreement" to the brutality of the Fascisti. In this general collapse the incapable, unprepared and stupid Maximalists abandoned their empty arrogance and from fear of losing control over the party showed themselves disposed to a far-reaching toleration.

The Socialist parliamentary group was the most suitable for the manoeuvring of the reformists to prove from time to time the degree of weakness of the Maximalists and the strengthening of the wing openly aiming at coalition. Serrati's foolish vanity compelled him to cover it up by high-sounding phrases—the various phases of his ignominious policy of abdication—for the future scorn of history. During the government crisis last January the Parliamentary Group adopted a resolution submitted by Baratonio which empowered the group to get into direct connection with various bourgeois parliamentary groups for the purpose of forming a "better government", and lo! the "maximalist" Central Committee approved of the new tactics to which the Editor of *Avanti!* (Serrati himself) gave the euphonious title of "taking advantage of parliamentary powers".

Thanks to this discovery the Socialist Party remains under the leadership of the reformists who already show their readiness to take the last steps with accelerated rapidity.

The National Council of the Party recently assembled in Rome which should have condemned and punished the Parliamentary Group, i. e., the overwhelming majority who advocated the support of a coalition policy, only proved that the disease had already penetrated into the heart of the organization. It must be mentioned that the National Council is composed of 25 members of the Maximalist majority fraction elected at the last Congress at Milan where the Serrati group was victorious. Now only thirteen of them voted against the decision of the parliamentary group, whilst 12 voted in favor of the reformist policy. After this result—which was anticipated and predicted by all those who have closely watched the process of decay of the Socialist party—Serrati handed in his resignation which however as usual was not accepted and was afterwards withdrawn. Soon after this, although the majority (though only a narrow majority) of the National Council had condemned the coalition resolution, the Parliamentary Group decided not to abandon the policy embarked upon, but on the contrary to proclaim their autonomy and independence from the party and at once set up a Provisional Executive Committee composed of Turati, D'Aragona, Musatti and Baratonio. The Central Committee of the Party, disunited in its own ranks and compromised by its former toleration towards the reformists, called an Extraordinary Party Congress whilst the C.G.L. which had just concluded its fusion agreement with the Cooperative League and the League of Workers' Credit Banks mobilized all its forces for this final struggle.

We do not however believe that there will take place any serious collision between the reformists and the Maximalists; on the contrary we must assume that the mutual injuries will soon heal and that the Socialist Party—united in its coalition program—will assuredly enter the ranks of the anti-proletarian parties. The extremely skilful reformists of the C.G.L. have convened the National Council of the Federation for the 3rd of July; more than 400 delegates will be present and among them there will be automatically formed a bloc of all Socialist tendencies against the attack of the Communists. Only the latter will fight against the combined phalanx of the ridiculous and treacherous "Revolutionaries of intransigence" who are no longer under the flag of Serrati, but under that of D'Aragona.

Notice

We request the Party Press to reprint the following Notice:

The Preparatory Agrarian Commission of the Communist International asks the Party Sections to acknowledge the receipt of the circular and questionnaire sent to them as well as to commence their activities in connection with this and to report regularly to the Commission.

The Secretariat of the Preparatory
Agrarian Commission.