

Bordiga Tells C. I. Congress about Fascisti

By Radio to Imprekorr (Berlin) and forwarded by Mail to "The Worker"

MOSCOW, Nov. 16.—Declaring that Fascism is a classical example of the capitalist offensive, Delegate Amedeo Bordiga, delegate of the Italian Communist Party, addressed the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International on the Fascisti movement in Italy. He spoke in part as follows:

"Fascism was founded by the war interventionists. The economic crisis of the post-war period encouraged this trend of feeling in the bourgeoisie.

"Fascism first took up the offensive in the agrarian districts, where socialist communal authorities, the Socialist Party, and the trade union organizations, had locally almost realized the dictatorship.

"Villages and small towns were not able to defend themselves against the military expeditions of the Fascisti. It was not till later that the Fascisti proceeded to exercise terror, incendiarism, ejection of the workers' leaders, and murder, in their war on industrial centres.

"The associations of industrial magnates, the large agrarian owners, as also the medium landowners, officers and petty bourgeoisie, tradesmen and half proletarians, all joined the Fascisti.

"Fascism rules on the pretence of representing national unity. It is supported by three factors.

"Firstly by the state, which gained time to organize the Fascisti and the Royal Guard by means of democratic pseudo-concessions during the demobilization crisis. Where the Fascisti did not defeat the workers, there the state disarmed the workers. At the time of the occupation of the factories, Giolitti and Nitti embodied the pseudo-democracy.

"The second supporting factor is the aid of the greater bourgeoisie and the big landowners; the third factor is the skilful organization of the disappointed middle class. The bourgeois parties possessed no serious organizations. Fascism created such.

"Fascism has no positive program. All it brings is new men, a new organization; but it follows the old bourgeois policy. The Fascist trade unions, formed with the aid of the employers, work with national demagoguery. France assisted Mussolini not only during the war, but is still assisting him with money.

"The main lesson to be learned from events is that, during the period of revolution, the state apparatus alone is inadequate for the bourgeoisie. A firmly organized party is required as well. Fascism was pressed forward to a rapid seizure of power by an international party crisis, and by exhaustion of the party treasury."

The speaker described how Comrade Topliati, the chief editor of the Communist central organ, was almost shot at the time of the Fascist

seizure of power, but is still working further for the party despite this. The position is now clearer than during the period of pseudo-democracy.

The bourgeois parties support Mussolini, the Turati group makes compacts with Mussolini, and the state apparatus has entered into a compromise with the Fascisti. Mussolini intends demobilizing the Fascisti.

Despite official freedom of the press the party organs Communista, L'Ordine Nuovo, and Lavoratore, can only appear illegally at present. The Communist Party is not disbanded, the trade unions are still working. Fascism will not be able to solve the difficult problems. Disappointment will soon be felt. The struggle of the working class will be severe, for Fascism fights against the proletariat with the aid of the state apparatus. The first conditions for our victory is strict discipline, the creation of a well organized Communist Party.

Smeral (Czecho-Slovakia) points out that the bourgeoisie of Czecho-Slovakia is not only planning a 50 per cent reduction in wages, but also the closing down of the textile industry. The rise in the exchange value of the crown is a means of doing this. The economic crisis has given rise to wide-spread social discontent.

At the same time the hegemony in its democratic form is threatened by the national minorities, and by the growth of the Communist Party. The next election will give no national Czech majority. The result will be a crisis in parliamentary democracy. The present government is the last stand of the bourgeoisie. A fight to the death will follow with the bourgeoisie, leaning on the aid of the white guard legions and Sokolists, for the proletarian dictatorship.

Our main task is to diminish the social basis of the Czech Fascisti before it comes to this. The slogan of the united front and the workers' government is a suitable medium for gaining the national socialist working masses, who may otherwise become an aid to the Czech Fascisti. Our chief task is to win over the masses. To do this, the primary necessity is inner consolidation of the party, and a party executive which is not disturbed by the mistrust of an opposition, and is supported by the confidence of the members.

Urbans (Germany), contradicts Radek. He maintains that Radek had rendered the opportunists excellent service by his words. The capitalist offensive was much too strongly emphasized. On the other hand, the defensive of the workers was not sufficiently accentuated. According to Radek the possibility of fighting in community with opportunism exists. For us it is impossible, for opportunism is incapable. Radek attaches too much importance to negotiations with the heads. But in actual fighting the united front of the workers is only possible from below, by which the heads can be temporarily forced to work with the workers.

A disposition already exists towards an action of the proletariat. The speaker points to the German Soviet movement and the creation of control organs.

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