

able to the Fascisti because they have definitely entered parliament with a quota of their own, probably thirty members; notable to the Popolare because they have a few more seats than before as a result of refusing to go into the national bloc—103 seats in all, and notable to the Socialists because they did not lose as many seats as Giolitti had intended they should. Holding their own in a defensive, not an offensive fight, they have lost only three or four per cent. of their former strength instead of fifty or more. And this will do Giolitti no good. They return to parliament with 124 deputies to which one must add the 15 Communist deputies to make a proper comparison with the Socialist strength of 156 of the last parliament.

And so everyone rejoices. Everyone but Giolitti. To him has gone entire defeat. On that point all Italy agrees. He has neither won the support he had hoped to get, nor has he succeeded in spanking the Socialist Party.

With amazing foresight Mr. Giolitti called this election at what was believed by everyone to be the most inopportune time for Socialists. Even the Socialists believed him. Only Serrati believed that to abstain from the election would be to throw victory into the hands of the Constitutionalist enemy and to throw greater strength to the Communists. With his usual fox-like keenness, Giolitti saw possible victory for himself in the camps of his most bitter enemies. He called on all factions that had opposed him or half-heartedly supported him to form a national bloc—not to help Giolitti, but to save "la patria", and to defeat Socialism, the recalcitrant child that stubbornly refused to play with the Government.

A free hand was given the Fascisti to go through the country with "propaganda." Chambers of Labor were destroyed, not occasionally, but every day. Homes of peasants were burned down. Socialists and Communists alike were killed. Scores of co-operative stores were sacked. The workers on their part fought back with equal hatred and bitterness. They were met by Royal Guards and Carabinieri. Arms were in the hands of the Government. Socialists who had preached direct action in the past suddenly cried out against this method of attack and, as the bourgeois press put it, clothed themselves in sheep's skins. Only the Communists continued to declare that direct action belonged in the program and must be met with direct action, thereby winning for themselves the Socialists' epithet of "Red Fascisti."

The success of the Fascisti in seeming to drive Socialist power out of certain communities was at first welcomed. Two hundred Socialist municipal councils resigned under Fascisti pressure. But when shopkeepers, Popolare and even Republicans, began to feel the mad frenzy of Fascisti, the country was alarmed. Mr. Giolitti commanded that all such disorders must cease. If the Government ever tried to end the outrages it was utterly impotent to do so, for the proclamation was followed with as many killings and burnings as at any other time. The country became the battleground for white guards and infuriated Socialists.

The days before the election, when everyone was crying for sanity, the press was filled with stories of Fascisti fights. At Torino, while a Socialist and

Communist were arguing someone in the crowd shouted "Viva Russia." The usual shot was fired and one hundred more shots followed. Four were wounded, all of them workers, and one was killed.

At Regina, near Florence, the Socialist headquarters were invaded and all papers and the electoral lists burned.

At Viaregio the ballots of the Communists were burned and the printers were warned not to reprint them.

At Ferrara the printing office at which the Socialist weekly of the community is printed was smashed.

At Padua, where the finest printing offices in the country were established, an office that employed 80 workers and printed besides the Socialist literature the manifestos of all other parties including the bloc, the entire establishment was wrecked.

At Naples Fascisti broke up a meeting at which Degni, a Popolare, spoke. A terrific battle followed with many wounded.

At Biella the Fascisti killed a Socialist assessor who had been reported as having said derogatory things about the Fascisti. He was called from his home and shot down. When his brother rushed to help him, he, too, was shot and died later.

At Trieste Fascisti killed a young Socialist who had made derogatory remarks about Fascisti on May Day.

At Teramo the Chamber of Labor was flooded with benzine and burned.

At Fermo, Macerata, Jesi and Cupramarittima the Socialist headquarters were invaded and all literature burned.

And so the list runs on for one day.

With the election over the fighting continues. In Milano two Royal Guards who patrolled a workmen's quarter were captured by workers whose parade had been broken up. They took the guns from the Guards, killed one and shot the other. On the same day twenty Chambers of Labor were destroyed by Fascisti in other parts of Italy. Within two days, 30 Fascisti had been killed and over a hundred wounded.

The Italian press which at first noted the calm of election day now carries column after column of outrages committed by one side or the other. Night after night the cavalry appear on the streets of Milano. They ride up and down, galloping through every group that reaches twenty or so in number. Milan gathers in the cheap sidewalk cafés and the expensive one to drink coffee peacefully. Conversation runs along as usual. Suddenly there is heard the unmistakable clatter of horses' hoofs. Shutters roll clattering over windows. Chairs are hurriedly pushed aside and a stampede for the inside of the cafe begins. No one intends to get shot.

All day long Carabinieri file through the streets breaking up the tiniest beginnings of crowds. That is how quietly Italy is taking the election.

And out in the country, where it is impossible to patrol the land, there the revenge goes on. Fascisti drive through in camions every day. Peasants lie in ambush behind the hedges and fire on them. The losses in the Fascisti ranks since the election

grow daily. It is true that the peasants are taking their revenge on the Fascisti; but it is also to be noted that when the Fascisti are killed, they are away from their own towns. They die as invaders. It is also true that when Socialists are killed it is in or near their own homes, or their own headquarters.

The Socialist papers call upon their followers to prepare for the more bitter struggles that will come to them. They remind the workers that the Fascisti will begin an even greater revenge in their defeat. The Trieste Fascisti journal printed the following call just previous to the election: "In the law or against the law, if we don't win May 15, woe to the victors."

And on April 17 a Fascisti weekly published the following:

#### Invocation

We invoke the gallows,

Saintly and great,

Just.

May it be of strong wood of Italian pine.

May the cord be of our hemp, long and very strong.

It we would plant upon our vast piazzas.

It we would give plenty of food for its hunger . . .

Giolitti went to the country with the cry that the Chamber did not represent the temper of the country. He declared that he could do nothing with parliament as it was. He faces after this election practically the same parliament, the Popolare

a little stronger and thoroughly against him; the Fascisti more bitter than ever about Fiume; a handful of Germans and Slavs, thoroughly anti-Italian; the Socialists stronger for having defeated him in the election; and the great constitutionalist bloc that was to be so helpful actually made up of a diversity of liberal democrats, radicals, reformists, anti-administration Nittians, nationalists and Fascisti, a dubious 278 including the Fascisti, as against 124 Socialists, 15 Communists, 103 Popolare, and 8 Germans and Slavs.

He faces a Chamber with Mussolini and twenty-nine other Fascisti on the one side who will go to Rome after still further assaults on the Socialists, and Turati and Modigliani of the Socialists on the other, not to mention Bombacci and Graziadei and other Communists. His one hope will be to collaborate with the Socialists, but will the Socialists collaborate with Giolitti? The leaders say emphatically that they will not.

The press already predicts that Giolitti must resign in the fall. His successor will face then practically the same situation. Whether the Socialists will collaborate with him is another question.

Here is where the Communists say the split in the Socialist party will come. Serrati is against collaboration with the government as he was before. Certainly the right-wing Socialists are for collaboration. Whether or not they have the controlling power in the party will be decided at the next Socialist conference which will be held in July or August.

## The Amalgamated Beats the Wolf

By SOLON DE LEON

The wolf has been beaten at a quarrel of his own choosing. On June 2 the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America signed a working agreement which puts the seal of failure on the attempt of the anti-union element among the New York clothing manufacturers to destroy the workers' organization by fair means or foul, for any reason or no reason. For six months the battle raged. Now is the winter of the clothing workers' worst conflict made glorious summer by this sun of victory.

By the terms of the settlement:

1. The union shop is maintained.
2. The joint arbitration and adjustment machinery temporarily destroyed by the break is to be restored.
3. Group or shop standards of production are to be established jointly by representatives of the workers and of the employers.
4. Wage reductions, not exceeding 15 per cent, are to be arranged by a joint committee representing both sides, cutters' wages, for the most part, not being affected.
5. Hours of work stand as they were, at forty-four a week.

Contrast these terms with the ultimatum insolently presented by the manufacturers last December:

1. Individual bargaining.
2. Piece work.
3. Unlimited power to hire and fire.
4. Uncontrolled wage cuts.
5. Individual standards of production for remaining week-workers.

And "Be it further resolved," read a motion adopted by the manufacturers' council of war, which got into the union's hands by mistake, "that in the event the association fails to receive an affirmative reply within the time fixed, then the association shall put into effect the proposal aforesaid."

In other words, "Destroy yourselves, or we will do it for you."

Even in the ultimatum, however, the demand for the annihilation of the union was not made outspokenly. Still less outspokenly was it made at the beginning of the trouble. Easy and gradual was the descent to Hades.

First a certain concern refused to send any one to present its side of a case pending before the impartial chairman, who was hired jointly by both sides to settle minor disputes arising under the agreement. Next, manufacturers in increasing number began to put in requests for wage and other adjustments, alleging that the existing union