

11. Italian fascism has thrown itself into this war as desperate men throw themselves into a river. The war is lost. The fascist leaders themselves have no illusions left as to this. They continue to make war because they cannot do otherwise, just as a drowning man cannot escape from the whirlpools of the current which suck him downwards. Mussolini is a German vassal. The Italian generals are Hitler's mercenaries.
12. The experience of this war has an enormous historical importance for the Italian people. This war's terrible lesson is now added to that, also very instructive, of the war of 1915-1918. In both these world wars Mussolini's responsibility for Italian participation has been great. For the Italian interventionists the war of 1915-1918 was a profound disillusionment; Italian capitalism did not carry off the booty for which they had hoped. The present war, even before it is over, will be an even more bitter experience; it is sweeping Italy towards certain defeat, but, even were the contrary to happen, there is no doubt that Germany would take the lion's share and Italy, under the hegemony of German imperialism, would fall into the secondary rôle of a semi-agricultural country. The truth is therefore the following: Italy has neither the economic nor the military strength to impose her supremacy on Europe and in every European conflict she is forced to follow in the wake of some one of the Great Powers. As long as the world remains organized on a capitalist and imperialist basis the Italian people will be forced to serve as cannon fodder and cheap labor under the orders of a greater foreign state. Only in a new order, only in a Socialist Europe, when work, intelligence, tenacity and solidarity prevail over the gold and the brute force that now determine the hierarchy of nations, only then will the Italian people cease to be enslaved. In the field of competing imperialism Italy has now made all possible experiments; each one of them has cost hundreds of thousands of lives and has reaped bitter disillusionments. Socialism is the only road left open to Italians now.
13. The Italian Socialist Party is fighting to spare Italy a peace of national humiliation. The Socialists will never accept any mutilations of national territory. Our aversion for fascist nationalism is not any greater than our aversion for the imperialism of other countries. The Italian people are not responsible for the fascist war. The Italian people are fighting against the war. They have a right to a just and generous peace. The Socialists will never agree that the Italian people be made to pay for the sins of fascism. An unjust peace, imposing territorial sacrifices on Italy, would be a source of future armed conflicts and would be an unhealthy weight on all European political life in the next post-war period; preventing public opinion from facing the real and fundamental social problems.
14. The war is lost but Italy can still save herself. Her salvation is in the hands of the Italian people. They must recover confidence in themselves. The weapon of Civil Disobedience has shown itself to be very efficacious and within the reach of all. Civil Disobedience has brought chaos into many branches of fascist administration, it has disorganized transport, it has slowed down the deteriorated war production, it has aggravated the differences between the peasants and the fascist State. Civil Disobedience must be intensified and acts, open and courageous, of opposition to the war must be multiplied.
15. The present situation is a pre-revolutionary one. The Socialist Party will guide the masses in the struggle for peace and liberty. We appeal for a fraternal union of all anti-fascists.
16. Enough of the war.
 Enough of fascism.
 Long live Socialist Italy.
 Long live the United Socialist States of Europe.