

the I. L. P. on a platform stipulating "Socialism in Our Time?"

And where stood the "wild men from Clyde" with their mentor, the Christian-revolutionary simpleton Lansbury?

They followed meekly in the footsteps of the handsome ex-premier.

Labor has to pay the price.

The labor politicians are the offspring of the political infamies amid which they got their training; creatures with no principles save one, viz., that when they get a majority and climb into power labor has to toe the mark.

Yet the revolt of the British workmen is one of the most encouraging and important signs in the struggle for emancipation. The workers have learned a lesson—the lesson of uselessness of political leadership, of Parliamentarism. The workers had an opportunity to see clearly and convincingly how little sympathy the upstart leaders and politicians have with the man of toil.

At the same time the idea of a general strike was triumphant, to the surprise not only of the masters in the capitalist camp, but also to the astonishment of the sceptics in the revolutionary movement.

Afraid of the final outcome the labor betrayers called off the partial strike instead of calling out the entire organized and conscious labor.

By killing the partial strike they proved the significance of the general strike.

## The Internationales and Fascism

THE International Workingmen's Association (Berlin), addressed to the Amsterdam International as well as to the Red Labor Union International (Moscow) a proposition of common action in all countries against Fascism. The letter was couched in the following terms:

"In accordance with the suggestion of one of our affiliated organizations, the secretariat of the I. W. M. A. resolved to address itself to the I. F. T. U. and the R. L. U. I. in order to organize united action against Fascism in Italy, with the help and the co-operation of three labor Internationales and of the national organizations belonging to them.

It was superfluous to enlarge to you about the reign of terror of the Fascisti, of their efforts to exterminate the class struggle movement, in general, and their attempts to annihilate the labor union movement, in particular. You surely know as well as ourselves what the objects of Fascism are and the tactics it employs to attain its ends. You must also be aware in what ter-

rible situation the labor movement of Italy is facing at the present time. And that applies not only to the "Unione Sindacale Italiana," which is affiliated to our I. W. M. A., but also to the "Confederacion General dei Lavatori," which belongs to I. F. T. U. Both have been destroyed.

Italy is today beneath the heel of the blackest reaction, and the Italian proletariat is not now in a position to free itself from the terrible tyranny by its own strength.

The Italian working class is greatly in need of the aid of the internationally organized proletariat. We are convinced that immediate help must be given to the working class of Italy. Furthermore, that it is to the vital interests of the world proletariat to terminate Fascism. You must consider that Fascism is spreading throughout the world. Italian Fascism is penetrating the entire labor movement; it means the complete enslavement of labor everywhere. Already Fascism has taken root in France and every effort is being made to "modernize" reaction, so as to dupe the workers about the real essence and meaning of the developing situation. Those elements, for instance, that are now grouped around the "Nouveau Siecle" (new Fascist paper in Paris) pretend to defend the interests of labor—namely, chiefly against the organized class struggle movement of labor.

In Germany also there is growing the monarchist-Fascist danger. Not to mention Spain, where our organization—the "Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo"—is exposed to the most fearful persecution by the military dictatorship of Rivera. For the change of government in Spain has altered nothing at all in that situation. Similarly in Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and now also in Greece, under its new military dictatorship, Fascism is spreading itself, and labor facing the most difficult situation in its history. Sufficient the above, to clarify how pressing is the need of international action of the world proletariat against world reaction.

It is most important that the contemplated action be directed first of all, against Fascism in Italy, because Italian Fascism is the very heart and center of international reaction. *Now even American finance stands at the side of Fascism and supports it with its aid.* No one can therefore have the least doubt about the urgency of international action of the organized proletariat against Fascism.

We hereby propose to you a boycott, upon an international scale, against Fascist Italy and all Italian products. Could we, by the strength of our own organization, successfully carry thru such a boycott, this communication

were then unnecessary. But in this undertaking the co-operation of all three organizations—the internationals—is absolutely necessary to insure effective results. Our organizations in Barcelona, in Portugal, in Mexico and South America, would very energetically participate in such action, if called upon to do so by us. Also the other countries, where the forces affiliated with us are in a minority—as in Germany, Sweden and Holland—would co-operate with us in the proposed action, so far as those minorities are concerned. We hope that also your organizations would be willing to carry through this action, when appealed to by you in the matter. We remind you, on this occasion, of the boycott against Horthy (Hungary), that did not fail of good results.

We believe to have the right to assume—with certainty—that your organization will support our proposal. At least we hope so, and we suggest that you inform us of your attitude in this question as soon as possible. All other matters pertaining to this question could then be arranged either by correspondence or by personal conference, once we are agreed in principle on this plan."

The letters were sent registered post on January 16th. After a first formal acknowledgment, the Amsterdam replied as follows:

"The Executive, sitting in session on February 11th and 12th, took position to your proposals re an action against Italian Fascism. It is just because we are in constant relations with the Italian Unions and have first-hand information as to the state of things in Italy, that we cannot comply with your friendly request."

Although very gentlemanly, this reply completely lacks the spirit of revolutionary class struggle. The knowledge of the situation in Italy seems to be the pretext for the Executive of the Amsterdam International to reject any action against Fascism. Let it be noted, that our proposal in no ways demanded anything from the Italian workers. It was thought to be the duty of the workers of other countries to enter the field on behalf of their Italian fellow workers, and in this the difficult situation in Italy can be no obstacle. The I. W. M. A., too, is well informed of the situation in Italy; our comrades, too, are persecuted by Fascism—even more so than the reformist organizations. Yet, our Italian comrades have no objection whatever to an international action; nay, they yearn for such an act of international solidarity against Fascism which might be of help to them. The Italian workers will fail to understand the position taken up by the Amsterdam International. They will gain—and rightly so



—the impression that that International is afraid to bear the responsibility for calling out the international proletariat to a common action against Fascism.

But while the evasiveness of the Amsterdamers will not surprise the working class, it is to be openly stated that the behavior of the Moscow Labor International is simply disgraceful. That body is never tired of slinging revolutionary phrases. Times without number the Moscow dictators would pride themselves of their revolutionary sentiments and would call all the other tendencies in the labor movement counter-revolutionary.

The Executive of the R. L. U. I. did not even find it necessary to acknowledge receipt of our letter. It is thus clear that we are in the presence of a cynical *sabotage* of an international action on the part of the Moscow International.

Were one to look for the grounds for such a counter-revolutionary attitude of the R. L. U. I., one could find them in the friendly relations existing between the Soviet Government and Fascism. Added to the fact that the R. L. U. I., at its Congresses, in its manifestoes and at all other occasions, proclaims its full solidarity with the Soviet Government—and it will become clear that it should be unwilling to make it unpleasant for its government by proclaiming war to another government with which the first is in friendly relation.

While we brand, before the international proletariat, the cowardly attitude of the Moscow International, we warn also the working class of all countries against the various organizations and politicians who have sold themselves to this or that government. The labor movement will only then be able to develop freely its forces, whether nationally, or internationally, when it will keep at a good distance from any government, whether capitalist, socialist or communist.

As we stated in our letter quoted above, one International is not capable alone, to carry out effectively and efficiently a boycott against Fascist Italy. The refusal of the Amsterdam and Moscow Internationals make it impossible, this time, to undertake an international action against Fascism.

We call, nonetheless, upon all our organizations anywhere to keep in mind any future possibilities and to carry on, each in its own country, an intensive propaganda in favor of a boycott of Italian goods as a means of fighting Fascism. An international action will by itself follow as soon as the workers themselves will demand of their organizations the urgency of active deeds against Fascism.

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## Elisee Reclus' Anarchism

(Continuation)

Like a pure and spontaneous source, pure thoughts and ideas constantly and ceaselessly emerge from the entire "Correspondence" of Reclus, not in an unnecessary "preachy" and boring form, but through the most ingenuous expressions of feeling, in a mere statement of common facts and things and, at times, through a single word. Profound thoughts and genial observations alternate with the purest of friendly manifestations, with souvenirs and allusions, which are almost always filled with a joyful serenity, with which he faced all happenings and events.

It certainly would have been interesting to have, from his own pen, well organized memoirs of this life of apostle and scholar, like those, so much alive and so dear to us, of Kropotkin and Louise Michel, of Lorenzo, Lefrancais and others. However, for him who knows how to read with the understanding of the heart, this "Correspondence" can take the place of the best biography for, through it, we are acquainted not only with the material but also with the intimate spiritual life of Elisee Reclus, with the formation and development of his thought and with the highest movements of his lofty heart.

Thus, the complete life of Reclus appears before our eyes, and for us the reading of the Epistolary seems to be the best imaginable "propaganda of deed" in favor of anarchism. People who have intimately known the Reclus family tell us of the fascination exercised by Elisee upon those surrounding him; and this fascination we understand perfectly, for we, ourselves, still feel its influence when we read his letters. In them we see clearly how all his beautiful life (his deeds, his private and public life, in fact, everything connected with him) was a coherent explanation of the humane ideal which he also synthesized in the word "Anarchism."

When Bakunin became acquainted with Reclus, he felt for him a great esteem. Bakunin thought, however, that he did not seem to possess "tous les diables au corps" (all the devils in his body) which, in Bakunin's opinion were necessary in order to be a real revolutionary. During the Commune, as on many other occasions, one could have answered: "Elisee performed his whole duty, as was incumbent upon him, as a man of action, under the circumstances." Nevertheless, Bakunin's opinion may not have been wrong. In fact, if Bakunin himself was everything that an anarchist of action should be, with the minor and less humane traits which every revolutionary action necessarily implies, Elisee Reclus was, in a way, the anticipation of the Anarchist in an

anarchist society, of the new man already formed by the future society in which fraternity has already become a fixed mode of life, in which solidarity has become instinctive, in which the sense of justice and of liberty for all has become the natural law and rule, the outcome of a slow unfolding of human progress.

This may be why, when reading the "Correspondence," we have the impression of happiness; it seems to us that Elisee Reclus must have been happy in the noblest and loftiest sense which our longing for the good may give to the abstract concept of happiness. Of him it can be said that "he has lived his life." And if our impression corresponds, in so far as it is humanly possible in such a horrible world, to the reality of life, what better proof than this could we ask of the old maxim that the secret and the foundation of any happiness, compatible with the imperfection of our human nature, lies in being kind?

When we speak of Reclus, "kindness" should not be interpreted in the manner of those who consider resignation, humility and servility as good. The kindness of Reclus was that of a revolutionist and of a rebel, who knew how to hate with virility all that is evil, ugly, and false, how to oppose injustice, repel violence, rebel against oppression, fight against parasitism, understand even the outbursts of despair and of exasperation; it was a fighting and militant kindness, not a Tolstoyan kindness of resignation.

In order to demonstrate all this we should have to quote sentences, paragraphs and whole pages of the "Correspondence." But, then, what could we choose? We should have to quote everything. . . . The best thing would be to have all the letters of Reclus read, reproduced and translated in all the reviews and periodicals of propaganda and education. There is not one—with the exception of a few purely and simply erudite letters which are also so interesting from other viewpoints—which could not be used or be of a certain benefit in given circumstances or with regard to certain problems under discussion. All of them are pleasant to read and bring a great moral comfort to those who suffer and feel the need of reinvigorating and purifying their souls poisoned by the sight of such ugliness and ferocity and tormented by the universal sorrow which threatens to submerge our tired humanity. He who reads his letters reacquires the hope which was disappearing, the confidence in mankind, which was beginning to fail. . . .

One can also read the letters of erudition and teaching with pleasure and benefit, for the writer is never the learned man sitting in his chair far from

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