

Information Bulletin

OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

NO 1	Editorial Address: FRITZ KATER (for the I. W. M. A.), Kopernikusstr. 25 ^{II} Berlin O 34	January 15 th , 1923
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Resolutions Adopted

by the International Congress of Revolutionary Syndicalists held in Berlin from the 25th of December, 1922 to the 2nd of January, 1923.

The following countries were represented at the International Congress, either by their delegates, by the mandates of delegates who could not come in time, or by written adherence sent to the Congress:

- Germany: by the Freie Arbeiter Union (Syndikalisten);
by the Allgemeine Arbeiter Union (Einheitsorganisation);
by the Anarcho-Syndikalistische Jugend.
- Argentina: by the Federación Obrera Regional Argentina (F.O.R.A.)
- Chili: by the I. W. W. of Chili.
- Denmark: by the Syndikalistisk Propagandaforbund.
- Spain: by the Confederación National del Trabajo.
- France: by the Comité de Défense Syndicaliste;
by the Fédération Unitaire du Bâtiment;
by the Fédération des Jeunesses Syndicalistes de la Seine.
- Holland: by the Nationaal Arbeids-Secretariaat.
- Italy: by the Unione Sindacale Italiana.
- Mexico: by the Confederación General do Trabajadores.
- Norway: by the Norsk Syndikalistisk Federation.
- Portugal: by the Confederação Geral do Trabalho.
- Russia: by the Anarcho-Syndicalist Minority.
- Sweden: by the Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganisation.
- Czecho-Slovakia: by the Freie Arbeiter Union.

I.

On the admission of the Red Trade Union International (R. T. U. I.) to the debates of the Congress.

The Secretary of the R. T. U. I., or any other delegate of the R. T. U. I. or of the Confederation of Labor of Russia will be able, if he comes, to make a declaration of any length, in whatever sense he may think fit. The Congress will then let him know the decision arrived at, and will pass to the order of the day.

II.

On the Report of the Provisional International Bureau.

The International Congress adopts the report of the Provisional Bureau, considers its activities in full accord with the instructions received by

it from the Berlin Conference of June 1922, and discharges the Provisional International Bureau.

III.

On the Question of Affiliation to Moscow.

1. The Congress records the refusal of the organisations affiliated to the R. T. U. I. to participate in its work, in spite of the formal invitation addressed to them in the hope and desire of making a last attempt at the unification of the labor forces of East and West, and at finding a basis of agreement for all unions that accept truly revolutionary tactics.

2. Notwithstanding the great difficulties encountered in the course of its organisation, the Congress demonstrated, by the very fact of its world success, the futility of the Russian arguments that Russia was the only country where an international congress of revolutionary unions could be held.

3. The Congress considers that this clearly separatist conduct of the wire-pullers of the R.T.U.I. with regard to revolutionary unions is an inevitable consequence of the anti-syndicalist policy of Moscow, which does not hesitate to persecute and exile Russian militant revolutionary syndicalists. The Congress declares that no substantial change has taken place since the 2nd Congress of Moscow to cause revolutionary syndicalism to change its attitude towards the R.T.U.I. It enumerates, among others, the following reasons for this assertion:

a. The alterations in the Statutes of the R.T.U.I., brought about at the instance of the French C.G.T.U. (United General Confederation of Labor) are a deception resulting from the political manoeuvres carried out at St. Etienne under the avowed influence of Moscow and of the French Communist Party, manoeuvres already denounced by our comrades of the French minority.

b. The subordination of syndicalism to the politics of the parties aiming at State power so strongly inspires all the paragraphs of the Statutes and all the actions of the R.T.U.I., that the alteration made in paragraph 11, — which, in no particular, changes its intrinsic value or its meaning, and which, besides, confirms the validity of the other paragraphs of which the signification is identical — sanctifies this game of duplicity, which is too transparent to deceive anyone any longer.

4. The decisions above indicated deprive the appeal of the 2nd Congress of Moscow, issued by the Press to revolutionary syndicalist workers, of all importance and all moral value, by the very fact that the so-called revolutionary syndicalists who solicited it and approved of it are not loyal towards the syndicalist movements of their respective countries, but, on the contrary, are agents of the R.T.U.I. who play the role of syndicalists at the bidding of the Communist International with the object of subjecting the world syndicalist movement to the Communist parties.

For these reasons, the Congress confirms once more the decision of the Conference of June 1922; and, further, in consideration of the categorical mandates of a number of confederations of Europe and America demanding the establishment of an International of revolutionary syndicalists independent of every party and every government,

It decides to constitute the Revolutionary Syndicalist International, and passes on to the order of the day.

IV.

On Revolutionary Unity.

Considering the supreme importance of revolutionary unity in the struggle of the proletariat against the offensive of Capitalism and the State;

And, in recognition of the fact that a united block of the sincere forces of the world proletariat is an essential condition for the activity of the new Revolutionary Syndicalist International;

The Congress considers:

That one of the most urgent duties of the Revolutionary Syndicalist International is to take the most energetic initiative for the realisation of the unity of world revolutionary forces, and to enter into relations with all the organisations

of the world that are prepared to accept this initiative in a spirit of solidarity and to give it their active support.

In accordance with this decision, and in spite of the fundamental differences of doctrine that separate revolutionary syndicalists from the economic organisations of the R.T.U.I., the Congress authorises the administrative organ of the Revolutionary Syndicalist International to attempt, once again and for the last time, with a view to the realisation of international syndicalist unity, an exchange of views with the R.T.U.I. on the basis of the letter of the 12th of August 1922 addressed to the latter by the retiring Provisional Bureau.

In view of the importance and ultimate inevitability of an agreement between all the revolutionary elements for common action against Capitalism and the State,

The Congress decides, in the event of a definite refusal from the Executive of the R.T.U.I., to address the central organisations affiliated to Moscow, over the heads of this Executive.

Taking note of the declaration of the French Comité de Défense Syndicaliste (Committee of Syndicalist Defense), the Congress hopes that French Syndicalism will join as a whole to support with all its strength the initiative taken by the International Congress of Revolutionary Syndicalists as well as the task of regrouping the Syndicalist family which the new International will undertake on the very morrow of its definite constitution.

V.

Statutes of the International of Revolutionary Syndicalists.

STATUTES.

1. Preamble.

The age-long struggle between the exploiters and the exploited has assumed threatening dimensions. All-powerful Capital, tottering for a moment after the devastating world war, and especially after the great Russian Revolution and the revolutions, less imposing, in Hungary and Germany, is raising its hideous head again. Notwithstanding the internal conflicts that are tearing the Bourgeoisie and World Capitalism, the latter are on a fair way to come to an agreement, with the object of hurling themselves on the working class with greater unity and increasing force, and of attaching it to their triumphant chariot.

Capitalism is organising itself, and from the defensive position in which it has found itself, it is now passing to the offensive on all the fronts against the working class, which is exhausted by bloody wars and unsuccessful revolutions. This offensive has its deep origin in two well-determined causes:

Firstly, in the confusion of ideals and of principles which exists in the ranks of the labor movement; the absence of clearness and of cohesion regarding the immediate and the future aims of the working class; the division into innumerable camps often hostile to one another — in one word, the weakness and disorganisation of the labor movement.

Secondly, and especially, the subsequent distortion of the Russian Revolution which, at the moment of its outbreak, and owing to the very fact of the great principles enunciated by it in November, 1917, had raised the greatest hopes among all the proletarians of the world; and which has now fallen back to the rank of a political revolution that has served to conquer State power and maintain it in the hands of the Communist Party, the sole object of which is to monopolise the entire economic, political and social life of the country. This deviation of a social revolution into a political revolution has, as a result, led to a hypertrophy of State Socialism with, as consequence, the development of a capitalist system characterised by as much exploitation and domination as any other system of bourgeois origin. The necessity of re-establishing Capitalism in Russia has been the gamble of World Capitalism. State Socialism, miscalled „Communism“, has saved bourgeois Capitalism by making an appeal to it for help . . . to save the Revolution!

It is thus that, thanks to these two disorganising elements, viz., on the one hand, the confusion in the ranks of the proletariat and, on the other, capitalist Bolshevism — the great industrial and landed capitalist interests feel their strength increasing and the chances of their re-birth enhanced.

Against this serried international attack of the exploiters of all grades, there is but one weapon: the immediate organisation of the proletarian army into a fighting organisation, welding all the revolutionary workers of all countries into one single block, solid as granite, against which all the assaults of the capitalists will be shattered and which will ultimately crush them under its immense weight.

Several attempts have already been made in this direction. Two of these attempts — the Internationals of Amsterdam and Moscow — are still hoping for success. But both bear within themselves poisonous and self-destroying germs. The International of Amsterdam, lost in reformism, considers that the only solution of the social problem is to be found in class co-operation, in the collaboration of labor and capital, and in peaceful revolution to be patiently awaited and realised without violence and without conflict, with the consent and approbation of the bourgeoisie. The International of Moscow, on the other hand, considers that the Communist Party is the supreme arbiter of all revolution, and that it is only under the iron rod of this party that coming revolutions ought to be launched and consummated. It is to be regretted that in the ranks of the conscious and revolutionary proletariat there still exist tendencies supporting that, which neither in theory nor in practice, can any longer be upheld, namely, the organisation of the State, — i. e., the organisation of slavery, of the wage system, of the police, of the army, of the political yoke: in one word, the so-called „dictatorship of the proletariat“, which cannot be anything but a brake on the direct expropriating strength of the working class and an instrument for the suppression of its real sovereignty; and which becomes, on that account, the iron dictatorship of a political clique over the proletariat. It is the supremacy of authoritarian Communism, i. e., the worst form of authoritarian despotism or caesarism in politics, — the complete destruction of the individual.

Against the offensive of Capital on the one hand, against politicians of all shades on the other, the revolutionary workers of the world ought indeed to constitute a real international association of workingmen, of which every member shall know that the final emancipation of the workers will not be possible until the workers themselves, *in their capacity as workers*, are prepared in their economic organisations not only to take possession of the land and the workshops, but also to conduct them in common and to manage them in such a way as to enable them to continue production.

With this perspective in view, the International Congress of Revolutionary Syndicalists, assembled in Berlin in December, 1922, adopts the following Declaration of Principles, elaborated by the Preliminary Conference of Revolutionary Syndicalists held in Berlin in June, 1922:

2. Principles of Revolutionary Syndicalism.

a. Revolutionary Syndicalism, basing itself on the class-war, aims at the union of all manual and intellectual workers in economic fighting organisations struggling for their emancipation from the yoke of wage slavery and from the oppression of the State. Its goal consists in the re-organisation of social life on the basis of Free Communism, by means of the revolutionary action of the working class itself. It considers that the economic organisations of the proletariat alone are capable of realising this aim, and, in consequence, its appeal is addressed to workers in their capacity as producers and creators of social riches, in opposition to the modern political labor parties which can never be considered at all from the point of view of economic re-organisation.

b. Revolutionary Syndicalism is the convinced enemy of every form of economic and social monopoly, and aims at its abolition by means of economic communes and administrative organs of field and factory workers on the basis of a free system of councils, entirely liberated from subordination to any Government or political party. Against the politics of the State and of parties it erects the economic organisation of labor; against the Government of men, it sets up the management of things. Consequently, it has not for its object the conquest of political power, but the abolition of every State function in social life. It considers that, along with the monopoly of property should disappear also the monopoly of domination, and that any form of the State, including the form of the „dictatorship of the proletariat“ will always be the creator of new monopolies and new privileges, but can never be an instrument of liberation.

c. The double task of Revolutionary Syndicalism is as follows: on the one hand it pursues the daily revolutionary struggle for the economic, social and intellectual amelioration of the working class within the framework of existing society; on the other hand, its ultimate goal is to raise the masses to the independent management of production and distribution, as well as to the transfer into their own hands of all the ramifications of social life. It is convinced that the organisation of an economic system, resting on the producer and built up from below upwards, can never be regulated by Governmental decrees, but only by the common action of all manual and intellectual workers in every branch of in-

dustry, by the conduct of factories by the producers themselves in such a way that each group, workshop or branch of industry, is an autonomous section of the general economic organisation, systematically developing production and distribution in the interests of the entire community in accordance with a well-determined plan and on the basis of mutual agreements.

d. Revolutionary Syndicalism is opposed to every centralist tendency and organisation, which are but borrowed from the State and the church, and which stifle methodically all spirit of initiative and all independent thought. Centralism is an artificial organisation from top to bottom, which hands over *en bloc* to a handful of men, the regulation of the affairs of a whole community. The individual becomes, therefore, nothing but an automat directed and moved from above. The interests of the community yield place to the privileges of a few; variety is replaced by uniformity; personal responsibility by a soulless discipline; real education by a veneer. It is for this reason that Revolutionary Syndicalism advocates federalist organisation; that is to say, an organisation, from below upwards, of a free union of all forces on the basis of common ideas and interests.

e. Revolutionary Syndicalism rejects all parliamentary activity and all collaboration with legislative organs. Universal suffrage, on however wide a basis, cannot bring about the disappearance of the flagrant contradictions existing in the very bosom of modern society; the parliamentary system has but one object, viz., to lend the appearance of legal right to the reign of lies and social injustice, to persuade slaves to fix the seal of the law on their own enslavement.

f. Revolutionary Syndicalism rejects all arbitrarily fixed political and national frontiers, and it sees in nationalism nothing else than the religion of the modern State, behind which are concealed the material interests of the possessing classes. It recognizes only regional differences, and demands for every group the right of self-determination in harmonious solidarity with all other associations of an economic, territorial or national order.

g. It is for these same reasons that Revolutionary Syndicalism opposes militarism in all its forms, and considers anti-militarist propaganda as one of its most important tasks in the struggle against the present system. In the first instance, it urges individual refusal of military service, and especially organised boycott against the manufacture of war material.

h. Revolutionary Syndicalism stands on the platform of direct action, and supports all struggles which are not in contradiction with its aims, viz., the abolition of economic monopoly and of the domination of the State. The methods of fight are the strike, the boycott, sabotage, &c. Direct action finds its most pronounced expression in the general strike which, at the same time, from the point of view of Revolutionary Syndicalism, ought to be the prelude to the social revolution.

i. Although enemies of all forms of organised violence in the hands of any Government, the Syndicalists do not forget that the decisive struggle between the Capitalism of today and the Free Communism of tomorrow, will not take place without serious collisions. They recognise violence, therefore, as a means of defense against the

methods of violence of the ruling classes, in the struggle of the revolutionary people for the expropriation of the means of production and of the land. Just as this expropriation cannot be commenced and carried to a successful issue except by the revolutionary economic organisations of the workers, so also the defense of the revolution should be in the hands of these economic organisations, and not in those of any military or other organisations operating outside the economic organs.

j. It is only in the revolutionary economic organisations of the working class that is to be found the force capable of realising its emancipation, as well as the creative energy necessary for the reorganisation of society on the basis of Free Communism.

3. Name of International Organisation.

The revolutionary syndicalist organisations represented at the World Congress decide to create an international instrument of fight and solidarity, under the name of the International Working Men's Association (I. W. M. A.).

4. Aims and Objects of the I. W. M. A.

The I. W. M. A. has the following objects:

a. To create, or, in those regions where they exist, to reinforce syndicalist organisations in all parts of the world, determined to fight for the destruction of Capitalism and the State.

b. To intensify the class struggle in the sense indicated above.

c. To prevent the infiltration of any political party whatsoever into the economic organisations, and to resist with firmness every attempt of the parties to dominate the unions.

d. To arrive, when occasion demands, at temporary agreements with other proletarian trade unions and revolutionary organisations, with a view to undertaking common international action in the interests of the working class.

e. To fight against and to expose the arbitrary high-handedness of all Governments with regard to revolutionaries devoted to the cause of the Social Revolution.

f. To study the problems that concern the international working class, with a view to developing and directing international movements, or movements in groups of countries, for the defense and victory of the working class.

g. To undertake every work of assistance in case of great economic struggles or in acute conflicts with the open or secret enemies of the working class.

h. To further with material and moral help the class movements of every country where the direction of these movements is in the hands of the national economic organs of the proletariat.

The International does not intervene in the labor disputes of any country except when the latter departs from the general principles of the International.

5. conditions of Affiliation.

The following may be affiliated to the I. W. M. A.:

a. The revolutionary syndicalist confederations that are not affiliated to any International.

The affiliation of a second syndicalist confederation in the same country cannot be confirmed except by an international congress after the report of a commission appointed by the administrative organ of the I.W.M.A., and composed of two members of each interested organisation, i. e., of the affiliated confederation, of the confederation seeking affiliation, and of the administrative organ of the I.W.M.A.

b. Revolutionary syndicalist minorities within confederations affiliated to other labor Internationals, each time with the consent of the syndicalist confederation of the country in question, if such exists, affiliated to the I.W.M.A.

c. Independent trade or industrial organisations accepting the declaration of principles and the aims and objects of the I.W.M.A., with the consent of the affiliated syndicalist confederation of the country in question, if such exists.

The trade or industrial organisations that have withdrawn or have been excluded from a syndicalist confederation affiliated to the I.W.M.A. cannot be admitted into the I.W.M.A. except after the unanimous vote of a preliminary conference composed of two representatives of each of the interested organisations, i. e., of the seceding or excluded organisation, of the affiliated syndicalist confederation, and of the administrative organ of the I.W.M.A.

d. Every organisation for revolutionary syndicalist propaganda (one for each country), accepting the declaration of principles and the aims and objects of the I.W.M.A., and operating in a country where there does not exist any confederation affiliated to the I.W.M.A.

6. *International Congresses.*

The international congresses of the I.W.M.A. shall be held at least once every two years. The decisions arrived at by the international congresses are binding upon all affiliated organisations, except where these latter reject the decisions by a vote of a national congress, or if the decisions in question are, at the demand of at least three affiliated confederations, submitted by the I.W.M.A. to the ratification by a referendum of all its members.

At the conclusion of national referenda, each affiliated confederation shall have only one vote in the decision of the international referendum.

The method of voting at international congresses of the I.W.M.A. shall be fixed each time by the Congress itself.

7. *International Transfers.*

Every member of the I.W.M.A. can, in the event of his being in a foreign country, enroll in any syndicalist confederation affiliated to the I.W.M.A. without paying any entrance fees.

8. *Administrative Organ.*

In order to co-ordinate the international activity of the I.W.M.A., to organise exact information as to the propaganda and the struggle in all countries, to execute and carry out to a successful conclusion the decisions of international congresses, and to direct all the work of the I.W.M.A., the International Congress elects an Administrative Bureau, composed of one member of each national affiliated confederation, with decisive vote; and

of one member for every other affiliated organisation of countries not possessing an affiliated confederation (but no more than one representative for each country), with consultative vote.

Any member of the International Bureau accepting a political mandate shall be obliged to resign his seat.

The seat of the International Bureau shall be determined by each Congress.

The Secretariat of the I.W.M.A. shall be elected by the Congress.

9. *Finances.*

To meet the expenses of the International Bureau and of exceptional demands of international solidarity, each affiliated organisation shall contribute to the International Bureau at least 1/2% of all the sums which the organisation receives as membership dues. The affiliated organisations should, themselves, communicate the exact percentage of contributions which they are in a position to send to the Bureau.

10. *Publications.*

The International Bureau shall publish a bulletin of information for the labor press, a periodical review dealing with questions of theory and tactics, and other publications from time to time.

11. *Commission of Control.*

The International Congress shall elect a Commission of Control and Revision, whose object shall be to verify the manner in which the sums placed at the disposal of the International Bureau are spent, and to submit a detailed report to the next Congress.

Va.

a. *Seat of the Bureau.*

The seat of the International Bureau to be Berlin.

b. *The Secretariat.*

A Secretariat consisting of three members has been elected.

The following are declared elected:

Rudolf Rocker, Germany
Augustin Souchy, Germany,
Alexander Schapiro, Russia.

c. *Commission of Control.*

A Commission of Control, consisting of three members, has been elected.

Comrade Schuster (Germany), has been elected president of the Commission. The other two members will be appointed by the Syndicalist Confederation of Germany.

VI.

On the Persecution of Revolutionaries.

On the basis of reports received from delegates, the International Congress places on record that revolutionaries in general, and revolutionary syndicalists in particular, of all countries, have been the object of the most ferocious attacks in outbursts of violence and arbitrariness, for having tried to do their duty during the period

of the War, as well as afterwards, when the hostility between the proletarian classes and the bourgeoisie deepened; and, also, for the support given to the Russian Revolution from the very beginning, when it represented to the world the most glorious attempt at the simultaneous abolition of Capitalism and the State — those two symbols of domination and oppression.

The International Congress pays a fervent tribute to the memory of those who have disappeared from the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat, and sends its solemn greetings and the expression of its deep solidarity to the members of the great working-class family confined in the prisons of the bourgeoisie. To the victims of the Fascists in Italy, to the brave comrades in France, to the martyrs languishing in the prisons of the United States of America, and everywhere else, the International Congress sends its fraternal greetings and the expression of its admiration for their heroic devotion and their uncompromising idealism.

The International Congress urges all revolutionary syndicalist organisations to fight shoulder to shoulder with all working-class organisations in the struggle against World Reaction, and for the liberation of all the victims of this reaction.

VII

On the Persecutions in Russia.

Taking into consideration the facts that have come to its knowledge relating to the struggle carried on by the Russian anarcho-syndicalists and anarchists for the furtherance of a revolution which had for its goal the inauguration, through the intermediary of the Soviet form, of a free administration of production by the producers themselves, independently of all control by parties or the State,

The International Congress expresses to the Russian comrades its approbation of their revolutionary action along with the other sections of the revolutionary advance-guard—an action which they paid for with the blood of their best militants.

The International Congress records with grief, in confirmation of the documentary evidence supplied by the syndicalist press of all countries, as well as of information brought back by syndicalist militants who have visited Russia, that the Russian Government has embarked upon persecution, as enemies of the Revolution, of those who have offered the best of themselves in this struggle for emancipation, — the only reason being that their opinions are opposed to the domination of party politics in the development of the Revolution.

The International Congress declares that the persecutions of the working class elements of the revolutionary Left in Russia discredit the Russian Revolution and re-enforce the Reaction of other Governments, and urges that revolutionary movements of all countries should demand that their brothers-in-arms in Russia be enabled to develop their revolutionary activity without being subjected to constant persecutions.

It condemns with all its force the brutalities perpetrated by the pseudo-Socialist Government of Russia, and it appeals to the international labor movement to demand, jointly with this Congress, the immediate liberation of revolutionaries and

workingmen imprisoned in the Bolshevik jails. It sends to these martyrs the expression of fraternal solidarity, and urges them not to despair, for the world proletariat is awakening to their cry of distress, and the day of their liberation is approaching with rapid strides.

In consideration of the impossibility for any revolutionary organisation at the present moment to operate in Russia, even for bringing relief to imprisoned comrades,

The International Congress appeals to the revolutionary proletariat in general and to revolutionary syndicalist organisations in particular, to create in every country relief organisations for the revolutionaries who are languishing in the Socialist prisons of Russia.

VIII

On Revolutionary Tactics.

The tactics of a movement being, on the whole, nothing but the logical result of the tendencies and of the aims which these tactics represent, they must necessarily accommodate themselves to these aims and tendencies. Revolutionary syndicalism recognises only such methods of daily fight against the tyranny of Capitalism and of the State — which is its political expression — as are in accordance with its ultimate aspirations, viz., the establishment of a new social order based on Free Communism.

It follows that the Congress rejects every compromise with the existing institutions of capitalist exploitation and of the modern State, and that it categorically maintains that the center of gravity of syndicalist activity ought to be in the direct revolutionary action of the masses themselves.

By *Direct and Revolutionary Action*, the Congress understands:

1. *Propaganda*, i.e. the systematic and indefatigable propagation of the ideas of Revolutionary Syndicalism by speech, by writing, and also by public demonstrations. It is to be noted here that Revolutionary Syndicalism ought to participate in all working-class manifestations which are calculated to lead towards proletarian emancipation, or which are directed against the Reaction—on condition, however, that they apply and propagate their own ideas and tactics in these actions.

2. *The Strike*, i.e. the organised stoppage of production by the workers for the amelioration of the conditions of work; in these periods the syndicalists should always try to deepen the social character of the movement and to raise it above the level of the ordinary struggle for increase in wages, with a view to converting these struggles into conscious actions in the interests of the community, — actions the prime importance of which is to be found in the manifestation of mutual solidarity and collective initiative.

3. *The Boycott*, i.e. the systematic struggle of the consumers, by means of which the sale of certain given products is to be hindered in order that their preparation or manufacture may be effected under better conditions of labor. The products generally used by the great masses should especially be taken into consideration. The boycott can also assume a political character, and can be turned, at a favorable moment, against

the laws or decrees of the Government that are opposed to the interests of the working class. The great importance of the boycott is that it groups workers together in their capacity as consumers, and opens their eyes to their own strength in this direction.

4. *Sabotage*, i. e. the conscious infliction of losses on the employer by systematically turning out bad work or by rendering the instruments and machines unfit for use, and in this way compelling the employer to yield to the demands formulated by the workers. It must, however, be categorically declared that revolutionary syndicalists are enemies of any destruction of social riches that have been created by labor, and do not consider the possibility of any such action except when it is a question of the defense of the interests of the whole community or of the fundamental conditions of existence. In this case, the syndicalists reply to the sabotage committed by the employer against the life and the health of the proletariat, by the sabotage of the products and the means of labor. The forms of sabotage depend on the specific conditions under which it may have to be practiced and on the importance of the object that has to be attained. They vary from the „go-canny“ („strike on the job“) right up to systematically rendering machines, the means of communication, etc., unfit for service, in the event of danger of war, of a *coup d'Etat* of the Reaction, or of any other event that may threaten the life and liberty of the population.

5. *The Action of Social Responsibility*, i. e. the fight of the producers against the manufacture of products dangerous to health, or against the use in the factories of materials of inferior quality, by means of which the community is cheated for the profit of the employer. This form of action will gain in importance, because it is destined to create and develop between the great masses of the people and the producers completely new relations which will bind producers and consumers together by increasingly strong ties.

6. *The General Strike*, i. e. the refusal of all the producers in all the industries and factories to work. This action is the most profound embodiment of the expression of international solidarity. A difference must, however, be made between the General Strike having for its aim the attainment of certain ameliorations within the framework of existing society, and the General Social Strike which, in developing itself by reason of revolutionary situations, is capable of bringing about the social revolution. In this latter case, the General Strike leads to an insurrection of the people and to the occupation of the factories and of the land by the producers. The duty of these latter will then be to give free course to the creative capacities of the people in such a manner as to enable them to realise practically the reorganisation of society and to prevent new forms of political tyranny and economic exploitation from taking the place of the destroyed system.

IX

On Unemployment.

The Congress does not consider unemployment as an evil to which human beings are condemned by natural or economic laws, but, on the contrary, sees in it the most striking proof of the inefficiency of the capitalist system of production and of its

lack of social cooperation and organisation. The general effects of this system demonstrate the incompetence of human beings to dominate the machinery of production; the latest crisis has supplied us with one more clear proof of the fact that not only are human beings incapable of controlling the machinery which they have created, but that they end by being controlled by this machinery.

After a period of terrible destruction of materials and human lives, after a period in which all productive forces were occupied for years in the manufacture of engines of destruction instead of products of prime necessity, that is, at a period characterised by a want of food, of clothing, of lodgings, of everything—it is at such a time that millions of workers are thrown into the streets! Although it has been asserted that one cannot avoid poverty except by labor, human beings remain incapable of doing anything whatsoever to remedy the increasing unemployment or to recommence production.

The Congress finds therein the certain proof either that human beings are completely dominated by their economic system, or that — if we are to believe what the capitalists affirm, that they know how to manage the machinery of production — we have the undeniable evidence of the criminal folly of this Capitalism.

Two classes of unemployment may be distinguished: periodical unemployment, and circumstantial unemployment depending upon the general state of things. The former, although it does not directly result from the economic system itself, could be largely mitigated by a more marked development of the organising and communal spirit. Circumstantial unemployment, i. e. unemployment arising from the general state of things, is, on the contrary, organically bound up with the very method of production of private Capitalism. Just as circumstantial changes made their appearance simultaneously with the system of production of private Capitalism and of big industries, so also periodical unemployment, which is the consequence of less acute economic circumstances arose at the same time as industrialism. Without entering into the details of these transformations arising from general conditions, the Congress considers that the lack of vigor in production which manifests itself by the insufficiency of demand and the superabundance of supply, is due to the faults of organisation of the capitalist system, or, more correctly, to the complete absence of organisation and cooperation.

The hunt for profits, for money, engenders wars of all against all; of the worker against the employer; of the consumer against the producer; of the buyer against the seller, each one in his capacity as an individual whose sole object is to profit more than the others. Each one awaits a chance of being able to throw himself upon his neighbor. The mutual confidence of human beings is weakened; unscrupulous selfishness takes the place of communal sentiment. Cooperation and organisation are rendered impossible, and the interests of society are trodden under foot by the filibusters of modern economy.

Unemployment is organically bound up with the system of private Capitalism and cannot disappear except after the abolition of this system and its replacement by another whose principles will be cooperation and organisation for the interests of the entire community. The Congress

considers, therefore, that the measures that could be undertaken against unemployment within the framework of capitalist society are nothing but palliatives or provisional solutions of the most striking evils of unemployment.

Considering, on the one hand, that unemployment is, after all, a direct result of the capitalist system whose consequences ought to be borne by capitalist society itself; and that working class organisations are in no degree responsible for the evil deeds of capitalist insanity, and are, therefore, not obliged to weaken these consequences by all kinds of benefit funds,

The International Congress is of opinion that the workers ought to try, in critical and acute periods of unemployment, to bring about a general diminution of the hours of labor for all workers so as to prevent the extension of unemployment. Such measures find their justification partly in the general spirit of solidarity, and partly because they prevent the division of the working class into two groups with opposing interests.

The Congress repeats, however, that these measures cannot be considered as anything but palliatives. It considers that the working class and society in general will not completely liberate themselves from the ravages of unemployment except by the total abolition of capitalism and the reconstruction of the economic system on the basis of Revolutionary Syndicalism.

X.

On Workers' Control and Factory Councils.

The Congress considers it necessary that the factory council maintain all its efficiency as an organ capable of taking, and prepared to take, the place of the employer. It declares itself, consequently, opposed to all participation of factory councils in the solution, in conjunction with the employers, of economic conflicts within the factory, leaving this duty, as in the past, to local commissions and to the unions.

The Congress declares:

1. That union control of industrial enterprises, exercised with the object of increasing production for the profit of the capitalist, and of placing a brake upon the demands for amelioration formulated by the workers, subjecting the latter to the conditions of the industry, do not solve the grave and complicated question of the new social order. This remains the primary cause of the disequilibrium between production and consumption, from which arise social conflicts, pauperism, competition, the struggle for the conquest of new markets, etc.; and industrial crises are the result, with unemployment or with economic and political wars, without the possibility of arriving even at a temporary arrangement, whether economic or political, national or international.

2. Union control, while in no way changing for the better the general conditions of society, develops among those who are called upon to exercise this control, and in the organs created for this purpose, a latent collaboration with the employer to the detriment of the revolutionary class spirit which ought to animate the union movement.

3. It considers also as fantastic the exercise of union control of factories in the hope of

limiting capitalist speculation and exploitation of the consumer and the worker, because it is possible and easy for industrial enterprises to elude every form of workers' control if they categorically resort to resistance and violence with the object of hindering the exercise of this control.

4. In the event of resistance offered by the employer to every form of control, the struggle of the proletariat for enforcing its application leads to an enormous expenditure of revolutionary energy for the attainment of an object which does not confer any benefit on the working class, and which, besides, proves to be unrealisable under the bourgeois régime of economic privileges.

The possibility of the management of enterprises by the workers is not realisable by union control, because it is only exercised by a handful of officials. Besides, the multiplication and manipulation of stocks and shares by the capitalists, who are interested in concealing the direct financial resources of the enterprise, prevent future administrators from controlling the real functioning of this enterprise, stock exchange operations, etc. In short, the very system of such speculative enterprises renders their management complicated and their control impossible, even on the part of the share-holders who, themselves, have to submit to the consequences of disastrous speculations undertaken by their directors.

XI.

On the Cooperative Movement.

Considering as beyond the function of the Congress the inquiry into cooperatives of bourgeois origin, which, by creating the illusion of emancipating the workers within the limits of the capitalist régime, turn away the working class from their struggle against the employer,

The International Congress recognises the circumstantial and extenuating reasons which have contributed, in a number of countries, to the creation and development of class cooperation alongside of the unions, and considers working-class cooperation in consumption, labor or production, as embryonic forms of organisation — useful in a period of transition from the bourgeois economic régime to that of a free and equal society — already possessing certain distributive as well as administrative functions in certain branches of industry.

The Congress considers it dangerous, however, for the revolutionary syndicalist movement to fuse cooperatives with the unions, by reason of the special and characteristic functions of cooperatives which, being commercial, agrarian, or industrial enterprises, are often entangled in the commercial machinery and are subordinated, in consequence, to the economic laws of the bourgeois régime in the same way as every other capitalist enterprise.

It considers that class cooperation ought to be made subservient to the union without the latter being called upon to suffer from the degenerating manifestations when these appear on the surface.

With a view to preventing the possibilities of such degeneration, the Congress, on the basis of experience acquired in different countries, proposes:

a. To avoid the formation of cooperatives of small privileged groups; the cooperatives always to be open to all organised workers;

b. To have always direct control by the unions;

c. To substitute for the division of profits among the members the devolution of the funds for the benefit of the class struggle and the movement;

d. Not to allow the introduction, in the management of cooperatives, of elements foreign to the working class.

In those cases where commercial degeneration begins to manifest itself in an acute and insurmountable manner, and becomes capable of demoralising the mass, and weakening the union movement, the union should be called upon to intervene ruthlessly in order to eliminate the causes of this degeneration, whether with regard to individuals or with regard to the cooperative organ itself.

XII.

On the neutrality of the I.W.W.

The Congress has, with regret, taken cognisance of the decision of the 14th Convention of the I.W.W. to hold aloof from the Congress of Revolutionary Syndicalists. It considers that the very broad basis on which the new Workers' International has been constituted, will permit international affiliation, in spite of certain differences existing between the organisations of different countries; and it cherishes the hope that, at its next Convention, the fellow workers of the I.W.W., to whom is extended the entire sympathy of the Congress, will finally adhere to the International Working Men's Association.

XIII.

The International Congress of Revolutionary Syndicalists to the World Proletariat.

Workers of all Lands!

When the gigantic débâcle represented by the World War which, during four long years, engulfed the peoples in its bloody whirlwind of death and destruction, was at last brought to an unexpected finish by the Revolutions in Russia and in Central Europe, the working class of Europe found itself at the opening of a new chapter in its history of martyrdom, a chapter that could have brought it nearer to the solution of the great problem of its age-long slavery and oppression. The reign of capitalist exploitation and of tyranny personified by the modern State, which proved incapable of impeding a social catastrophe of such colossal significance but which, on the contrary, systematically prepared it and set it loose in a manner as insolent as it was criminal — this reign has ended in moral bankruptcy. It was bound to perish by its own iniquities. The rotting and mutilated corpses of millions of human victims, the horrifying desolation of enormous territories, and the immeasurable sum of human griefs and super-human sufferings which consecrated this dance of death of the capitalist order, were the horrible witnesses of internal corruption and the unlimited incapacity of a system which threatened to be stifled in the morass of its own crimes.

Never before have such prospects of its approaching emancipation from the yoke of wage-slavery and from the régime of governmental violence presented themselves to the working class; never before had such an occasion presented itself for undertaking, with all the strength at its disposal, a general and irresistible action against the very foundations of exploitation. It was on this very prevision that was based, in every country, the uncompromising opposition to the War on the part of the revolutionary syndicalist organisations that are addressing you today.

The Revolutions in Russia and in Central Europe brought to an end the insensate butchery of human beings. With its aid, political Socialism succeeded in capturing the State power and concentrating it in the hands of certain parties. It is thus that the doctrine of the capturing of State power, which for long years had been assiduously preached to the working masses, suddenly became a reality. It was this doctrine that constituted the fundamental principle of the Right and the Left of the Second International. This International had arisen with the special object of breaking with all those who desired to raise again the standard of the First International, and it suffered an ignominious shipwreck on the rocks of the world war. It gave birth, in consequence, to several Internationals, which continue to tear each other to pieces in the name of the States which they serve or which they would like to serve. In this manner the Socialist parties obtained the possibility of proving once for all the extent of their creative efficiency. But it was just this „indispensable pre-condition“ of Socialism, viz., the conquest of power, that proved fatal for Socialism itself and for the working-class, and destroyed one of the most auspicious chances in the struggle for its emancipation.

The moderate wing of State Socialism was victorious in Germany and took possession of power. But its representatives did not even dare to make the least attempt at economic reorganisation, and they sacrificed their Socialism on the altar of the bourgeois constitution which resuscitated Capitalism, tottering to its fall, exposed the German working class to the ruthless hunger blockade organised by the agrarian reaction, and represents nothing except the fig-leaf with which capitalist exploitation covers up its nakedness.

In Russia, it was the radical wing of State Socialism which won the victory with the aid of truly revolutionary elements and which betrayed these latter at the very first opportunity when it was able to concentrate all power in its own hands and sacrifice Socialism for the benefit of the dictatorship of a party. While destroying with one hand, by means of violence and with an iron logic, all institutions that had arisen by the initiative of the people themselves, such as the Soviets, the cooperatives, etc., in order to subject the working class to the newly created class of Commissar-ocracy, this Party paralysed simultaneously the creative activity of the working class and established a new despotism, which strangled all free thought and the entire spiritual life of a whole country by forcing it into the narrow channels created by previously determined political measures.

This so-called "dictatorship of the proletariat", the fig-leaf of the Bolshevik Reaction, was well calculated to establish the régime of a new superior caste resting upon the shoulders of the broad masses of the people, and to condemn to prison and to death revolutionaries of every other tendency. But it proved its bankruptcy wherever it attempted to direct the economic and social life of the country into new channels, or to carry out any really constructive work in the direction of Socialism. It followed, therefore, by the very logic of things, that after the betrayal of the Russian Revolution by State Communism, and after the bartering away of the natural riches of the country to foreign and native capitalists, its principal task, at the moment, consisted in preventing political and State power from slipping out of the hands of its party.

Never before had this simple truth been more clearly demonstrated than during the past four years—viz., that political parties are not capable of solving the social problem in the direction of a new economic order and of superior social development. And it is significant that it is the Socialist parties themselves that have supplied the most striking evidence of this truth. Politics indeed, far from being a reconciling or constructive factor, have been a factor of decomposition and destruction in the modern labor movement. They do not create the united front so ardently desired by the proletarian masses; on the contrary, they hinder its realisation without the workers being conscious of the fact. Modern politics are nothing but the theology of the State, and the different parties of the present epoch ought only to be considered and conceived of as the different theological tendencies of the governmental politics of our day.

It follows, in consequence, that all attempts at uniting internationally—at Moscow or at Amsterdam—the Socialist forces of the working class, will remain futile and abortive, from the point of view of a working class movement, thoroughly impregnated with Socialist ideas, and really revolutionary. In the one case, exactly as in the other, the aim, pure and simple, is the open or masked subordination of the entire labor movement to the direction of some political party, or, in other words, of a new edition of politico-bourgeois traditions, but this time under the cover of Socialism. A party is always a portion of a whole, trying to impose, consciously or unconsciously, its aims and objects upon this whole.

It is not in any party that will be found the great importance of the proletarian movement, but rather in the domain of social economy. We are not concerned with the worker as belonging to such and such a party, but in his capacity as producer and creator of riches in social life. It is most certainly not in parliaments and in the legislative organs of the State, bourgeois or "proletarian", that the transformation towards Socialism takes place, but in the factories and in the workshops, in the fields and the villages, in the mines and in the bureaus of technicians. It is in the hands of millions of productive units of energy, whose labor always maintains social life and thanks to whose creative work society is reborn from day to day—it is in the hands of these millions that lie the destiny of a new future and the chances of a speedy liberation. This liberation will not come of itself in virtue of some

fatalistic inevitability of rigid natural laws which know of no deviation; its realisation will depend rather upon the conscious will and the force of revolutionary action of the workers, and will be determined by the latter. The revolutionary Will of human beings is the indispensable and decisive factor in all development on the road to Socialism; it follows, as a consequence, that all the struggles of the proletariat should bear the impress of this WILL to Socialism—this inexhaustible force which arises from the depths of the broad masses and creates new forms of social life.

It is thus proved that the outbreak of proletarian revolutionary struggles of Socialist tendencies can only have its natural foundations in the economic organisation of labor. These revolutionary economic organisations of the working class are not only a sort of provisional organ within the limits of capitalist society; they embody rather the indispensable bases for the development of a new society; they are the embryos from which Socialism will organically develop. Socialism will certainly not come through the intermediary of Government decrees or by a blind belief in the omnipotence of laws—that fatalist heritage of bourgeois revolutions; it will be, above all, the result of the systematic labor of the revolutionary economic organisations of the workers who, alone, are capable of conceiving the administration of the different branches of industry and of transforming them in the direction of Socialism. The "transitional State", even if it be the most intelligent and the most prudent, will be absolutely incapable of possessing, even approximately, specific knowledge of every trade, a knowledge which is within the reach of every worker in a factory and which is undoubtedly necessary in order to be able to carry to a successful conclusion the work of Socialist transformation. It is only in the revolutionary economic organisations that such a natural unity of forces is possible, because here the worker is directly bound to his work and is individually the bearer, the fighter and the defender of his own interests, whereas in politics he always becomes either the puppet serving the ambitions of parties or the plaything of particular interests which are always falsely represented to him as his own. It is in these organisations alone that we have the possibility of introducing, even today, the provisional palliatives to social conditions within the framework of existing society, and it is these organisations alone that are the centers of education for the development of the moral and intellectual capacities of the working class. It is they which ultimately form the cell from which will emerge economic reconstruction based on the principles of Free Socialism.

Revolutionary economic organisation is also the lever which is applied in all the decisive actions of the working class in its struggle against the forces of economic exploitation and political oppression. It is this organisation that is the natural source of replenishment of the workers in their capacity as producers. The day when the working class is conscious of this force will also be the day when it will toll the knell of bourgeois society.

It is this experience and this comprehension that induced the revolutionary economic organisations of Italy, of Spain, of Portugal, of Germany, of the Scandinavian countries, of the Argentine

and of other countries of Europe and America, to found, upon the bases and principles of the First International, a new International Working Men's Association. These organisations, at the time when the Russian Revolution really represented the federalistic and revolutionary principles of this First International, were prepared to make a united block with this Revolution and to transform it in this manner into the Social World Revolution. But they were obliged—after a number of disillusionments and of attempts at reconciliation initiated by them—to offer a resistance to the categorical imperative of Moscow to subject the entire labor movement to the Russian State and to the muddled separatist policies of the Communist Parties; and to draw their fighting ranks closer together by an International bond which should be really independent of all political parties and of the nefarious influence of these parties—their final aim remaining the total abolition of all wage slavery and of all domination of man by man.

The International Working Men's Association certainly does not consider as their adversaries the workers affiliated to the Internationals of Moscow or of Amsterdam; it sees in them allies, flesh of their flesh and blood of their blood. It is always ready, in every action of the proletariat towards the emancipation of the working class or against reactionary manoeuvres, to march with them shoulder to shoulder and to give them proofs of the most active and effective solidarity. We are very far from being the opponents of the intrinsic unity of the working class. We see this unity, however, not by any means in a purely mechanical and arbitrary coupling of mutually antagonistic elements under the iron rod of a soulless discipline, but rather in the common interests and the common convictions of individuals. The International Working Men's Association fights not the workers who, either through ignorance or through a misapprehension of their own interests, follow the orders of Moscow or Amsterdam, but rather the spirit that dominates these organisations and which is an obstacle along the path of the complete emancipation of the proletariat.

The Reaction in all countries is mustering its scattered forces into a new Holy Alliance so as to be able to strangle by all possible means the spirit of the Revolution and of Socialism. In Italy, the Fascist reaction weighs upon the country like a heavy mass of lead, and holds in

its stifling grasp the revolutionary and trade union movements of the country. In Hungary, the labor movement is dying at the blood-stained hands of an organised band of assassins. Thousands of revolutionary workers are languishing in the Bolsheviki prisons of Russia. A similar situation reigns in all the other countries of the two hemispheres, even if the external forms of the Reaction are not always so brutal and atrocious. An insensate and desperate Nationalism is ceaselessly pushing towards new bloody conflicts and is already preparing the ground for the coming world war. Everywhere Capitalism is preparing itself and gathering up all its energies with the object of again forcing the working class under the yoke of its arbitrary will; at the same time the terrible spectre of famine stalks through these impoverished countries. And, as a pendant to these evident signs of a triumphant International Reaction, we witness the complete disruption of the working class into dozens of political parties, which, though their mouths are full of unity, nevertheless furiously fight each other, instead of constructing an iron barrier against the ever accelerated onward march of the Reaction. While they speak of the conquest of political power, they forget the conquest of the factories and of the land. While they think they are disintegrating bourgeois politics by big Socialist phrases, bourgeois politics succeed in disintegrating Socialism and in handing over the labor movement to the bayonet of the Reaction.

It is only the return to reason, and the definite refusal to travel along the path that can lead to nothing but the ruin of the working class, that will be capable of arresting the imminent catastrophe. The work of decades is at stake, and is in danger of falling a victim to a victorious Reaction. Only the close union of all sincere and revolutionary elements, and the decisive struggle against every form of Reaction can still save the working class. But this struggle should be taken up by the workers themselves in their capacity as producers, not for the profit of political parties, but only in the interests of proletarian emancipation.

Workers of all countries! Clasp hands, and thereby forge the weapons for the common struggle against all forms of oppression and slavery! Let your unanimous cry be: Bread and Liberty for all! War on Tyranny!

Long live the International of the working people!

Long live the Social Revolution!

Against the Crime of the Occupation of the Ruhr.

Once again the spectre of war hovers over the beaten and mutilated proletariat!

Millions of human lives already lost in the great war are not yet sufficient to satisfy the ferocious and blood-thirsty appetite of a greedy Capitalism and an insensate Militarism. The glory of a victorious revenge is always goading on French Militarism, which begins a new crusade against the neighboring proletariat of Germany. The French Army has invaded the region of the Ruhr and has occupied the most conspicuous centers in this rich part of Germany.

On the shoulders of the German workers of this region rests at the present moment a double burden: on the one hand, the unheard-of exploitation by the German capitalists, sustained and reinforced by the oppression of a Government which is not only far from being Republican, but whose manifestations do not differ in any way from any Monarchist Government. On the other hand, the military occupation by the victorious bourgeoisie of France which, not satisfied with having squeezed out of the German people all its vital strength, by the robber, militarist and revengeful Treaty of Versailles, now wishes, in concert with capitalists of its own country, to ruin and exhaust entirely the German working class, by the appropriation of all its natural riches and of all its proletarian muscular energy — riches which ought to remain the sole possession of the German people itself to be disposed of at its will for the benefit of all.

Workers of France!

You will not allow the imperialistic bourgeoisie of your country to torture any more a population which already suffers from the pangs of hunger at the hands of its age-long exploiters!

You will not only raise your powerful voice as organised workers against the politics of invasion and against the premeditated violence of a band of interested business men and professional butchers, but you will also take a clear position against this political and economic vandalism which is on the point of being consummated, and you will refuse to make common cause with the highway robbers who dare to speak in the name of the French people!

You now have the opportunity — you, the oppressed, under the yoke of a militarism and unheard-of despotism resulting from a victorious war for the benefit of the exploiters — to raise

together, shoulder to shoulder with the oppressed German proletariat, the standard of the liberating Revolution and to hurl to the ground the age-long oppressors and exploiters of your own countries!

And you, proletarians of the region outraged by the military troops of a blood-stained bourgeoisie!

Do not forget that the soldiers who at this moment are parading your streets are, like you, exploited and unhappy. Blinded by the glory of the conqueror, they do not perhaps realise that this conqueror has, at one blow, vanquished both the German worker and the French worker. You will tell them that the proletariat will not effectively come into possession of the riches which it produces until you two, you and they, relieve your land and their land — each in his own country — of the exploiters who, in the last resort, will understand how to agree among themselves in spite of a deceptive exterior.

Draw close your ranks, workers of Germany! We are approaching with giant strides the hour of great events when, with the image of the first frustrated Revolution of November 1918 before you, you will be prepared for a second attack — a definite attack on the capitalist citadel — for the complete destruction of your two most mortal enemies — of Capitalism and the State!

And in this new Revolution, you will find yourselves in the same ranks as the French workers, for your aims are their aims, your aspirations their aspirations, and your struggles their struggles!

Workers of France and of Germany!

Prepare yourselves for the General Social Strike which, from being a strike of protest against the invaders, will soon inevitably assume the character of a profound revolution, sweeping all your age-long enemies before it at a single stroke. Be sure that in this titanic struggle the workers of other countries and their revolutionary advance-guard will stretch out their hands of solidarity to you across all frontiers!

Down with World Capitalism!

Down with economic exploitation and political oppression!

Forward to the General Strike!

Forward to the International struggle of the Workers!

*Administrative Bureau of the
International Workingmen's Association.*