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Organ of the International Working  
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Imprimerie Spécialle de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs;  
4, Square Jean-Jaick, PARIS X<sup>e</sup> - - Le Gérant: Jean HUNCKE.



**The resolutions  
passed at the special congress  
of the I.W.M.A.**

*held in Paris, December, 1937*



The Special Congress of the I.W.M.A. was an historic event for international anarcho-syndicalism. Convocted by the request of the C.N.T., the Spanish section of the international, and with the consent of all the other sections, the discussion centred round the divergencies of opinion produced as a result of the Spanish experience. Whereas the first thirteen years of existence of the I.W.M.A. were devoted to the development of anarcho-syndicalist organizations in various countries; to theoretical discussion on methods of organization; and the facilities of our movement based on our declaration of principle, without having any of our sections abandoning their doctrine of opposition in their respective countries—opposition directed against the state and all forms of exploitation as well as against the other tendencies of the working-class movement in 1938, the most important section of the international, the C.N.T., found itself obliged to play its part in a popular movement and a war of capital international importance. One saw in "Anti-fascist Spain" being formed of which the C.N.T., whether it desired it or not, was a part because the reality (we are not speaking now of the principles of anarcho-syndicalism) beheld the institution of a monopolist power on the terrain of Republican Spain. Nevertheless, the C.N.T. was obliged to take, in one way or another, a considerable part of the public responsibility of the country. What was its reaction? How ought it to have reacted? This was the theme of all the discussions in the international anarcho-syndicalist movement.

Two concrete resolutions passed characterize the decisions of the Congress. One was the expression of solidarity towards the Spanish movement, which left, despite divergencies of opinion, room for confidence and tactical liberty which permits it to do that which it considers opportune in order to serve the cause of the Spanish people and, at the same time, conserve the spiritual tradition of the libertarian movement. This resolution was put forward by the Spanish delegates at the Congress. Moreover, it was agreed — and this was the second important decision of the Congress — to initiate a new international effort with a view to mutual action with other sections of the working-class movement in favour of anti-fascist Spain as soon as possible and to the greatest extent possible.

For the purpose of internal discussion of the anarcho-syndicalist movement which is absolutely necessary if a new common expression of ideas is to be found to attract and inspire us, it was decided to create this review. The militants in our movement must impose upon themselves self-discipline that must represent always the moral basis of all libertarian movements.

"The Congress asks that these decisions be applied everywhere with a high sense of self-discipline, the essential moral force of our international movement in which the evident desire is to carry forward as rapidly and as completely as possible, all support and possible assistance to the C.M.T. and the Spanish Revolution. In order to study seriously and internally the great problems posed by the Spanish war and revolution, the Congress decides to publish an I.W.M.A. review and it gives its mandate to the secretariat for its publication as soon as possible".

Moreover the Congress decided to "give the C.M.T. full liberty to pursue its plan and, on its own responsibility, the experiment in course," whilst the various sections are invited to assist the Spanish section by all and every means.

The consequence of these decisions can be only that all the public organs, organs of propaganda controlled by the sections adhering to the I.W.M.A., and the oral propaganda of these sections must follow the instructions of the fullest solidarity towards the C.M.T. in allowing it the tactical liberty that the Congress accorded it unanimously. On the other hand, the problems of tactics can and must be discussed in this review.

Besides, the secretariat thinks that it is interpreting the decisions of the Congress initially by utilizing the review to give an account of the practical work that it is realising, in the spirit of the decisions of the Congress, concerning the organization of a vast action of

solidarity towards anti-fascist Spain in general and the Spanish Revolution in particular. Among others, the Congress passed the following resolution:


"The Congress places the restitution of anti-fascist and legal Spain and all its international rights as its primary preoccupation. Consequently, the Congress decides that the I.W.M.A. in its entirety, must work vigorously to obtain the cessation of non-intervention which is, in fact, nothing less than the armed intervention of the fascist countries of anti-fascist Spain to raise the blockade and the control that prevent anti-fascist Spain from being supplied with food and arms whilst allowing every facility in this respect to the fascists.

"Therefore the Congress decides that all the I.W.M.A. sections must agitate in this sense; they must make urgently a vigorous appeal to the masses and try to mobilise them to force their so-called democratic governments to put an end to non-intervention, to the control and the blockade that is paralysing the military and economic action of the anti-fascist forces."

This review will occupy itself with these two practical questions, inasmuch as the obligation to work in favour of our Spanish comrades, the solidarity towards them, must be placed above the right of criticism.

The usual congress of the I.W.M.A. will take place in August and we hope that by that time the anarcho-sindicalist international will have done all that the December Congress decided with reference to the execution of a vast action of practical solidarity for the C.N.T., that the ideological preparation of the discussions for the Congress, which must keep in touch with the circumstances of the moment, and that the anarcho-sindicalist international — faithful to the spirit of his founders and its declaration of principles but equally prepared to receive every new experience that enables our field of action to be widened for the benefit of the people throughout the world in their struggle against the powers of reaction and tyranny — will be able to depart from its past position of lack of contact with the masses and create, upon an international scale, a veritable social-revolutionary power that will group, in new lines and with a new spirit, the forces of the Social Revolution.

I.W.M.A.



## Aims and Objets

### of the International Working-Men's Association

*Adopted by the Constitutive Congress of the I. W. M. A.  
(Berlin, December, 1889) and modified by the Fourth  
(Madrid, 1931) and Fifth (Paris, 1935) Congresses.*



#### I. INTRODUCTION.

The time-honoured struggle between exploited and exploiters has assumed menacing proportions. All-powerful Capital, tottering for a moment after the devastating world war and, above all, after the great Russian Revolution and the revolutions — even although less important — of Hungary and Germany, is again raising its hideous head. Notwithstanding the internal struggles that rend the bourgeois and cosmopolitan capitalism, the latter thoroughly understood the need to attack the working-class with more union and force and bind it to the triumphant chariot of Capital.

Capitalism is becoming organized and from the defensive in which it found itself, is passing to the offensive, on all fronts, against the working-class exhausted by bloody wars and misarranged revolutions. This offensive has its profound origin in two well-determined causes: first, the confusion of ideas and principles that exists in the ranks of the labour movement, the lack of clarity and cohesion regarding the present and future aims of the working-class; and the division into innumerable camps, very often enemy camps. In a word, the weakness and disorganization of the labour movement. Next, it is a result, above all, of the subsequent failure of the Russian Revolution which, at the moment of its outbreak and in essence also of the grand principles enunciated by it in November, 1917, had raised the greatest hopes among all the proletariat of the world, and which has degenerated to the rank of a political revolution having served to maintain the conquest of state power in the hands of the Communist Party whose sole aim is

to monopolize all the economic, political, and social life of the country. This deviation of a social revolution into a political revolution has had as a result the hypertrophy of State Socialism, the consequence of which has been the development of a capitalist system just as exploiting and dominating as any other system of bourgeois origin. The necessity of re-establishing capitalism in Russia has been the aim of world capitalism. State Socialism, called communism, saved bourgeois capitalism by appealing to it for assistance — to save the revolution!

It is thus thanks to these two disorganizing elements — confusion in the ranks of the proletariat and capitalist barbarism — that industrial and financial Capital finds its forces increasing and its chances of rebirth augmenting.

There is but one sole method against this concentrated and international attack of the exploiters of all kinds: that is the immediate organization of the proletariat army in an organism of struggle embracing all the revolutionary workers of all lands in one sole granite-like block against which every capitalist venture will be broken and which will red by crushing capitalism completely.

Several attempts have been made already in this sense. Two of these still are hoping to be successful. These are the Amsterdam and Moscow Internationals. But these carry within them the poisonous germ of self-destruction. The Amsterdam International, lost in reformism, considers that the only solution to the social problem lies in class collaboration, in the harmonizing of Labour and Capital and in the peaceful revolution, patiently awaited and accomplished with neither violence nor struggle and with the consent and approval of the bourgeoisie. On its side, the Moscow International considers that the Communist Party is the supreme arbiter of all revolution, and that, in the revolutions to come, whatsoever is not controlled by the Communist Party will have to be dispersed and consumed. It is to be regretted that there still exists in the ranks of the conscious and organized proletariat, tendencies which support this outlook which in theory and practice can have no other meaning than the organization of the State — that is to say, the organization of slavery — the wage system, the police, the army, political bondage. In a word, the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat which can never be anything other than a check to the direct expropriating force and a suppression of the real sovereignty of the working class and which becomes thereby, the iron dictatorship of a political clique over the proletariat. That is the hegemony of authoritarian communism — which only means — the worst form of authoritarianism, political Caesarism, and the destruction of the individual.

Against the offensive of Capital on the one hand and against the politicians of all degrees on the other, the revolutionary workers of the world must erect a true international association of the workers wherein each member will understand that the final emancipation of the workers will not be possible except when the workers themselves, as workers, in their economic organizations are prepared, not only to take possession of the land and factories, but also to administer them in common and in such a fashion that they will continue production.

With this perspective before it, the International Congress of Revolutionary Syndicalists, assembled at Berlin in December, 1922, adopted the following principles elaborated from the preliminary Conference of Revolutionary Syndicalists of June, 1922.

## **II. Principles of the revolutionary Syndicalism.**

1. Revolutionary Syndicalism, basing itself on the class-war, aims at the union of all manual and intellectual workers in economic fighting organization struggling for their emancipation from the yoke of wage-slavery and from the oppression of the State. Its goal consists in the re-organization 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 organizations of the proletariat are alone capable of realizing this aim, and, in consequence, its appeal is addressed to workers in their capacity of producers and creators of social values, in opposition to the modern political labor parties which can never considered at all from the point of view of economic re-organization.

2. Revolutionary Syndicalism is the confessed enemy of every form of economic and social monopoly, and aims at its abolition by means of economic committees 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 organization 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; it could never be an instrument of liberation.



3. 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 improvement 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 organization of an economic system, resting on the producers and built up from below upwards, can never be regulated by Governmental devices, but only by the common action of all manual and intellectual workers in every branch of industry, 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 organization, 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.

4. Revolutionary Syndicalism is opposed to every centralist tendency and organization, which is but borrowed from the State and the Church, and which stifles methodically every spirit of initiative and every independent thought. Centralism is an artificial organization from top to bottom, which hands over as bloc to a handful of men, the regulation of the affairs of a whole community. The individual becomes, therefore, nothing but an automaton 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 organization: that is to say, an organization, from below upwards, of a free union of all forces on the basis of common ideas and interests.

5. Revolutionary Syndicalism rejects all parliamentary activity and all cooperation with legislative bodies. Universal suffrage, no 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 unto their own enslavement.

6. Revolutionary Syndicalism rejects all arbitrarily fixed political and national frontiers, and it sees in nationalism nothing else but 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.


7. 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, organized boycott against the manufacture of war material.

8. 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.

9. Although enemies of all forms of organized violence in the hands of any Government, the Syndicalists do not forget that the decisive struggle between the Capitalists of today and the Free Communism of tomorrow, will not take place without serious collisions. They recognise violence, therefore, as a means of defence 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 organizations of the workers, so also the defence of the revolution should be in the hands of these economic organizations, and not in those of any military or other organizations operating outside the economic organs.

10. It is only in the revolutionary economic organizations of the working class that is to be found the power apt to carry out its organization, as well as the creative energy necessary for the reorganization of society on the basis of Free Communism.





## The ACCOMPLISHMENTS of Anarcho-syndicalism



### THE SPANISH REVOLUTION.

In a movement of the nature and extent of that which is in the process of being unfolded in Spain since July, 1936, it is not very easy to act always according to, and with complete integrity to, the purity of principles. When the struggle broke out in the streets, it was not on our initiative. We had to accept the struggle as it was presented to us and without despising any species of alliance, in order to bar the way to fascism. Any withdrawal on our part would have meant the triumph of Franco and the libertarian organization would have been crushed in the dust in Spain just as it was in Italy and Central Europe. So great was the instinct of preservation of the revolutionary spirit that we were compelled to take part and contribute all our efforts without hoping for, in return, the total realization of all the contents of our programme.

For those who did not live through this hard experience, it is difficult to understand how it was that an organization of the strength of the C.M.T. had to accept, in a transitory fashion, methods of action which it had always repudiated and because of this, it is not surprising that these persons have suffered a kind of reaction. Nevertheless, thinking it over, without passion and considering the demands of the reality more than our vows and doctrinaire pretensions, there is no reason to be dissatisfied.

In Spain, anarcho-syndicalism has not renounced any of its libertarian principles. It is yielding wisely to the circumstances and has knowledge to draw the best possible from those circumstances. That is to say, it did what it had to do when acting with the desire to jump from theory to accomplishment. As a pilot plan of action to be perfected, was always subject to detailed modifications and even to fundamental modifications when it began to be developed in reality. It is the same with programmes. It is not possible to apply them to the letter because one cannot always see with an exact mathematicians precision, and still less, one cannot foresee

exactly the reason for the particular orientation of affairs during the effluence of the passions of a people in the midst of revolution.

If that takes place when someone takes the helm and traces the route according to his whim, imagine what must take place when — and this is the case — action must be subjected to that which the divergent criteria determine and when it must operate with a particular tact if the desire is to bring the ship to port.

The revolution is not being brought about in Spain with a view to establishing a determined social-political system; but to oppose thoroughly the worst kind of reaction. It is a defensive gesture of the people and the liberal middle-class. In no way was it a revolution patronized by a section playing with a sufficient margin of credit in public opinion in order to juggle with the probabilities of the adventure.

Spanish anarcho-syndicalism, although representing a very considerable organized force could not make the revolution alone. It is not necessary to give proofs of this now. It is sufficient to understand that if the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. had been able to make the revolution, it is certain that we would not have waited for the fascist uprising. But we were not in that position, neither the anarcho-syndicalists, the anarcho, nor the U.G.T. And divided we could not conquer fascism. It must not be lost sight of that of the six million workers in Spain, less than a third were attached to the C.N.T. It does not matter which, no party would have dared to take its chance on this issue. For us this was not the case. From the beginning to the conclusion of our programme, it is behoves to struggle for the seizure of power. — We had to rely on persuasion. The other parties relied on force and direct measures of the forces of power.

In order to support the struggle against fascism, an indispensable condition was the maintenance of the cohesion between the heterogenous groups which, from the beginning, formed the anti-fascist block. And to maintain this cohesion, was certainly not to renegociate a movement that, at the final reckoning, could not develop without the co-operation of all. If the C.N.T., adhering to the purity of its principles, had tried to impose its conception on all the other sections, that would have been equivalent to giving Franco victory. In the same way, if it could not impose its principles, it was to abstain from struggling against fascism. These two attitudes would have been suicidal. What was important was the crushing of fascism no matter what the price, and it is this, naturally, that takes first place. Because of this we were compelled to make concessions. Perhaps we were farther away from the rest of the

world in this sense, due to the fact that we occupied an extreme position.

But despite all this there is no reason for alarm. We had to give way to exigent demands, demands of the hour and from certain sides and this would seem, as if a certification was taking place in the methods of struggle. But it has only the appearance of this. In reality, although there has been intervention in the government of the country, in the plane of economic realizations, what has been accomplished is of great importance and speaks eloquently of the constructive and creative capacity of anarcho-syndicalism. It is obvious that here I am referring to the agricultural and industrial collectives.

Without stopping at this time to measure the extent and the volume of the collectivist movement in Spain, almost exclusively part of the federalist organization, let us return to the profound libertarian significance and competency that resides in its organization.

It is well known that the CNT, just as the other parties and organizations that form the anti-fascist front, had to refrain from imposing its ideology upon the others. It had to struggle without hesitation or weakness to crush the common enemy and having obtained this end, to administer the results of the victory in conformity with what all the other anti-fascist would decide. Ideological and party interests had to be put on one side. That which instead of fascism had united, rivalry of ideas and narrow humanism would split. Spanish anarcho-syndicalism understood this from the very first moments. Therefore it was obliged to discover the manner in which to understand and give to the movement the greatest possible class to the left by avoiding the dangers of dictatorship and avoiding everything that would cause rupture and disorder.

It seemed that there was one point which would be easy to understand that of economic accomplishments.

Man worships in the faith which best suits his peculiar psychology or else he worships not at all. But he requires to consume in order to nourish himself and to live and in order to eat he must first, produce. Anarcho-syndicalism has proceeded frequently from this great truth. In the same fashion, it has expressed the fact that in a reasonably organized society, each useful individual has a indicated place in the wheels of production and no matter what his manner of thought may be, he must continue to occupy that place.

The anarcho-syndicalist organization adjusted itself to these truths. It did not ask from the individual a declaration of principles nor his profession of faith in order to enter the syndicalist cell. It was sufficient that he was a worker.

At the debut of the movement and when the situation in Madrid, Catalonia and the Levante had been clarified a little, the need was immediately felt of reorganizing the tasks of interrupted production in the sense of united action which had to be maintained at all price, if function was to be conserved, there was no necessity to speak neither of ideal aspirations nor total accomplishments. In all that related to the reconstruction of economy and its readjustment, there had to be the same discretion. Over and above all was the need to produce and that without any employees. The majority were in agreement with that. It was best stopped to discuss in order to try and harmonize the divergent ideological conceptions we would have run the risk of not being listened to and of taking up precious time in inopportune talk when all the machinery of production needed to be put into operation. And so, the C. N. T. gave an undeniable proof of its constructive capacity just as it had given proof of its clear and revolutionary spirit. It attempted to apply the normal principles of anarcho-syndicalist organization to the organization of work. As a worker, each person, whether in a manual or intellectual capacity, had to take the position corresponding to his capabilities on the field of work and fulfil his duty without scruples. As a thinking being, he had the right and the freedom to attach himself to whichever party lined in with his approach, the sole condition being that it should be an anti-fascist organization.

Then the period of expropriations, requisitions, and embargoes began. It is impossible to prevent some mistakes occurring for it is not at all easy to act with infallibility during the last transformations that mark a new epoch. In every way throughout Spain, there was felt the powerful love of work, this time free and without the odious ignominy that the exploitation of man by man imposed. The C. N. T. had a vast field of action. The greater part of the industries were either completely or partly collectivized. Water, gas and electricity services, transport, building, carpentry, metallurgy, clothing, and elementary manufacturing, textile industries, public services, in fact, everything, began to be exploited by the collective regime. And this was especially true wherever the C.N.T. dominated.

Without doubt, errors were committed in the organization of the collectives but happily these are being corrected little by little. But it must not be forgotten that the work was begun, and this interesting aspect of the Spanish revolution which had relied almost entirely on improvisation according to the needs of the moment must not be lost sight of. Therefore all that we have accomplished during this year and a half of heroic struggle and fertile activity, despite the trials, when examined coldly and dispassionately, will give rise to to the admiration of both friends and enemies.


We have worked well and intensely. We have not respected completely our principles. We were not able to. What we claim to have done, and are still doing, is to have crushed the horde of Franco and accomplished the revolution by remaining essentially faithful to our libertarian sentiments. It is not of less importance that, despite the sorceries of all kinds imposed by the war, up to the present, we have escaped the peril of dictatorship.

It is to return to the new economy. We say that what anarcho-syndicalism has done is of extraordinary importance. Over and above the collectivization of the greatest part of industry, it has organized and sustained more than two thousand peasant collectives which are maintained and developed in a libertarian spirit. If the organization of the peasant collectives are examined in a general sense, the results of our influence can be seen. The collectivity in the village is constituted with the maximum of autonomy with the lands and machines expropriated from the latifundia on the basis. The largest are the co-operatives of production and consumption wherein the work is done in a collective method and the production distributed equally between the co-operators. Generally, the peasant collectivity gives its members a wage in accordance with the number in the family. Regarding the harvests, after the quantity necessary for means of exchange have been subtracted, the remainder goes to swell the stock of the community, to cover the needs of all the members.


As the collectivity cannot live in complete isolation, Commercial Federations of Collectivities are created to embrace the natural zones of culture and these form Regional Federations and lastly from the latter is created the National Federation. Thus can be observed the federalist and libertarian regime which is proper to anarcho-syndicalism. Naturally the collectivities also have their details. And some of them are of a serious nature. Group egotism is contained and developed and gives us many a worry. To a certain extent, that would have been overcome if we had not lost the political power which caused us equality to lose a good part of the economy of the country. We must insist upon that. It must be seen clearly what we have been able to accomplish and the reasons by our attitude and that which, from a certain angle, represents rectification from our sense of struggle.

For the moment, we do not propose to establish anything more than that anarcho-syndicalism has not ceased acting in a libertarian manner; that it has accomplished, on the economic field, a profound revolution; and that it will do a great deal more when it is freed from the dangers represented by the activity of the fascists both inside and outside of Spain.

EL NOJA RUIZ.



## **The present situation in the international anarcho- syndicalist movement**



Towards the end of the world war a new era seemed to have opened for the European people, an era of decisive struggles characterized by profound political-social transformations of the social structure. The Russian Revolution progressed rapidly from its bourgeois stage to its second, that of definite proletarian intervention in the destiny of a great country which, in contradiction to certain Marxist interpretations, went forward resolutely to inaugurate an epoch of socialist realizations without passing through the stage of highly developed capitalism. The grand current of socialist realizations had through and through, a liberating and popular sentiment on the slopes of the communitarian show: "All power to the Soviets." That is to say to the workers' organs which, freely elected, had, in every way, a highly federalist significance.

The repercussions of this revolution in the countries of Central Europe was very weak indeed because the workers' movements, social-democratic in character, possessed neither the revolutionary dynamism nor the constructive capacity to permit them to go beyond that which is called bourgeois democracy. Thus was terminated a revolutionary situation that had commenced during the war and which contained enormous possibilities of new social progress based on workers' direct intervention in the public and economic life of a number of countries. At the same time, one is able to see quite definitely what sustained Russian Soviets, monopolized by a political party whose theoretical inspiration had stated that the proletarian state would very shortly be superfluous and would give way to a free society based on new forms of communal life determined by the free decision of producers, freely associated. Russia also ceased to trust on the world revolution and engaged itself in a path that, little by little, transformed the country into a new power in the sport of capitalist states. The tendency appeared in the creation of a one hundred per cent totalitarian state. Meanwhile, in Central



Europe, the revolutions of the post-war period had miscarried because of the incapacity of the workers and the treachery of leaders. The capitalist crisis and the social problem were aggravated day by day. An era of intervention by the state in the social life, tending to suppress all class conflict based on direct action, began. This tendency, called "democratic" by the Marxist leaders, blinded completely by their conceptions of State Socialism, led directly to fascism.

That was the line of a new historic development commenced after the revolutions lost during 1917 to 1923 — a line of social reaction, of authoritarianism and centralism increasing. This was in 1922, when world revolutionary syndicalism, foreseeing that the two tendencies of the Marxist movement (Leninist and socialist) were unable to put a check on the new defects taking place and day by day were corrupting more and more the proletarian forces, decided to indicate a new way to the world proletariat and proposed a regeneration of the emancipating proletarian movement based on direct action and the free determination of the workers united in their organizations of a federated character. Those who were disposed to follow this path united in 1923, in the new International Working-Men's Association, deliberately giving to their international the name of the first international within which there never had existed political division, and which had been inspired by the direct and declared struggle for social emancipation.

The delegations from syndicalist organizations which came to found the new international were representative of two continents. From America, Chile, Argentina and Mexico were represented; also the Scandinavian countries and those of Central Europe, Italy, the Iberian Peninsula and the Russian anarcho-syndicalist minority which still existed actively, also sent their delegates. Based on diverse traditions, differing among themselves to a certain degree, regarding the interpretation of tactics and the form of revolutionary syndicalist organization, they discovered unity notwithstanding, on all the important points of their analysis of the social movement. Their opinion was united on the immediate task of the workers' movement and on the libertarian conception of workers' emancipation in general.

The Congress definitely rejected the idea of adhering, as revolutionary and syndicalist organizations, to the Proletarian of Moscow that wished once more to court the sympathies of our movement. The policy of Moscow was characterized as "anti-syndicalist" and, as was stated in the resolution adopted referring to this question, "the subordination of syndicalism to the party politics of the state" was the essential essence of the statutes of the Red Syndicalist

international and rendered impossible, from true revolutionary syndicalism, any reconciliation with Moscow.

In the other important resolution, the Congress testified its desire to do everything possible for workers' unity and to continue an exchange of ideas and impressions with Moscow to attempt, once more, despite the various divergences, the establishment of a basis of economic unity of the universal working-class. In protesting against the repression exercised against revolutionaries in all lands, the Congress made particular note of the repression suffered by the revolutionary workers in Russia, where after the bloody liquidation of the heroic resistance of Kronstadt, every tendency to workers democracy had disappeared for ever.

Through the medium of a special resolution which defined the tactics of direct action that the anarcho-syndicalist organizations recommended to the international proletariat as weapons to be used against capitalism and oppression, the Congress gave its basis of struggle to the international organization and accepted the text of the declaration of the Principles of Revolutionary Syndicalism, the spirit of which is to be found in a manifesto addressed to "The Working People in All lands and of All Languages" by Rudolph Rocker. This manifesto states, with extraordinary clarity, the real sentiments of the liberating movement of the proletariat, and prophetically announces the destruction of the workers' movement if it persists in its false authoritarian and state methods. With reference to the post war period, the manifesto declares:

"Never before was this simple truth demonstrated better, than during the last four years that the political parties, by reason of their being, were incapable of solving the social problems connected to a new order and a superior civilization and in typical manner the socialist parties have given incontestable proof of this. The grand historical significance of the modern proletarian movement lies, not in its policy, but in the economic plan of the social revolution — it being unimportant to which party the worker is affiliated. That which is important is its productive quality and creative factor in the social life."

During the years that followed this Congress, in every country where the I.W.M.A. had its centres, the greatest effort was made to oppose the degeneration of the political movements of the Marxist type, of authoritarian Bolsheviks and reformist syndicalists. But due to various causes, the anarcho-syndicalist forces did not make any progress. In Central Europe, the economic crisis of capitalism, for many years, destroyed any possibility of enlarging the workers' movement and, at the same time, encouraged authoritarian

Bolshevism and fascism that were able, in various ways, to advance without encountering any serious resistance on the part of the workers. Everywhere the progress of fascism changed the social panorama. Bourgeois nationalism in the democratic countries infiltrated itself into the workers' movements in all countries. The Franco-Russian alliance and the policy of the "Popular Front" annihilated all perspectives for the movements that had a truly social-revolutionary character. Anti-republican, anti-militarist and direct action, as demanded by the I.W.M.A., had less and less repercussions. At the same time, European fascism and fascism in Latin America developed. Only in the Iberian Peninsula was anastho-syndicalism able to conserve and maintain its strength. Better said, only in Spain was the living spirit of active opposition to fascism maintained. Only there was the spirit of direct action and social revolutionary struggle to the forefront. This spirit manifested itself many times, in 1932 and 1934 and in the great events of July 1936.

But the Spanish movement was an anachronism. It developed almost completely isolated from other countries and was inspired by revolutionary conceptions sufficiently in touch with social realities of the 20th century in the social realizations which it proclaimed. However, federalist Spain, adhering to the I.W.M.A., was the sole positive and promising factor in revolutionary dynamism in the struggle against contemporary fascism.

These were the objective factors that determined the diminished possibilities of international anastho-syndicalism after 1932. However we would commit a great error if we did not admit that the lack of tactical clarity and the divergences within our own movement itself also played a part in this weakening. The countries where the movement was maintained more zealously were those with traditions more or less federalist and revolutionary, such as Spain and, to a lesser degree, the Spanish countries of South America. In the Germanic countries, on the contrary, national conditions favored the authoritarian movements, Modern and Fascism. But lack of a practical conception of the daily struggle as to the tactics to employ against fascism — not in theory but in the unceasingly meaning struggle — and the first steps to take for the realization of socialism throughout the world in which we are the minority, even in the countries where we have large organizations, these have had their part in the weakening of our movements. These were faults common to all.

The C. N. T., after July 19th, was compelled to compromise because it was evident that their programme could not be applied to the latter. In the midst of a struggle that imposed formidable sacrifices upon it — the C.N.T. tried, and is still trying, to elaborate

a tactic that is in harmony with the real situation as well as its libertarian ideology at the same time. If it has been hesitant, if it has been uncertain, if it has committed errors, it is because the C.N.T. is forced to resort to improvised solutions to meet the demands of the daily problems. And it immediately submits the practical consequences and theoretical and tactical errors to the international movement.

In Spain however, the theories of anarcho-syndicalism have found twofold confirmation. After the triumphal course of fascism to Europe, there arose a halt. In Spain, thanks to the direct action of the workers, fascism encountered the best opposition it had known in contemporary history. It is well known that during the last decisive moments in July everywhere in Spain where the popular front authority was imposed, and not the armed workers in direct action on the streets, fascism triumphed. Anarcho-syndicalism has not taken its place in history because of this but because of the intervention of the syndicalist workers in the economy and administration of the country. By this the imposition of a totalitarian movement was impossible and a new kind of social revolution and the basis of a new economy of war — second historical factor in the struggle against international fascism and which remains one of the bases for the future struggle notwithstanding the deliberate falsehoods of politicians — was created.

But let us state it frankly, anarcho-syndicalism equally has exposed its limits. Unwilling to move towards the experiment of totalitarian social control, — an experiment acknowledged by the greatest part of the international comrades — it was obliged consequently to collaborate with other sections of various kinds. Unable to escape from the necessity of assuming charge of a part of the responsibility for the life or the death of the people, it did not discover any help in the theories of anarcho-syndicalism nor any indication regarding the needs of the hour. There were only proofs of an attitude of frank opposition to the totalitarian social revolution. The C.N.T. could not choose for either of these solutions.

It is as a result of the situation created by the anti-fascist movement in Spain, the discussion within anarcho-syndicalism itself, and before the necessity of putting forward anarcho-syndicalist progress on a world scale, — progress based on the great and historic intervention by anarcho-syndicalism in the Spanish anti-fascist struggle, notwithstanding its moral isolation from the rest of the world — that it is our duty today awake ourselves from the Spanish experience, without being afraid to sacrifice narrow conceptions and prejudices cultivated during many years. As I see it, there are three principal conceptions as a basis for discussion.