

NOTES

Preface

1. James Joll, *The Anarchists*, 2nd ed., (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980), p. viii.
2. Since the literature on this period of socialist and communist internationalism is immense, it is possible to cite only some representative titles here. Julius Braunthal's *Geschichte der Internationale*, 3 vols. (Hannover: Dietz, 1961-1971) has become standard on a century of internationalism, though the emphasis is almost exclusively upon political and not trade union internationalism. More specifically, on the Second International, see James Joll, *The Second International, 1889-1914*, rev. ed. (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974). On the International Federation of Trade Unions before the war and on its post-war revival, see Johann Sassenbach, *Fünfundzwanzig Jahre internationaler Gewerkschaftsbewegung* (Amsterdam: Internationalen Gewerkschaftsbundes, 1926), and Lewis Lorwin, *Labor and Internationalism* (New York: Macmillan, 1929). On the post-war Labour and Socialist International, see John Price, *The International Labour Movement* (London: Oxford University Press, 1945). On the so-called Two-and-a-Half International, see André Donneur, *Histoire de l'Union des Partis Socialistes pour l'Action Internationale* (Lausanne: Université de Genève, Institut Universitaire des Hautes Etudes Internationales, 1967). On the Communist International, see, for example, Doménico Desanti, *L'Internationale Communiste* (Paris: Payot, 1970); James W. Hulse, *The Forming of the Communist International* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964); Günther Nollau, *International Communism and World Revolution* (London: Hollis and Carter, 1961). On the Red International of Labour Unions, see *Die Rote Gewerkschafts-Internationale* (Berlin: Tribüne, 1973), by the Soviet historian G.M. Adibekow.
3. Joll, p. 188.
4. See Peter Lösche, "Anarchismus - Versuch einer Definition und historischen Typologie," *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, vol. 15(1974), no. 1:53-73; Peter Lösche, *Anarchismus* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaft Buchgesellschaft, 1977), pp. 115-28.

Chapter One

1. Only a few titles from the extensive literature on the First International can be cited here. Documents covering the entire period of the International include Jacques Freymond, ed., *La Première Internationale*, 4 vols. (Geneva: Institut Universitaire de Hautes Etudes Internationales, 1962-71), and, from the point of view of an anti-authoritarian participant in it, James Guillaume, *L'Internationale: documents et souvenirs (1864-1878)*, 4 vols. (Paris: Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition and P.V. Stock, 1905-10). Studies include G.D.H. Cole, *A History of Socialist Thought*, 5 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1953-60), 2: *Marxism and Anarchism 1850-1890* (1954), and Braunthal, vol. 1.
2. What Marx actually wrote was that "the emancipation of the working class must be conquered by the working class themselves." Karl Marx, *Political Writings*, vol. 3, *The First International and After*, ed. David Fernbach (New York: Vintage, 1974), p. 84. For another documentary collection see Saul K. Padover, ed., *Karl Marx and the First International*, Karl Marx Library, vol. 3, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973). Studies of Marx and the International include Cole and Braunthal, cited above; see also Paul Thomas, *Karl Marx and the Anarchists* (London, Boston and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), ch. 5.
3. By 1872, however, Marx had concluded that the workers might achieve their goals peacefully in certain countries, such as England and the United States. See Marx, *The First International and After*, p. 324.
4. James Guillaume, quoted in Annie Kriegel, *Les Internationales Ouvrières (1864-1943)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964), p. 12.
5. Proudhon regarded "the capitalist principle" and "the governmental principle" as "one and the same principle; . . . the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, and the abolition of the government of man by man, are one and the same formula." Proudhon to Pierre Leroux, 14 Dec. 1849. *Correspondance de P.-J. Proudhon*, 14 vols. (Paris: A.

Lacroix, 1874-75), 14 (1875):289. The first to invoke the term anarchism in a positive sense, for Proudhon it denoted not only the absence of government, but the highest level of order: "Society seeks order in anarchy." *Oeuvres complètes de P.-J. Proudhon*, 15 vols., nouvelle ed., ed. C. Bouglé and H. Moysset (Paris: M. Rivière, 1923-), 4 (1926):339.

6. Although Proudhon did not endorse workers' participation in customary political activity, he did speak of the *Capacité politique des classes ouvrières*, which depended upon sufficient self-consciousness, the articulation of an idea or doctrine - the doctrine of mutualism - corresponding to this consciousness, and the ability to draw practical conclusions of action from this idea. See especially, *Oeuvres*, 3 (1924):89-92.

7. Quoted in George Woodcock, *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956), p. 262.

8. "What we put in the place of political powers are economic forces," Proudhon wrote. "What we put in the place of government . . . is industrial organization. What we put in the place of laws are contracts." *Oeuvres*, 2 (1923):302.

9. *Correspondance*, 14:290.

10. *Oeuvres*, 4:326.

11. Proudhon regarded communism, or collectivism, and absolutism as "two correlative faces of the principle of authority." *Correspondance*, 14:289. Collectivism threatened to abrogate the producers' right to the means and fruits of their labour, to collapse the distinction between private and public life, and to undermine the family, all of which were fundamental to Proudhon. "Communism is not a science, it is annihilation!" *Oeuvres*, 1,2 (1923):281.

12. See, for example, *Oeuvres*, 3:387-8, 396-8.

13. "Politics is the science of liberty; the government of man by man, under whatever name it disguises itself, is oppression; the highest perfection of society is found in the union of order and anarchy." *Oeuvres*, 4:346.

14. For the most detailed account, see Jules L. Puech, *Le Proudhonisme dans l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* (Paris: Alcan, 1907).

15. Marx to Engels, 11 Sept. 1867. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, vol. 31 (Berlin: Dietz, 1965):342-3.

16. Guillaume, 1:75.

17. G.P. Maximoff, ed., *The Political Philosophy of Bakunin: Scientific Anarchism* (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1953), p. 216.

18. *Archives Bakounine*, vol. 3, ed. Arthur Lehning (Leiden: E.-J. Brill, 1967), 347.

19. "Class, Power, State," Bakunin wrote, "are three inseparable terms, of which each necessarily pre-supposes the two others and which all definitely are to be summed up by the words: *the political subjection and the economic exploitation of the masses.*" Bakunin, *Marxism, Freedom and the State*, ed. K.J. Kenafick (London: Freedom Press, 1950), p. 47.

20. Sam Dolgoff, ed., *Bakunin on Anarchy* (New York: Knopf, 1972), pp. 173-4.

21. While Marx, thinking primarily of England and Germany, attached primary importance to the revolutionary agency of the advanced industrial proletariat, Bakunin, with Russia and southern Europe more in mind, advocated a much broader conception of revolutionary forces. Though suspicious of the economically most advanced workers as a labour aristocracy with the least revolutionary impetus, as "deeply penetrated by all the political and social prejudices and all the narrow aspirations and pretensions of the bourgeoisie," Bakunin did not dismiss such workers, but argued that to remain truly revolutionary the workers' movement had to incorporate the real "flower of the proletariat," the vast numbers of exploited peasantry, the frequently beleaguered artisanal workers, the lower strata of factory workers, the struggling casual and unemployed labourers, in short, the larger masses of the disinherited and oppressed, among whom Bakunin believed the instinct of revolt to be most keenly felt. "By the flower of the proletariat, I mean precisely that eternal meat for government, that *grande canaille populaire*," those whom "Marx and Engels ordinarily designate by that simultaneously contemptuous and picturesque phrase, *Lumpenproletariat*, the 'riff-raff', *les gueux.*" *Archives Bakounine*, 2 (1965):177-8.

22. When Marx blocked the bid of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, founded by Bakunin, to enter the International in 1868, on the not unreasonable grounds that the International ought not admit affiliates that were themselves international, the Alliance officially disbanded. If it survived at all it did so only as a very informal grouping of Bakunin's friends; it had no effective existence. Marx nevertheless continued to view the Alliance as part of an elaborate conspiracy orchestrated by Bakunin to conquer the

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International, as but one step in the Russian's efforts, as Marx later put it, to replace "the General Council with himself as virtual dictator." Freymond, 2:269.

23. Guillaume, 1:220-1.

24. Georg Lukács made this point within the context of the ideological and organizational disputes between the Bolsheviks and various left-communists as early as 1923. See *Geschichte und Klassenbewusstsein, Georg Lukács Werke* (Neuwied and Berlin: Luchterhand, 1968), 2:471ff. For an appreciation of Lukács in this regard, see Miklos Molnar, "Problèmes d'ordre idéologique," in Charles L. Bertrand, ed., *Situations révolutionnaires en Europe, 1917-1922* (Montreal: Centre Interuniversitaire d'Etudes Européennes, 1977), pp. 141-50.

25. Miklos Molnar, *Le Déclin de la Première Internationale: la conférence de Londres de 1871* (Geneva: Droz, 1963), p. 59ff. Molnar's is the most complete account of the London conference.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 83-1.

27. Freymond, 2:192, 194-5, 200-1. Lorenzo Anselmo, a dissenting Spanish participant, recalled his disillusionment in *El proletariado militante* (Barcelona: Libreria Española, n.d.), 1:311-23.

28. Freymond, 2:261-5.

29. Henry Collins and Chimen Abramsky, *Karl Marx and the British Labour Movement: Years of the First International* (London: Macmillan, 1965), pp. 85, 231-4ff.

30. The Council's selection of The Hague as the congress site, moreover, favoured delegates sympathetic to Marx and the General Council, while working against representation from southern Europe, where Bakunin had strong support. Whether for reasons of financial constraint or the danger of being arrested in transit in France or Germany, Bakunin himself did not attend. A combination of sympathetic French Blanquists, staunch authoritarians themselves, a large number of delegates from the General Council, and a strong German contingent, though the Germans had previously participated but minimally in the International, ensured a substantial majority for Marx at The Hague, particularly since the thoroughly exasperated Italians had severed relations with the General Council and boycotted the congress.

31. The committee charged with investigating the activities of a secret Bakuninist Alliance within the International ironically recommended Guillaume's expulsion in the conviction that he still belonged to an organization whose continued existence, the committee declared, "has not been sufficiently proved." Institute of Marxism-Leninism, *The Hague Congress of the First International, September 2-7, 1872: Minutes and Documents* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1976), pp. 481-2.

32. Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann, 29 July 1872, *Werke*, 33 (1966):505.

33. To help secure Bakunin's expulsion Marx sought to associate him with the misdeeds of the young and unscrupulous revolutionary fanatic, Sergei Nechaev, whom Bakunin had earlier befriended but since repudiated. In particular, in a secret session before the committee investigating the Alliance, Marx produced a letter written by Nechaev, unbeknownst to Bakunin, threatening a publisher's agent if Bakunin were not released from his commitment to translate volume one of Marx's *Capital* into Russian, for which he had received an advance. The committee consequently deemed Bakunin responsible not only for attempting to found a secret Alliance within the International, but for fraud and intimidation. Marx, moreover, flatly lied to the wider assembly by declaring the documents presented to the committee to have been "sent without any request for them" (*The Hague Congress*, p. 171), whereas Marx himself had actively solicited the Nechaev letter for use at The Hague. Marx to N.F. Danielson, 15 Aug. 1872, *Werke*, 33:516. See also Marx's letter to Danielson, 25 Nov. 1872, following the congress. *Ibid.*, p. 543. Determined to discredit Bakunin at any cost, Marx had not been deterred by the fact that the original recipient of Nechaev's letter rightly concluded that it proved nothing against Bakunin. Even many supporters of Marx have deplored this manoeuvre against Bakunin. For Franz Mehring, for example, "that in questions of *Mein und Dein* [i.e., of personal property] Bakunin should be robbed of his good name was inexcusable, and unfortunately Marx was responsible for this." *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 3, *Karl Marx: Geschichte seines Leben*, ed. Thomas Höhle, Hans Koch and Josef Scheifstein (Berlin: Dietz, 1961), 491.

34. On the history of the anti-authoritarian wing of the International following the Hague congress, see Guillaume, vols. 3-4 (1909-10); Georg Stieklow, *Die bakunistische Internationale nach dem Haager Kongress* (Stuttgart: Dietz Nachf., 1914); and the documents in Freymond, vols. 3-4 (1971).

35. Quoted in Sticklow, p. 9.
36. Freymond, 4:537.
37. On the idea of the general strike in the First International, see especially Robert Brécy, *La Grève Générale en France* (Paris: Etudes et Documentation Internationales, 1969), ch. 1; also, Phil H. Goodstein, *The Theory of the General Strike from the French Revolution to Poland* (Boulder, Colorado: East European Monographs, 1982), pp. 32-5 and ch. 3.
38. Thomas, p. 352.
39. Quoted in Brauntal, 1:262.
40. Lewis Lorwin has written that "the first anticipations of syndicalist ideas may be found in the discussions and resolutions of the First International between 1868 and 1872 and especially in those of its Bakuninist sections between 1872 and 1876." Lorwin adds, however, that "in its definite historic form . . . syndicalism was elaborated between 1895 and 1901" in France. *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, 1930, s.v. "Syndicalism."
41. The literature on French syndicalism is very large. See Robert Brécy, *Le Mouvement Syndical en France, 1871-1921: essai bibliographique* (Paris: Mouton, 1963). More recent research is effectively reviewed (pp. 425-52) in Peter Schöttler, "Syndikalismus in der europäischen Arbeiterbewegung. Neuere Forschungen in Frankreich, England und Deutschland," in *Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung im Vergleich*, ed. Klaus Tenfelde (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1986), pp. 419-75.
42. Some have pointed to the French social philosopher Georges Sorel as the theorist of syndicalism. Sorel celebrated proletarian violence and direct action, hailing the general strike as an inspirational but rationally inexplicable social myth capable of galvanizing the workers into heroic actions and leading to the moral regeneration of a society characterized by bourgeois decadence. See especially his *Réflexions sur la violence* (Paris: Pages Libres, 1908). But it is well to reiterate what has been often and rightly said: that Sorel speculated on the syndicalist movement from the outside, elaborating ideas that the syndicalist militants would not have endorsed even had they been fully familiar with them. Griffuelhe's disparaging and oft-quoted remark when asked about Sorel - "I read Alexandre Dumas" (quoted in Edouard Dolléans, *Histoire du mouvement ouvrier*, 3rd ed., vol. 1, 1830-1871, vol. 2, 1871-1920 (Paris: Armand Colin, 1948) 2:127) - exemplifies the attitude of French activists towards him. A recent study notes yet again that Sorel won no "appreciable attention in France, let alone a following there." Jack J. Roth, *The Cult of Violence: Sorel and the Sorelians* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1980) p. 62. He enjoyed a little more influence among a few Italian intellectuals and journalists.
43. Fernand Pelloutier, *Histoire des Bourses de Travail* (Paris: Schleicher Frères, 1902), p. 155.
44. Léon Jouhaux, I, *Le Syndicalisme français. II. Contre la guerre: conférence faite à Berlin*, Bibliothèque du Mouvement Proletarien, XIV (Paris: Marcel Rivière, 1913), p. 28. As the effort by its Secretary to summarize the history and policies of the CGT for a foreign audience, at a labour conference in Brussels in December 1911, "Le Syndicalisme français" (from which this quotation comes) is a particularly illuminating source.
45. For discussion of this relationship, see, for example, Annie Kriegel, "Le Syndicalisme Révolutionnaire et Proudhon," in *L'Actualité de Proudhon* (Brussels: Editions de l'Institut de Sociologie de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1967), pp. 47-66; Jacques Juilliard, *Fernand Pelloutier et les origines du syndicalisme d'action directe* (Paris: Editions du Scuil, 1971), pp. 205-10.
46. See Bernard H. Moss, *The Origins of the French Labor Movement, 1830-1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), pp. 6-8, 51-5.
47. Emile Pouget, *La Confédération Générale du Travail*, 2nd ed., Bibliothèque du Mouvement Proletarien, II (Paris: Marcel Rivière, n.d. [1908?]): 26-7.
48. Jouhaux, p. 28.
49. Pouget, *La CGT*, p. 36.
50. Pouget, *Les Bases du syndicalisme* (Paris: Bibliothèque Syndicaliste, n.d.), pp. 20-4.
51. Jouhaux, p. 33-4. For a general discussion of the state in syndicalist thought, see R.J. Holton, "Syndicalist Theories of the State," *Sociological Review* 28, no. 1 (Feb. 1980):5-21.
52. As F.F. Ridley succinctly expressed it, syndicalism constituted "a political doctrine, containing an analysis of the social situation, a goal to be achieved, the complete transformation of society, and a comprehensive strategy of action." F.F. Ridley, *Revo-*

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- lutionary Syndicalism in France (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 90. See Ridley's useful discussion, pp. 88-94.
53. Pouget, *La CGT*, p. 26.
 54. The *Charte d'Amiens* is reproduced in Appendix A.
 55. Quoted in Dolléans, 2:128.
 56. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 130.
 57. Guillaume, 4:vii.
 58. Jouhaux, p. 30.
 59. On the anarchist influx into the unions see Jean Maitron, *Le Mouvement Anarchiste en France*, vol. 1: *Des origines à 1914*; vol. 2: *De 1914 à nos jours* (Paris: François Maspero, 1975), 1:265-330.
 60. See Appendix A.
 61. See John Bowditch, "The Concept of Elan Vital: A Rationalization of Weakness," in Edward Mead Earle, ed., *Modern France: Problems of the Third and Fourth Republics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), pp. 33-8.
 62. On the *Bourses*, see especially Peter Schöttler, *Die Entstehung der "Bourses du Travail"*, *Sozialpolitik und französischer Syndikalismus am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt and New York: Campus, 1982).
 63. On Pelloutier and the *bourses*, see Pelloutier, *Histoire des Bourses du Travail*; Juillard, *Fernand Pelloutier*; Alan S. Baker, "Fernand Pelloutier and the *Bourses du Travail*: The Creation of an Independent French Labor Movement" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1973); Alan B. Spitzer, "Anarchy and Culture: Fernand Pelloutier and the Dilemma of Revolutionary Syndicalism," *International Review of Social History* 8 (1963):379-88; James Charles Butler, "Fernand Pelloutier and the Emergence of the French Syndicalist Movement, 1880-1906" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1960).
 64. Val R. Lorwin, *The French Labor Movement* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 23.
 65. Ridley, p. 72.
 66. Paul Louis, *Histoire du mouvement syndical en France*, 2 vols. (Paris: Valois, 1947-48), 1:234, 242; Jouhaux, p. 9.
 67. Marcel van der Linden, "Vorläufiges zur vergleichenden Sozialgeschichte des Syndikalismus," in *Anarchismus in Kunst und Politik: Zum 85. Geburtstag von Arthur Lehning*, ed. Heribert Baumann, Francis Bulhof, Gottfried Mergner (Oldenburg: Universität Oldenburg, 1985), pp. 45-63, p. 51. Van der Linden's is the widest-ranging comparative analysis of the socioeconomic conditions of syndicalist and related movements. See also Larry Peterson, "The One Big Union in International Perspective: Revolutionary Industrial Unionism, 1900-1925," in *Work, Community and Power: The Experience of Labor in Europe and America, 1900-1925*, ed. James E. Cronin and Carmen Siriani (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983), pp. 49-87, and Andreina De Clementi, *Politica e società nel sindacalismo rivoluzionario 1900-1915* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1983).
 68. On the construction workers in Britain see R.W. Postgate, *The Builders' History* (London: National Federation of Building Trade Operatives, 1923), especially ch. 17. On France see William Edger McMechan, "The Building Trades of France, 1907-1914" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1975). For examples of technical changes in construction, see Peter N. Stearns, *Lives of Labor: Work in a Maturing Industrial Society* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1975), pp. 122-3.
 69. On the Amsterdam congress, see *Congrès anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam, août 1907* (Paris: M. Delesalle, 1908), esp. pp. 62-90; on the meetings of syndicalists there, see *ibid.*, pp. 113-6, and *La Voix du Peuple* (Lausanne), 5 Oct. 1907.
 70. The most comprehensive treatment of this background is provided by Xavier Cuadrat, *Socialismo y anarquismo en Cataluña (1899-1911): los orígenes de la C.N.T.* (Madrid: Revista de Trabajo, 1976), and, with more attention to ideological developments, Antonio Bar, *La CNT en los años rojos (del sindicalismo revolucionario al anarcosindicalismo, 1910-1926)* (Madrid: Akal, 1981), pp. 13-303. The best source in English is still Joan Connelly Ullman, *The Tragic Week: A Study of Anticlericalism in Spain, 1875-1912* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), a work of broader scope than its title suggests. See also, for example, Murray Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists* (New York: Harper, 1977), chs. 3-8; Manuel Tuñón de Lara, *El movimiento obrero en la historia de España* (Madrid: Taurus, 1972), chs. 5-9; Juan Gomez Casa, *Historia del anarco-sindicalismo español* (Santiago and Madrid: ZYX, 1968), chs. 2-4; Adolfo Bueso, *Como fundamos la C.N.T.* (Barcelona: Avance, 1976). Brief accounts may be found in Cesar M. Lorenzo, *Les Anarchistes Espagnols et le pouvoir, 1868-1969* (Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1969), ch. 1;

- José Peirats, *Los anarquistas en la crisis política española* (Buenos Aires: Alfa, 1964), ch. 1.
71. The statutes adopted by the Federation, the Spanish section of the International, were in fact those of Bakunin's Alliance rather than of the International. Temma Kaplan, *Anarchists of Andalusia, 1868-1903* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 74-5.
72. Bar, pp. 106-7.
73. Quoted in Cuadrat, p. 246.
74. Adolfo Bueso, *Recuerdos de un cenetista*, vol. 1, *De la Semana Trágica (1909) a la Segunda República (1931)* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1976), 53.
75. See especially, Bueso, *Como fundamos la C.N.T.*; Bar, pp. 149-229; Cuadrat, ch. 9.
76. Cuadrat, p. 476.
77. On the early period of Italian syndicalism see especially Alceo Riosa's *Il sindacalismo rivoluzionario in Italia e la lotta politica nel Partito Socialista dell'era giolittiana* (N.p.: De Donato, n.d. [1976]), which offers a detailed study up to 1907, and Thomas R. Sykes, "The Practice of Revolutionary Syndicalism in Italy, 1905-1910" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1974). On the origins and formation of the USI, see also David D. Roberts, *The Syndicalist Tradition and Italian Fascism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), ch. 3; Charles L. Bertrand, "Revolutionary Syndicalism in Italy, 1912-1922" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1969), chs. 1-2; Giorgio Candeloro, *Il movimento sindacale in Italia* (Rome: Edizioni di Cultura Sociale, 1950), pp. 65-79ff.; Alfredo Gradilone, part 1, ch. 9 and part 2, ch. 12 of *Italia* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1959), vol. 3 of *Storia del sindacalismo*; and the documentary survey, Ugo Fedeli, *Corso di storia del movimento operaio* (Ivrea: Centro de Sociologia della Cooperazione, 1957), pp. 200-25.
78. On the encounters in Parma, see Thomas R. Sykes, "Revolutionary Syndicalism in the Italian Labor Movement: The Agrarian Strikes of 1907-08 in the Province of Parma," *International Review of Social History* 21 (1976):186-211.
79. The circulation figure is from the USI's report to the 1913 Syndicalist Congress as reported in the Dutch syndicalist paper, *De Arbeid*, 8 Oct. 1913.
80. Cornelissen left a manuscript recording his experiences in the early Dutch labour movement: "Strijd, lief en leed in de oude socialistische beweging en de vakorganisaties: persoonlijke herinneringen door Christiaan Cornelissen," Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam. On the early Cornelissen see Homme Wedman, "Christiaan Cornelissen, syndicalist," *Maatstaf* 24, no. 8-9, 112-22.
81. A.J.C. Rüter, "De Nederlandse trekken der Nederlandse arbeidersbeweging," in *Nederland tussen de natiën: een bijdrage tot onze cultuurgeschiedenis*, J.S. Bartstra and Willem Banning, eds., 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Ploegsma, 1946-48) 1:197.
82. Van Erkel thus described himself as the "kruier van de arbeiders" (the 'barrelman of the workers'). Quoted in Marinus Ruppert, *De Nederlandse vakbeweging*, vol. 1: *De opkomst* (Haarlem: Bohn, 1953), p. 61. On the pre-war history of the NAS see Ger Harmsen and Bob Reinalda, *Voor de bevrijding van de arbeid: beknopte geschiedenis van de nederlandse vakbeweging* (Nijmegen: SUN, 1975), chs. 4-5; Fr. de Jong, Edz., *Om de plaats van de arbeid* (Amsterdam: NVV, 1956), pp. 31-96, 102-22. Erik Hansen and Peter Prosper Jr., "The Nationaal Arbeids-Secretariaat, Revolutionary Syndicalism in the Netherlands, 1892-1914," *Societas - A Review of Social History* 7, no. 2 (Spring 1977), 121-44; I.J. Brugsmans, *Paardenkracht en mensenmacht: sociaal-economische geschiedenis van Nederland 1795-1940* ('s-Gravenhage: Marinus Nijhoff, 1961), pp. 420-8 et passim.
83. Hansen and Prosper, p. 126.
84. Henri Polak, *Federatie van vakverenigingen: een voorstel aan de georganiseerde en ongeorganiseerde arbeiders van Nederland*, door Henri Polak, Voorzitter van den Algemeenen Nederlandschen Diamantbewerkerbond (Amsterdam: Algemeenen Nederlandschen Diamantbewerkerbond, 1898), p. 27.
85. The most comprehensive account of the strike is A.J.C. Rüter's *De Spoorwegstakingen van 1903* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1935).
86. Volkers Bultsma and Evert van der Tuin, *Het Nederlandsch Syndicalistisch Vakverbond, 1923-1940* (Amsterdam: Anarchistische Uitgaven, 1980), p. 7.
87. Hansen and Prosper, pp. 128-9.
88. The circulation figures are from *De Arbeid*, 8 Oct. 1913. See also the NAS's report to the 1922 founding congress of the IWMA, a brief survey of its history and membership figures for 1894-1922. International Working Men's Association (AIT-IAA) Archive, 1 A,

File 1, Congres - Amsterdam.

89. Quoted in Fr. de Jong, *De geschiedenis van de Nederlandse arbeidersbeweging* (1912). This somewhat history of the German to its pre-war development. *Gewerkschaftsbewegung* see Angela Vogel, *Die Gewerkschaften in Deutschland* 1; Hans Manfred B. Heim: A. Hain, 1972, 2 vols. (Jena: G. Müller offers a brief history of the deutschen Gewerkschaften der deutschen Gewerkschaften Matthias and Klaus See also Müller's *Die Gewerkschaften in The Development of the German Working Class* Wolfgang J. Mommsen, 1985), pp. 239-65. *Die Gewerkschaften und Arbeiterdelegationen in Deutschland* Kommission zu Berlin, 1913, ch. 6 - appeared to see Schöttler, "Syndicalismus und Arbeiterbewegung" 90. The FvDG (Berlin: Die Einigung, 1913). Kater, *Freie Gewerkschaften* localists, see Paul Generalkommission 92. Quoted in B. 93. Quoted in V. 94. Conflicting *Die Ideenwelt der Statistik*, ser. 3, 7, *demokratie*, p. 188 95. *Correspondence* lands 23 (25 Oct. country were the the SPD and the F and countless agit 96. *De Arbeid* outspoken weekly infrequently conti 97. See Peter Me Assoziation, 1981 the Portuguese m ed. (Porto: Movin 98. Paul Avrich, p. 61. See ch. 3 for 99. Quoted in the 100. Victoria E. St. Petersburg an of California Pres 101. On syndica munisme belge 1 8 (December 197 *fédération Syndic 1914) to delay in before the Confed 102. See Bob H later, brief overv the British Labor*

- Alfa, 1964).
- the International, ed. Temma Kaplan, (New York: Praeger, 1977), p. 74.
- Tragica (1909)* a
- 229; Quadrat, ch.
- Il sindacalismo rivoluzionario* (N.p.: Thomas R. Sykes, Ph.D. dissertation, Hill University of Chicago, 1951); see also David Hill, *Sindicalism in Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), chs. 1-2; Giorgio Napolitano, *Il sindacato sociale* (1950), (Milan: Giuffrè, 1950); Ugo Fedeli, *Corso di sindacato* (Napoli: Edizione, 1957).
- ary Syndicalism (University of Parma, 1977).
- ndicalist Congress
- ly Dutch labour organisations: Instituut voor Arbeid, "Christelijke Arbeidsbeweging," in *Arbeid*, 18, Barisra and
- the barrelman (Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1977). See Ger Harmse, *Arbeiders van de toekomst*, Edz., *Om de toekomst van de arbeiders* (Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1977).
- Arbeiders-geschiedenis* 120-8 et passim.
- De georganiseerde arbeider van den toekomstigen Neder-*
- landse arbeiderskongresstakingen*
- Arbeiders-geschiedenis*
- the NAS's report on membership (London: TAA Archive, I A,
- File I, Congres - Berlin 1922, Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam.
89. Quoted in Fritz Kater, *Freie Vereinigung deutscher Gewerkschaften* (Berlin: Kater, 1912). This sometimes impassioned brochure by one intimately involved in the entire history of the German syndicalist movement is an interesting if highly partisan introduction to its pre-war development. See also Kater's later pamphlet, *Die Entwicklung der deutschen Gewerkschaftsbewegung* (Berlin: Der Syndikalist, 1921). On the origins of the FVdG, see Angela Vogel, *Der deutsche Anarcho-Syndikalismus* (Berlin: K. Kramer, 1977), ch. 1; Hans Manfred Bock, *Syndikalismus und Linkskommunismus von 1918-1923* (Meisenheim: A. Hain, 1964), pp. 23-34ff. Wilhelm Kulemann's much older *Die Berufsvereine*, 2 vols. (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1908) 2:45ff., 96-108, is still worth consulting. Dirk H. Müller offers a brief overview of the pre-war movement in "Der Syndikalismus in der deutschen Gewerkschaftsbewegung vor 1914," in *Solidarität und Menschenwürde: Etappen der deutschen Gewerkschaftsgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Erich Matthias and Klaus Schönhoven (Berlin and Bonn: Neue Gesellschaft, 1984), pp. 57-68. See also Müller's "Syndicalism and Localism in the German Trade Union Movement," in *The Development of Trade Unionism in Great Britain and Germany, 1880-1914*, ed. Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Hans-Gerhard Husung (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1985), pp. 239-65. Müller's richly detailed *Gewerkschaftliche Versammlungsdemokratie und Arbeiterdelegierte vor 1918: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Lokalismus, des Syndikalismus und der entstehenden Rätebewegung*, Einzelveröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin, vol. 49 (Berlin: Colloquium, 1985) - on the syndicalists see especially ch. 6 - appeared too late to be of use here. For additional sources on German syndicalism, see Schöttler, "Syndikalismus," pp. 459-69.
90. The FVdG published Friedeberg's address: *Parlamentarismus und Generalstreik* (Berlin: Die Einigkeit, n.d. [1904]).
91. Kater, *Freie Vereinigung*, p. 22. For the centralist perspective on relations with the localists, see Paul Umbreit, *25 Jahre deutscher Gewerkschaftsbewegung 1890-1915* (Berlin: Generalkommission der Freien Gewerkschaften Deutschlands, 1915).
92. Quoted in Bock, p. 32.
93. Quoted in Vogel, p. 60.
94. Conflicting figures are offered, for example, by Bock, p. 33, and Eduard Willeke, "Die Ideenwelt des deutschen Syndikalismus," *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, ser. 3, 73 (June 1928):871. See also Müller, *Gewerkschaftliche Versammlungsdemokratie*, p. 188.
95. *Correspondenzblatt der Generalkommission der Gewerkschaftsbewegung Deutschlands* 23 (25 Oct. 1913):657. As Kater noted in 1912 (*Freie Vereinigung*, p. 22), in no country were the obstacles confronting the syndicalists as great as in Germany, where the SPD and the *Freie Gewerkschaften* could muster over 125 daily and weekly newspapers and countless agitators against them.
96. *De Arbeid*, 8 Oct. 1913. The FVdG also published *Der Pionier*, an aggressive and outspoken weekly whose issues dealing with a wide range of libertarian topics were not infrequently confiscated.
97. See Peter Merten, *Anarchismus und Arbeiterkampf in Portugal* (Hamburg: Libertäre Assoziation, 1981), chs. 2-5, and the work of one of the leading anarcho-syndicalists in the Portuguese movement, Manuel Joaquim de Sousa, *O Sindicalismo em Portugal*, 4th ed. (Porto: Movimento Operario Portugues, 1974).
98. Paul Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 61. See ch. 3 for the best account of syndicalism in pre-war Russia.
99. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 78.
100. Victoria E. Bonnell, *Roots of Rebellion: Workers' Politics and Organization in St. Petersburg and Moscow, 1900-1914* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 167-8, 254.
101. On syndicalism in pre-war Belgium see Maxime Steinberg, "A l'origine du communisme belge: l'extrême-gauche révolutionnaire d'avant 1914," *Cahiers Marxistes* 3, no. 3 (December 1970 - January/February 1971):3-34, 3-16. On the formation of the *Confédération Syndicale Belge* see *L'Action Ouvrière*, 1 Jan. 1914. The decision (*ibid.*, 1 June 1914) to delay its first real congress to August 1914, however, meant that war arrived before the Confederation could establish an effective organizational structure.
102. See Bob Holton, *British Syndicalism, 1900-1914* (London: Pluto Press, 1976). A later, brief overview can be found in Robert J. Holton, "Revolutionary Syndicalism and the British Labour Movement," in Mommsen and Husung, pp. 266-82.

103. See Einhart Lorenz, *Arbeiderbevegelsens historie. En inføring: Norsk sosialisme i internasjonalt perspektiv*, vol. 1, *Del 1789-1930* (Oslo: Pax Forlag A.S., 1974), pp. 81-97; Edvard Bull, *Arbeiderklassen i Norsk historie* (Oslo: Tiden Norsk Forlag, 1947), pp. 211-27; David Philip, *Le Mouvement Ouvrier en Norvège* (Paris: Editions Ouvrières, 1958), chs. 13-4; Hubert Ferraton, *Syndicalisme ouvrier et social-démocratie en Norvège* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1960), ch. 1.
104. See Hemy Karlsson, ed., *Dansk arbejderbevaegelse 1871-1939* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1975), pp. 20-1, 84-5.
105. On the origins of the SAC, see above all Lennart K. Persson, *Syndikalismen i Sverige 1903-1922* (Stockholm: Federativs Förlag, 1975), a welcome extension of his Licentiatavhandling (1968), *Syndikalismen i Sverige 1908-1917*; see also Karl Bergkvist, *Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganisation Minneskrift 1910-1935* (Stockholm: Federativs Förlag, 1935) and the work of the long time-head of the SAC, John Andersson, *Med SAC i 40-årig kamp: en historik* (Stockholm: Federativs Förlag, 1950).
106. On Young Socialism in Sweden, see Karl Fernström, *Ungsocialismen: En kronika* (Stockholm: Federativs Förlag, 1950).
107. Jensen became Scandinavia's leading syndicalist spokesman before the war, writing for the Danish *Solidarit* and the Norwegian *Storm* (Young Socialists) and *Direkte Aktion*. He also edited *Direkte Aktion* for a time. For a brief biography, see the anthology edited by Evert Arvidsson, *Syndikalisten Albert Jensen* (Stockholm: Federativs Förlag, 1977). The Swedish Young Socialists, like the members of the German FVdG earlier, were also influenced by R. Friedeberg's brochure on the general strike, published in Sweden in 1907. See Persson, *Syndikalismen i Sverige 1903-1922*, p. 45.
108. Quoted in Sassenbach, p.17. On the development of the ISNTUC, see, in addition to Sassenbach, Lewis Lorwin, *Labor and Internationalism*, ch. 4; Price, ch. 1; Bernard Georges and Denise Tintant, *Léon Jouhaux: cinquante ans de syndicalisme*, vol. 1: *Des origines à 1921* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962), ch. 4; Maximiano Garcia Venero, *Historia de las internacionales en España*, vol. 1: *1868-1914* (Madrid: Ediciones del Movimiento, 1956), 421-4, 432-8, 453-4.
109. *L'Humanité*, 1 Sept. 1909.
110. At the 1911 Budapest conference the CGT proposed a change in this rule. The French delegates supported the bid of the Industrial Workers of the World for entry into the ISNTUC, which not much earlier had admitted the American Federation of Labor as the representative of the United States. The CGT maintained both should be admitted, but the conference decided to retain the AFL and bar the IWW. See Paul Brissenden, *The I.W.W.: A Study of American Syndicalism*, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University, 1920), pp. 273-5.
111. *L'Humanité*, 1 Sept. 1909.
112. *De Arbeid*, 27 Nov. 1909.

Chapter Two

1. Mann: *Syndicalist and Amalgamation News* (hereafter, *SAN*), Dec. 1912; Bowman: *SAN*, Feb. 1913; van Erkel: *Bulletin International du Mouvement Syndicaliste* (hereafter, *Bulletin*), 16 Feb. 1913.
2. *Die Einigkeit* (Germany), 22 Feb. 1913; *Wohlfahrt für Alle* (Austria), 26 Feb. 1913; *Solidarit* (Denmark), 1 Mar. 1913; *Syndikalisten* (Sweden), 1 Mar. 1913; *L'Internazionale* (Italy), 1 Mar. 1913; *Tierra y Libertad* (Spain), 24 Feb. 1913. In the United States both the Industrial Workers of the World and the Syndicalist League of North America welcomed the congress proposal. William Z. Foster's SLNA identified with the CGT and advocated revolutionizing existing unions rather than the dual unionism of the IWW, with which Foster had broken in 1912. On Foster and the SLNA, see Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, vol. 4, *The Industrial Workers of the World, 1905-1917* (New York: International Publishers, 1965), 415-30. Foster, promoting the congress, hoped the SLNA would be represented. *Syndicalist* (Chicago), 1 Feb. 1913. But the SLNA was short-lived, the *Syndicalist* itself disappearing in September 1913. The IWW's *Industrial Worker* (Spokane, Washington) identified syndicalism above all with craft unionism, which it contrasted with the IWW's industrialism (9 Jan. 1913). "In international affiliations," it continued, "the I.W.W. is more closely allied with the revolutionary syndicalist than any other body. . . . Still it is well to understand from the outset that the I.W.W. represents a higher type of revolutionary labor organization than that proposed by the syndicalists." Noting the congress proposal, the *Industrial*

- Worker*, 3 Apr. 1913, should be the formation of a union of industrialists of all nations at the official IWW convention in September 1913.
3. *Bulletin*, 16 Feb. 1913.
4. Merrheim to Merrheim (1964) et le mouvement syndical: general debate on the formation of a *Corporatif (X de la Vie Ouvrière)* schism, however, were not.
5. Robert: *La Vie Ouvrière*, *du Bâtiment*, May 1913; *Arbeid*, 27 Nov. 1909.
6. 20 Dec. 1909, pp. 3-5. The IWW just entered the ISNTUC International.
7. Reporting on the formation of the CGT, *XVIII Congrès du travail ou union des travailleurs* (1907-1914), p. 1. The CGT apparently claim on the calculations and the University of Wisconsin in 1910, others in 1911. The federation achieved in 1910, and Michael S. DeLia of the Reformist Party. The 1910-11 crisis of the railway strike devastated the normal. See Hans Spuhler, *Die Revolutionären und Humblot*, 1975.
8. The crisis of the 1-2. On the role of the changing structure of *Merrheim: The Emergence of the IWW*, Boston and London, 1964, pp. 3-30.
9. *L'Humanité*, 4 Sept. 1909.
10. *La Vie Ouvrière*, 1909.
11. *Die Einigkeit*, 1913. Wolter (mistakenly cited as Wolter).
12. Bowman: *SAN*, Dec. 1912. Bowman had attended the League of Nations fraternal delegate conference (*SAN*), Dec. 1912. D. endorsed. At that time neither the CGT nor the IWW had been endorsed. *VO*, 25 Sept. 1913, p. 13.
13. *Bulletin*, 8 Dec. 1913.
14. *VO*, 5 Apr. 1913, pp. 377-8.
15. *Die Einigkeit*, 1913.
16. *Bulletin*, 15 Jun. 1913.

2. *Norsk sosialisme* (Oslo: V.S., 1974), pp. 81-88; Forlag, 1947), pp. 1-10; *Ouvrières*, 1958), pp. 1-10; *en Norvège* (Paris: 1958).

3. Copenhagen: Gyl-

4. *Sindikalismen i Sverige* (Stockholm: Licentiatav- ning, 1935); Bergkvist, *Sveriges* (Stockholm: Förlag, 1935).

5. *Med SAC i 40-årig*

6. *Sindikalismen: En kronika*

7. During the war, writing *and Direkte Aktion*. The anthology edited by Berntsen (Stockholm: Förlag, 1977). See also earlier, were also published in Sweden in

8. For C.T.C., see, in addition to *Praxis*, ch. 1; Bernard *Sindikalisme*, vol. 1: *Des* (Madrid: Ediciones

9. See in this rule. The *World* for entry into *Federation of Labor* should be admitted, see Paul Brissenden, *Columbia University*,

10. Dec. 1912; Bowman: *Sindikaliste* (hereafter,

11. *Bulletin*, 26 Feb. 1913;

12. *L'Internationale*

13. The United States both

14. In America welcomed

15. The CGT and advocated

16. the IWW, with which

17. S. Foner. *History of*

18. *Workers of the World*,

19. promoting the

20. *Bulletin*, 1 Feb. 1913. But

21. September 1913. The

22. *Bulletin* above all with

23. *Bulletin*, 9 Jan. 1913). "In

24. *Bulletin* allied with the

25. to understand from

26. labor organization

27. *Bulletin*, the *Industrial*

Worker, 3 Apr. 1913, recommended the congress, adding: "Let its most important work be the formation of a connecting link between the revolutionary syndicalists and industrialists of all countries." It dismissed the ISNTUC as a farce, but observed that the official IWW position on the London congress would have to await its annual convention in September.

3. *Bulletin*, 16 Feb. 1913.

4. Merrheim to Monatte, 7 Oct. 1908. Quoted in Christian Gras, *Alfred Rosmer (1877-1964) et le mouvement révolutionnaire international* (Paris: Maspéro, 1971), p. 85. The general debate on the international question can be followed in *XVIIe Congrès National Corporatif (X de la C.G.T.)* (Marseille: CGT, 1909), pp. 60-79, 153-66. Intimations of schism, however, were avoided on the congress floor.

5. Robert: *La Voix du Peuple*, 26 Sept.-3 Oct. 1909; construction workers: *Le Travailleur du Bâtiment*, May 1909 (see also *Les Temps Nouveaux*, 23 July 1910); the Dutch: *De Arbeid*, 27 Nov. 1909. The French sought to dissuade the Dutch. In *La Vie Ouvrière*, 20 Dec. 1909, pp. 336-8, Monatte argued unenthusiastically that the AFL, which had just entered the ISNTUC, could induce the Germans to transform it into a genuine workers' International.

6. Reporting on the ISNTUC conference at Budapest in 1911, the Confederal Committee expressly declared the CGT's mission to be to transform the Secretariat from within. CGT, *XVIIIe Congrès national corporatif (XII de la C.G.T.) et 5 conférence des bourses du travail ou unions de syndicats tenus au Havre du 16 au 23 septembre 1912: compte rendu des travaux* (Le Havre: Imprimerie de l'Union, n.d.), p. 13.

7. Reliable conclusions about the CGT's membership are not possible, but it could apparently claim over 500,000 members in 1910, but only around 300,000 in 1913. See the calculations and comments in William Edgar McMechan, "The Building Trades of France, 1907-1914: An Exploration of Revolutionary Syndicalism" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1975), p. 915. The membership of some federations had peaked in 1910, others in 1911, but by 1912 most were declining, notably the radical building trades and metalworkers' federations. In contrast the long reform-minded textile workers' federation achieved its highest pre-war membership in 1913-14. See McMechan, *ibid.*, and Michael S. DeLucia, "The Remaking of French Syndicalism, 1911-1918: The Growth of the Reformist Philosophy" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 1971), pp. 10-24. The 1910-11 crisis point of the CGT is symbolized and reinforced by the dramatic defeat of the railway strike in the autumn of 1910, which not only violently factionalized and devastated the normally reformist railway workers' union, but demoralized the wider CGT. See Hans Spuhler, *Der Generalstreik der Eisenbahner in Frankreich von 1910: Das Scheitern des Revolutionären Syndikalismus und die repressive Politik Briands* (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1975), especially ch. 10.

8. The crisis of the CGT and the divisions within it are discussed in DeLucia, chs. 1-2. On the role of *La Vie Ouvrière* and Alphonse Merrheim in the crisis, and in assessing the changing structure of French capitalism, see in addition Nicholas Papayanis, *Alphonse Merrheim: The Emergence of Reformism in Revolutionary Syndicalism, 1871-1925* (Dordrecht, Boston and Lancaster: Martinus Nijhoff, 1985), part 2; Christian Gras, "Merrheim et le capitalisme," *Le Mouvement Social*, no. 63 (April-June 1968), pp. 143-63; and Jean Bouvier, "Mouvement ouvrier et conjonctures économiques," *ibid.*, no. 48 (July-Sept. 1964) pp. 3-30.

9. *L'Humanité*, 4 Mar. 1913.

10. *La Vie Ouvrière* (hereafter, *VO*), 4 Mar. 1913.

11. *Die Einigkeit*, 5 Apr. 1913; Cornelissen in *Bulletin*, 9 Mar. 1913; De Ambris and Wolter (mistakenly called Walter) in *VO*, 5 Apr. 1913, pp. 404-6.

12. Bowman: *SAN*, Mar.-Apr. 1913; Mann: *VO*, 5 Apr. 1913, pp. 434-5. Alfred Rosmer had attended the London ISEL conference on behalf of *La Bataille Syndicaliste* and as a fraternal delegate of the CGT and he and Léon Jouhaux attended the Manchester conference (*SAN*, Dec. 1912). At these conferences the congress proposal had first been endorsed. At that time their French visitors apparently informed Mann and Bowman that neither the CGT nor its member federations could be represented at such a congress. *VO*, 25 Sept. 1913, p. 267.

13. *Bulletin*, 8 Dec. 1912; 9 Mar. 1913. See also 6 Apr. 1913.

14. *VO*, 5 Apr. 1913, pp. 406-7. See also Monatte's earlier remarks. *Ibid.*, 20 Mar. 1913, pp. 377-8.

15. *Die Einigkeit*, 5 Apr. 1913; *SAN*, Mar.-Apr. 1913; Cornelissen: *Bulletin*, 6 Apr. 1913.

16. *Bulletin*, 15 June 1913.

17. Max Nettlau, Unpublished Manuscript, 1895-1914, III B, p. 605, Nettlau Archive, Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam.
18. The anarchist Varlaam Cherkezov, who lived in London, offered a thumbnail sketch of Bowman during this period: "Bowman, half-English, half-French, quite an 'esprit boulevardier,' a despotic man, wanted the entire movement for himself and kept in his hands. He quarreled with the young syndicalists, scorned them, and stood alone." From a conversation with Nettlau, *ibid.* The rift among the British syndicalists eventually led to a schism, with Bowman retaining control of an increasingly sectarian and strident rump ISEL, now devoted to dual unionism, and Mann becoming identified with the new League of Industrial Democracy. The strategical differences between the later ISEL and the League are discussed in Holton, pp. 139-47, though Holton says nothing about the personal quarrels in which Bowman so largely figured.
19. Cornelissen, Jensen and Bowman in *Bulletin*, 15 June, 27 July, and 3 Aug. 1913, respectively.
20. *La Bataille Syndicaliste*, 30 Aug. 1913. Two weeks before Jouhaux's comments appeared, the IWW's *Solidarity* (Cleveland, Ohio), published an article entitled "What Game is Jouhaux Playing?," in which André Tridon suggested that the French government had left Jouhaux undisturbed, when it arrested other CGT officials in relation to antimilitarist demonstrations, because of his opposition to the London congress. *VO*, 20 Sept. 1913, pp. 331-2, responded angrily to Tridon's article. Although *VO* did not mention it, Tridon erred in claiming that Jouhaux did not receive the attention of the authorities in relation to the campaign against the three-year military service law. In March 1913 he was arrested and held for ten days. See *La Voix du Peuple*, 30 Mar.-6 Apr. 1913; Georges and Tintant, 1:122.
21. *Bulletin*, 7 Sept. 1913.
22. *VO*, 5 Sept. 1913, pp. 263-5.
23. *Ibid.*, 5 Apr. 1913, p. 407.
24. *Ibid.*, 5 Sept. 1913, pp. 266-7.
25. *Ibid.*, 20 Sept. 1913, p. 370.
26. *Ibid.*, 5 Sept. 1913, pp. 269-70.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 268, 273.
28. Cornelissen, *Bulletin*, 21 Sept. 1913.
29. *VO*, 20 Sept. 1913, pp. 367-70.
30. Christiaan Cornelissen, "Strijd, lief en leed," p. 442. Additional information on the congress and the controversy surrounding it can be found in Wayne Westergard-Thorpe, "Towards a Syndicalist International: The 1913 London Congress," *International Review of Social History*, XXIII (1978), 33-78.
31. According to Cherkezov. Nettlau MS, p. 605.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Cornelissen, "Strijd, lief en leed," pp. 442-3.
34. *Der Pionier*, 15 Oct. 1913. In the same article Karl Roche, a German delegate, wrote that in London Cornelissen "built a fire under comrade Bowman's feet. That was a difficult task."
35. No official report of the congress was prepared and no documents, except the tentative delegates list and the provisional agenda (Tanner Papers), appear to have survived. Consequently, reports and/or discussions published by participants must be relied upon. Those I have located include the reports of a number of official delegates in various journals: in Argentina by Bernardo in *La Protesta*, 29 Oct., 5-8 Nov. 1913; in Spain by Negre in *Solidaridad Obrera*, 9, 16 Oct. 1913, but see also 20 Nov. 1913; in Italy by De Ambris in *L'Internazionale*, 11 Oct. 1913; in France by Duque in *Les Temps Nouveaux*, 13 Oct. 1913; in The Netherlands by Lausink jr. and van Erkel in *De Arbeid*, 4, 8, 11, 15 Oct. 1913 and by Markmann in *De Nederlandsche Zeeman*, 1, 15 Dec. 1913; in Germany in *Die Einigkeit*, 11, 18 Oct. 1913 and in *Der Pionier*, 15 Oct. 1913 by Roche; in Sweden in *Syndikalisten*, 11, 18 Oct. 1913 and in the special Christmas issue [hereafter, juunummer], but see also 8 Nov. 1913, in Denmark in *Solidaritet*, 11, 18 Oct. 1913, but see also 25 Oct. 1913, and in Norway in *Direkte Aktion*, 11, 25 Oct. 1913 by Jensen; and in Britain by Bowman in *SAN*, Dec. 1913. The NAS also discussed the congress in its annual report, *Jaarverslagen van het Nationaal Arbeids-Secretariaat in Nederland over de Jaren 1911, 1912 en 1913* (n.p., n.d. [1914?]), pp. 136-43. Other participants or observers also reported or commented on the congress: in Spain, Tarrida del Marmol in *Tierra y Libertad*, 15 Oct. 1913; and in France, Cherkezov in *Les Temps Nouveaux*, 18 Oct. 1913, Rosmer in *VO*, 20 Oct. 1913, pp. 449-60, and Cornelissen (C. Rupert) in *La Bataille Syndicaliste*,

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38. *Ibid.*
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- 27, 30 Sept., 1, 3, 5 Oct. 1913; and the latter in the *Bulletin*, 12 Oct. 1913, but see also 19 Oct. and 2 Nov. 1913. There were other reports by interested but non-participating groups, as in the Austrian *Wohlfahrt für Alle*, 29 Oct. 1913. There is also the British press in general, but while the major newspapers reported the congress, their coverage is neither particularly informative nor reliable. The *Daily Herald*, 29-30 Sept., 1-3 Oct. 1913, provided the fullest British coverage, but even this is scanty and sometimes erroneous.
36. *New Statesman*, 11 Oct. 1913.
37. *Daily Herald*, 1 Oct. 1913.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Solidaridad*, 4 Oct. 1913.
40. The British delegation: Jack Tanner and Albert Crook, Hammersmith Engineers; A. Butcher, Bermondsey branch of the National Union of Railwaymen; E. Howell, Bristol Operative Bricklayers; A. Jones, Forest Gate Shop Assistants; Frank Lemaire, London Society of Compositors; E. Garnier, London Cooks; J.V. Wills and S. Edwards, the Bermondsey and Leicester Trades Councils, respectively.
41. *La Protesta*, 8 Nov. and 29 Oct. 1913.
42. *Wohlfahrt für Alle*, 8 Oct. 1913.
43. It had been anticipated (delegates list, Tanner Papers, Nuffield College, Oxford) that Augustin Wroblewski would represent the Polish Revolutionary Trade Union Group. But shortly before the congress, *Les Temps Nouveaux*, 20 Sept. 1913, advised its Polish readers that Dr. Wroblewski had recently been "interned as mad," and urged them to disregard the fliers circulated by Wroblewski - "a man who has ceased to be responsible for his acts" - characterizing a number of the most reliable and active members of the Polish movement as police spies and *agents provocateurs*.
44. *Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam, août 1907*, p. 15. The Italian delegate, Silvio Corio, had also attended the Anarchist Congress, while Fritz Kater attended the concurrent meetings on revolutionary syndicalism privately organized in Amsterdam, as did Cornelissen. *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 111.
45. A bitterly contested struggle between centralizers and decentralizers dominated the IWW conference (see, n. 2, above) when it met in September. See Brissenden, pp. 305-18. There were no objections to IWW representation in the London congress, but some objection to Swasey as a delegate. *Stenographic Report of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, Chicago, Illinois, September 15th to September 29th 1913* (Cleveland: IWW, n.d.), pp. 13-4. Industrial Workers of the World Archives, Box 2-1. Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University, Detroit. No decision was taken on IWW representation in London: Swasey therefore attended in an unofficial capacity.
46. Rosmer estimated that 220,000 workers were represented (*I/O*, 20 Oct. 1913, p. 153), the Dutch 250,000 (*Jaarverslagen NAS, 1911-1913*, p. 137), while Schapiro later claimed over a quarter-million (*La Protesta*, 24 Aug. 1925). None of these sources break down their estimates, but of European organizations in 1913 the USI had around 100,000 members, the NAS around 9,100, the FVdG around 6,000, the SAC 3,700, the Belgian organization represented by Demoulin nearly 1,000, the Danish FS 500-600. How many the Spanish represented is unclear, but Negre's claim personally to represent 60,000 (*De Arbeid*, 15 Oct. 1913) is certainly optimistic.
47. *Manchester Guardian*, 30 Sept. 1913. Interviewed by the *Daily Mirror*, 1 Oct. 1913. Liliyan declared syndicalism to be "anarchy organised. We are out to overthrow the present system of society. . . . We realise that the social revolution will involve bloodshed. We do not shrink from it." Vallina briefly recalled the congress in *Mis Memorias* (Caracas: Tierra y Libertad, 1968), p. 153, as did Jensen in "Memoatfragment," Jensen Archive, Arbetsarrörelsens Arkiv, Stockholm.
48. *Evening News*, 26 Sept. 1913; *Manchester Guardian*, 21 Sept. 1913; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 27 Sept. 1913; *Daily Mirror*, 1 Oct. 1913.
49. An annotated version of the "Provisional Agenda" (Tanner Papers) appears in Wayne Westergård-Thorpe, ed., "The Provisional Agenda of the International Syndicalist Congress, London 1913," *International Review of Social History* 36 (1981):92-103.
50. The financial question revolved around responsibility for reimbursing the Dutch the £20 advanced to Bowman for congress preparations. A review committee reported in closed session that Bowman had submitted no receipts for expenses and that no conclusion could be reached concerning the deficit. No decision was made in this tumultuous session, though the British delegation entered a vigorous protest against Bowman. Bernardo observed in *La Protesta*, 6 Nov. 1913, that the session had made evident

Bowman's "very bad conduct." *Die Einigkeit*, 18 Oct. 1913, was marginally more charitable: "It is here expressly emphasized that material dishonesty may not be credited to Bowman. In financial matters people like Bowman are harmlessly cut off from the world. They spend money so long as there is some, and when it is gone they trust in providence and let the creditors do as they please."

51. On the Dutch-German attitude to the USI: Rosmer to Monatte, jeudi soir [2 Oct.], Monatte Archives, Institut français d'histoire sociale, Paris; on De Ambris-Kater and Rossoni: Rosmer to Monatte, mercredi matin [1 Oct.], Monatte Archive; Windhoff: *VO*, 20 Oct. 1913, p. 451; on Roche: *Daily Herald*, 1 Oct. 1913; on Cornelissen: Rosmer in *VO*, 20 Oct. 1913, p. 451.

52. Rosmer's claim, *VO*, 20 Oct. 1913, pp. 450-1, that from the beginning two inalterable groups formed opposing blocs on all issues of the congress is a gross exaggeration. The *Daily Herald*, 1 Oct. 1913, also noted the Bowman-Cornelissen split, which corresponded broadly to national differences, and attributed the slow progress of the congress to the "strong individualism of the delegates." Divisions within the congress are also discussed in Nettlau MS, p. 605.

53. *Daily Herald*, 1 Oct. 1913.

54. *La Bataille Syndicaliste*, 1 Oct. 1913.

55. *VO*, 20 Oct. 1913, p. 454. The fullest accounts of the presidency dispute are to be found in *ibid.*, *Solidaridad Obrera*, 16 Oct. 1913, and *Syndikalisten*, 18 Oct. 1913. In defending himself, Wills declared: "I am not surprised that a protest against my election is raised today. Bowman has provoked it. For there is a serious dispute between the English comrades and Bowman. And before you leave London I want you to know that I have the confidence of my comrades whereas Bowman no longer has it, and that if the congress does not succeed as fully as it should, he is responsible." *VO*, 20 Oct. 1913, p. 451.

56. Although in France the *Charte d'Amiens* guaranteed individual members of the CGT complete liberty to engage in political action, union officials were discouraged from doing so. The incongruous situation nevertheless arose wherein members of the CGT's Confederal Committee actually sat as socialists in the Chamber of Deputies. Only in 1911 were the CGT statutes altered to prevent the candidature of officials. See Ridley, p. 89.

57. *Daily Herald*, 1 Oct. 1913.

58. *Manchester Guardian*, 1 Oct. 1913. The national reports are most fully discussed in *De Arbeid*, 4, 8, 11 Oct. 1913, but see also *La Protesta*, 29 Oct., 5 Nov. 1913, and *Solidaridad Obrera*, 16 Oct. 1913.

59. *De Arbeid*, 11 Oct. 1913. Rosmer, who certainly did not share Knockaert's views, commended his eloquent oration and noted that the Germans were delighted with it. "Knockaert est leur homme." Letter to Monatte, 2 Oct. 1913. According to *Les Temps Nouveaux*, 18 Oct. 1913, the organization in Lille represented by Knockaert had been expelled for its revolutionary tendency from the national textile federation, a markedly reformist body within the CGT.

60. *Daily Herald*, 2 Oct. 1913; see also *Syndikalisten*, 18 Oct. 1913.

61. De Ambris was for the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 27 Sept. 1913, the assembly's "most conspicuous figure," for the *Manchester Guardian*, 30 Sept. 1913, its "commanding figure." *The Daily Herald*, 1 Oct. 1913, also found De Ambris impressive, but regarded Cornelissen and Bowman as the "two dominating personalities" of the congress.

62. Cornelissen and Wesseling: *De Arbeid*, 8 Oct. 1913; Bernardo: *La Protesta*, 5 Nov. 1913; Jensen: *Syndikalisten*, 18 Oct. 1913; Cherkov, though not a delegate, contributed to convincing the French and others to withdraw their support from De Ambris on this issue. Nettlau MS, pp. 605-6.

63. *SAN*, Dec. 1913. The declaration of principles is reproduced in Appendix B. It obviously derived from an agenda submission from the Dutch building-trades federation, published before the congress in *De Arbeid*, 3 Sept. 1913. See Westergard-Thorpe, "Provisional Agenda," pp. 95n, 102-3. Tanner opened the final day of the congress by emphasizing that the declaration specifically precluded all political action, contrary to a misconception in the London press. *Morning Advertiser*, 3 Oct. 1913. He was obviously correcting the *Daily Chronicle's* confused claim, 2 Oct. 1913, that the declaration "was worthy of note because it admitted the trade union view of the importance of political action" (prompting Jensen later to quip: "Political-parliamentary syndicalism! That is the latest sensational news!" *Syndikalisten*, 18 Oct. 1913).

64. *L'Action Ouvrière*, 1 Sept. 1913.

65. Westergard-Thorpe, "Provisional Agenda," p. 98.

66. The best sources on the discussion on international organization are *De Arbeid*,

15 Oct. 1913; *Les Temps Nouveaux*, 15 Oct. 1913; and *La Protesta*, 7 Nov. 1913. *La Bataille Syndicaliste* illustrates the effect of its militants. While the CGT's policy, though in 1913 he opposed it. 68. Bernardo: *La Protesta*, 5 Nov. 1913; *Syndikalisten*, 18 Oct. 1913. 69. De Ambris had not until his experiences. But his proposal was to Monatte, 2 Oct. 1913. 70. *SAN*, Dec. 1913. 71. De Ambris had in the day Rosmer had had "a bottle of" Cornelissen and Kater of syndicalism." Letter 72. The resolution was accepted unanimously nineteen votes against 73. *Der Pionier*, 15 Oct. 1913. 74. In Britain, see also, in partial contrast 75. *Justice*, 11 Oct. 1913; *Deutschlands*, 25 Oct. 1913; *L'Internationale*, 11 Oct. 1913. 76. Rosmer to Monatte, 2 Oct. 1913. 77. *VO*, 20 Oct. 1913. In the ISNTUC the International attended the conference the London congress the CGT in the IFP because the Berlin that would be to counterweight. Our it can only penetrate does not correspond that our CGT was 78. *Syndikalisten*, 18 Oct. 1913. 79. Cornelissen: Bernardo's candidacy naturally exiled De Ambris as would permit him to around the syndical newspaper, *L'Internationale* (1913). Many foreign example, Jensen in following his election supported. 80. *Die Einigkeit*, Dec. 1913; Sjöström 81. Bernardo: *Les Temps Nouveaux*, 15 Oct. 1913. 82. Jensen: *Syndikalisten*, 18 Oct. 1913; FVdG: *Die Einigkeit*, 18 Oct. 1913. 83. Cornelissen: 84. The first issue after war broke out

- 15 Oct. 1913; *Les Temps Nouveau* (Duque), 18 Oct. 1913; *Syndikalisten*, 18 Oct. 1913; and *La Protesta*, 7 Nov. 1913.
67. *La Bataille Syndicaliste*, 5 Oct. 1913; *La Protesta*, 7 Nov. 1913. The case of Couture illustrates the effect the crisis in the CGT had upon the international views of some of its militants. While in May 1909 in *Le Travailleur du Bâtiment* he proposed, against the CGT's policy, the formation of an independent International for revolutionary unions, in 1913 he opposed it as jeopardizing the unity of the French organization.
68. Bernardo: *La Protesta*, 7 Nov. 1913; on Jensen: *Daily Herald*, 1 Oct. 1913; Kater: *Syndikalisten*, 18 Oct. 1913.
69. De Ambris had originally intended to suggest London as the seat of the Bureau until his experiences in England revealed the deep divisions between the British syndicalists. But his proposal to entrust it to Michelet's *Fédération* in Paris amazed Rosmer. Letter to Monatte, 2 Oct. 1913.
70. *SAN*, Dec. 1913; *VO*, 20 Oct. 1913, p. 457.
71. De Ambris had been unhappy with the voting procedures from the beginning. Later in the day Rosmer encountered De Ambris, who following his withdrawal from the congress had had "a bottle of wine all to himself. He is very happy. . . . But he is furious with Cornelissen and Kater! He wishes them dead for the peace of the world and the progress of syndicalism." Letter to Monatte, 2 Oct. 1913.
72. The resolution is produced in full in *Die Einigkeit*, 11 Oct. 1913. Its ten sections were accepted unanimously except that assigning the Bureau to Amsterdam, which secured nineteen votes against ten for Paris.
73. *Der Pionier*, 15 Oct. 1913.
74. In Britain, see, for example, the conservative *Morning Post*, 3 Oct. 1913. But see also, in partial contrast, the *New Statesman*, 4 Oct. 1913.
75. *Justice*, 11 Oct. 1913; *Correspondenzblatt der Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands*, 25 Oct. 1913, p. 658; De Ambris, quoted in *VO*, 20 Oct. 1913, p. 460, from *L'Internazionale*, 11 Oct. 1913.
76. Rosmer to Monatte, 2 Oct. 1913.
77. *VO*, 20 Oct. 1913, pp. 449, 458-9. Its Zurich conference in September 1913 rechristened the ISNTUC the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU). Georges Dumoulin attended the conference on behalf of the CGT. In his report, Dumoulin did not mention the London congress, but alluded to it, as well as to the domestic pressures that kept the CGT in the IFTU: "To despair, to go elsewhere, to compromise our national unity because the Berlin Secretariat is reformist! That would be gravely to deceive ourselves, that would be to take the wrong road and leave ideas that are not ours without counterweight. Our revolutionary syndicalism cannot diminish itself in this International, it can only penetrate the others. . . . Fully declaring that the International Secretariat does not correspond to our ideas, I returned from Switzerland with the strong impression that our CGT was where it belonged [in the IFTU]." *Voix du Peuple*, 5-12 Oct. 1913.
78. *Syndikalisten*, Julnummer 1913.
79. Cornelissen: *Bulletin*, 12 Oct., 2 Nov. 1913; *La Protesta*, 8 Nov. 1913. De Ambris's candidacy naturally caused considerable disquiet within syndicalist circles in Italy. The exiled De Ambris argued that he sought election only because the immunity of a deputy would permit him to return to Italy and that he remained anti-parliamentary. The workers around the syndicalist stronghold of Parma supported him despite the fact that the USI's newspaper, *L'Internazionale*, repudiated syndicalist candidacy for any purpose (25 Oct. 1913). Many foreign syndicalists also considered De Ambris's strategy faulty. See, for example, Jensen in *Syndikalisten*, Julnummer 1913. De Ambris never attended parliament following his election, except for the day Italy declared war in 1915, which by then he supported.
80. *Die Einigkeit*, 18 Oct. 1913; Negre: *Solidaridad Obrera*, 9 Oct. 1913; Bowman: *SAN*, Dec. 1913; Sjöström: *Syndikalisten*, 8 Nov. 1913.
81. Bernardo: *La Protesta*, 5 Nov. 1913; Negre: *Solidaridad Obrera*, 16 Oct. 1913; Duque: *Les Temps Nouveaux*, 18 Oct. 1913; Jensen: *Syndikalisten*, 18 Oct. 1913.
82. Jensen: *Syndikalisten*, 18 Oct. 1913; Negre, *Solidaridad Obrera*, 16 Oct. 1913; the FvDG: *Die Einigkeit*, 18 Oct. 1913.
83. Cornelissen, "Strijd, lief en leed," p. 439.
84. The first issue bore the date 1-5 April 1914. A final issue, dated 1 Jan. 1915, appeared after war broke out and attributed the disappearance of the *Bulletin* to wartime conditions.

Chapter Three

1. *Freedom*, Oct. 1914.
2. On Kropotkin and the war generally, see Martin A. Miller, *Kropotkin* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), pp. 220-32.
3. *Freedom*, Nov. 1914.
4. See for example Cornelissen's *Les Conséquences Economiques d'une paix allemande* (n.p.: n.p., n.d.) and *Les Dessous Economiques de la guerre; les appétits allemands et les devoirs de l'Europe occidentale* (Paris and Nancy: Berger-Levrault, n.d. [1915]). Cornelissen opposed any settlement short of military victory, otherwise Germany "would retain all its military power, all its brutal force, its unscrupulous audacity, its arrogance would increase, and its commercial and industrial brigandage would continue all the worse." *Les Conséquences Economiques*, p. 16. Cornelissen categorically rejected the charge of patriotism, insisting that "even for those who call themselves 'internationalists' in the most absolute sense of the word, there is a sacred duty: that of defending everything that the revolutions of the past have brought to western Europe in matters of civic rights" from German militarism and imperialism, *Les Dessous Economiques*, p. 54. The ultimate solution Cornelissen advocated against future aggression in Europe would gain a more sympathetic and wider hearing immediately after the Second World War: a "United States of Europe." *Ibid.*, pp. 59-66.
5. See, for example, Cornelissen's articles in *La Bataille*, 25 July 1917 and 21 Feb. 1918, and in *La Clairière*, May 1918.
6. The best source on Schapiro is an introduction by Jaap Kloosterman, Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam, to a yet unpublished collection of Schapiro's articles in the 1920's and 1930's. I am indebted to Mr. Kloosterman for providing me with a copy of his work.
7. The papers prepared for the aborted congress were published in *El Congreso revolucionario internacional de Paris. Septiembre de 1900*, (Buenos Aires: Librería Sociologica, 1902).
8. On the activities of the Jubilee Street Club, see especially William J. Fishman, *East End Jewish Radicals, 1875-1914* (London: Duckworth, 1975), ch. 10; on the work of the International Bureau see Peter Wienand, *Der "geborene" Rebell; Rudolf Rocker, Leben und Werk* (Berlin: Karin Kramer, 1981), pp. 218-9. Schapiro edited thirteen issues of the *Bulletin de l'Internationale Anarchiste* between 1908 and 1910.
9. Quoted in Kloosterman, p. 5.
10. *Die Einigkeit*, 11 Oct. 1913; Rosmer to Monatte, [1 Oct. 1913], Monatte Archives.
11. See the congress announcement in *Freedom*, July 1914.
12. *Ibid.*, Mar. 1915.
13. Kloosterman, p. 7.
14. *La Bataille*, Feb. 1916. There were only fifteen signatories.
15. On the schism in the USI, see Charles Bertrand, "Italian Revolutionary Syndicalism and the Crisis of Intervention: August - December, 1911," *Canadian Journal of History* 10 (Dec. 1975):349-67; Orietta Lupo, "I sindacalisti rivoluzionari nel 1911," *Revista storica del socialismo* 10 (1967), no. 32:43-82.
16. *Bulletin*, Jan., 1915.
17. NAS, *Jaarverslagen NAS, 1911-1913*, p. 144.
18. Jan Erik Burger, *Linkse frontvorming: samenwerking van revolutionaire socialisten, 1914-1918* (Amsterdam: Van Gemep, 1983), p. 27. Cornelissen briefly discusses his efforts in Holland in *Les Dessous Economiques*, pp. 53-8.
19. *De Arbeid*, 26 Sept., 10 Oct. 1914.
20. Dated December 1916, the circular appeared in *ibid.*, 20 Jan. 1917. The Germans had also been intent on continuing the international work begun at London, to which they had given some attention at the 11th FVdG congress (May 1914). But both *Die Einigkeit* and *Der Pionier* were suppressed in August 1914. The FVdG then began publishing a weekly *Mitteilungsblatt*, itself suppressed after forty-three numbers. The syndicalists, particularly Kater, persisted with *Rundschreiben an die Vorstände und Mitglieder aller der Freien Vereinigung deutscher Gewerkschaften angeschlossenen Vereine*, which began appearing in June 1915. It reproduced the NAS circular on 1 Feb. 1917; in May, after forty-seven issues, it was also suppressed.
21. NAS (Lansink and Lansink) to the SAC, 23 Nov. 1918. Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganisation Archive, Serie EXIII, "Korrespondens med Internationale Arbeiter-Assoziation." I, 1918-1930. This collection, in the Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv, Stockholm, is cited hereafter as SAC Archive, EXIII-I.

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22. The meeting is reported in *Der Syndikalist*, 4 Jan. 1919, which Kater founded after the war and which became the official organ of the FvDG.
23. *Ibid.*, 22 Feb., 22 Mar. 1919; "Internationaler Revolutionär-Syndicalistischer Kongress," 10 May 1919, SAC Archive, EXIII-I.
24. In addition to those of Scandinavia and The Netherlands, syndicalist organizations in Germany, Belgium, Spain, Italy and Argentina planned to participate in the congress. On support for the assembly and the difficulties in organizing it, see: NAS and SAC correspondence, 24 June to 20 Nov. 1919. SAC Archive, EXIII-I. See also Diego Abad de Santillan, "La Asociación Internacional de los Trabajadores: su historia, sus ideas, su porvenir," *La Revista Internacional Anarquista* 1 (15 Jan. 1925):63.
25. The NAS urged its fellow syndicalist organizations to participate in a revolutionary capacity in this meeting. NAS to the SAC, 24 June 1919, SAC Archive, EXIII-I. The representatives of the NAS and Kater of the FvDG (revolutionaries from other nations were often denied passports) were unable to convince the assembly to delay the adoption of the new IFTU's rules or to make provision for the membership of minority revolutionary organizations. The Dutch and German syndicalists formally condemned the nationalism they encountered in the assembly and the delegates' propensity to sidestep such serious issues as the attitude to be taken toward the Treaty of Versailles, which they saw as threatening future peace, or the measures necessary to defend the revolutions in Russia and Hungary. See "Bericht über den Internationalen Gewerkschaftskongress abgehalten im 'Concertgebouw' Amsterdam von 28. Juli bis 2. August 1919," *Die Internationale Gewerkschaftsbewegung: Organ der Internationalen Gewerkschaftsbundes*, Anhang II, July 1921, pp. 29, 54-5.
26. Cornelissen, "Les 'Pseudo'-Révolutionnaires," *La Bataille*, 25 July 1917; "La Capitulation de Lénine-Trotsky," *ibid.*, 21 Feb. 1918; Marcel Laurent, "La Résurrection de Kerensky," *La Clairière*, 1 Aug. 1918; Dumas, "Allons-nous vers le bolchevisme?," *ibid.*, 1 May 1919.
27. Quoted in Comitato Parmenese, ed., *Un sindacalista mazziniano: Alceste De Ambris* (Milan: Associazione Mazziniana Italiana, n.d.), pp. 23-4.
28. Armando Borghi, *L'Italia tra due Crispi* (Paris: Libreria Internazionale, n.d.), p. 91.
29. Augustin Souchy, "Vorsicht: Anarchist!" *Ein Leben für die Freiheit: Politische Erinnerungen* (Darmstadt and Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1978), p. 33.
30. Raymond Lefebvre, *L'Internationale des soviets*, Collection "Vie Ouvrière" no. 2 (Paris: Vie Ouvrière, 1919), p. 10. On early information on the Russian experience available in France, see Claude Willard, "La Connaissance de la révolution russe et de l'expérience soviétique par le mouvement ouvrier français en 1918-1919," *Cahiers d'histoire de l'Institut Maurice Thorez*, no. 12-13 (1975), pp. 318-30.
31. V.I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution," *Collected Works* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964) 25:402, 406, 468, 436.
32. Alfred Rosmer, *Moscou sous Lénine: les origines du communisme* (Paris: Horay, 1953), p. 71.
33. *España Libre*, 6 Nov. 1960.
34. The chief work informing my discussion of the Russian syndicalist movement is Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists*, chs. 5-7. Two participants left valuable accounts: G.P. Maximoff, *The Guillotine at Work: Twenty Years of Terror in Russia (Data and Documents)* (Chicago: Chicago Section of the Alexander Berkman Fund, 1940), and Voline [V.M. Eikhenbaum], *La Révolution Inconnue, 1917-1921: documentation inédite sur la révolution russe* (Paris: Belfond, 1969).
35. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution," *Collected Works* 24:22-3.
36. Quoted in N.N. Sukhanov, *The Russian Revolution, 1917* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 287.
37. Lenin, however, qualified each of these declarations made in the spring of 1917. The transfer of the land to the peasants he viewed as a temporary expedient; the land itself was to be nationalized in a form to be determined by a Constituent Assembly. Similarly, he noted in *Pravda* that attempts to coordinate the Bolsheviks and the syndicalists had followed from his declarations on workers' control, but he denied that he would accept, for example, the transfer of the railways to the railwaymen. See Harold Goldberg, "The Anarchists View the Bolshevik Regime, 1918-1922" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1973), pp. 34-6. But the Bolshevik slogans that appeared to have been borrowed from the anarchists had much greater currency than the qualifications appended to them.
2. *Kropotkin* (Chicago: ...)
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38. Maximoff, p. 345.
39. Voline, p. 243.
40. Quoted in Avrigh, p. 140.
41. Voline's assessment appeared in a series of four articles in October 1917. See Goldberg, pp. 41-3. In the issue of 20 October the Union for Anarcho-Syndicalist Propaganda asserted that since its interpretation of the phrase 'All power to the Soviets' differed from that of the Bolsheviks; since it did not accept a revolution that began by seizing power; since it rejected political action of the masses under the control of a political party, it assessed "the present movement *negatively*." The Union nevertheless declared that it would support any revolutionary action of a mass character, "seeking to communicate to it *our* meaning, *our* idea, *our* truth." Quoted in Voline, p. 193.
42. Bonnell, pp. 452-3.
43. See S.A. Smith, *Red Petrograd: Revolution in the Factories, 1917-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 153-5.
44. Rex A. Wade, *Red Guards and Workers' Militias in the Russian Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981), pp. 124, 182.
45. Quoted in Smith, p. 220.
46. See Avrigh, pp. 166-9; Smith, pp. 220-1; "Résolutions du groupe anarcho-sindicaliste au I congrès pan-russe des syndicats (7-14 janvier 1918)," in Alexandre Skirda, ed., *Les Anarchistes dans la révolution russe* (Paris: Edition Tête de Feuilles, 1973), pp. 91-3. The syndicalists were so loosely organized that it is difficult to assess their strength. Maximoff (p. 366) estimated the number of organized anarcho-sindicalist workers at 88,000 at the time of the congress, but added that this figure "may safely be increased two or three times in order to form an adequate idea of the actual sweep of the movement." Avrigh (p. 167n) writes: "The unions in which the Anarcho-Syndicalists had a significant influence were the bakers, the river transport, dock and shipyard workers, the Donets miners, the food-industry workers, the postal and telegraphy workers, and, to a lesser degree, the metal and textile workers and the railwaymen." At any rate, even in the factory committee movement that they found so congenial the syndicalists remained a minority. See Smith, pp. 142-5, 156-7.
47. On *Golos Truda's* opposition to a peace with Germany, see Voline, pp. 213-4. *Golos Truda* advocated a national assembly of labour in lieu of the Constituent Assembly. *Ibid.*, pp. 209-10.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 246n.
49. "Résolutions de la Ire conférence des anarcho-sindicalistes réunie à Moscou (25 août-1 septembre 1918)," in Skirda, pp. 95-8.
50. See Avrigh, pp. 191-4. Maximoff (p. 353) wrote that "the great masses of people were rapidly assimilating Anarcho-Syndicalist slogans of an economic as well as a political nature. Thus, for instance, the slogan of 'The Third Revolution' and 'Free Soviets', brought forth by . . . the newspaper 'Voluy Golos Truda' rapidly gained the sympathy of the working people. They actually became the general demand of the revolutionary masses, as witnessed by the Kronstadt rebellion." Maximoff's general position *vis-à-vis* Bolshevism is discussed in Anthony D'Agostino, *Marxism and the Russian Anarchists* (San Francisco: Germinal Press, 1977), ch. 5.
51. "Résolution sur la situation économique de la Russie, adoptée à la IIe conférence des anarcho-sindicalistes, réunie à Moscou (25 novembre - 1re décembre 1918)," in Skirda, p. 99.
52. See Georges Haupt, "Lenin i bolscevichi e la seconda internazionale," *Revista storica del socialismo* 9, no. 29 (Sept.-Dec. 1966):3-30; see also the documentary history, *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International, Documents: 1907-1916, The Preparatory Years*, ed. John Riddell (New York: Monad Press, 1984), chs. 1-2.
53. G. Zinovieff, *Nicolai Lenin: His Life and Works* (London: British Socialist Party, n.d. [1918?]), p. 33.
54. See Agnes Blänsdorf, *Die Zweite Internationale und der Krieg: Die Diskussion über die internationale Zusammenarbeit der sozialistischen Parteien 1914-1917* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1979), ch. 3.
55. On circumstances surrounding the formation of the Comintern, see Hulse, ch. 1, and Branko Lazitch and Milorad Drachkovitch, *Lenin and the Comintern* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1972), vol. 1.
56. Jane Degras, ed., *The Communist International, 1919-1943: Documents* (cited hereafter as *CI Documents*) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), 1:2-3.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 5.
59. *CI Documents*.
60. Dirk Schlipf.
61. E. Pataud, n.d. [1909].
62. Quoted in *Der Prozess des Bolschewiki 1917*.
63. See Bar, pp. 3.
64. *Confédération de la Comedia*, pp. 341-2, 345-6.
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 3.
66. *Ibid.*, pp. 3.
67. *Ibid.*, pp. 3.
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 3.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
70. Bertrand, early reception.
71. *Ibid.*, pp. 2.
72. Borghi, *Italia*.
73. *Guerra di*.
74. Borghi, *M*.
196. The congr.
75. "Les Comm.
- 1.
76. On the CD.
77. Quoted in
78. Monatte to Siegfried Bahns (1923) (Dordrecht 1923).
79. *La Vie ou*.
80. On the ea.
- Maurice Labi.
- 1921) (Paris: *E*.
- communisme tr*.
81. Monatte to *les archives de F*.
- Chambelland a
82. See Perso
83. SAC to the
84. The confe
85. See, for ex *Arbeiter und A*.
- Dietz, 1984), pp.
86. On the tr
- Freya Eisner, *L*.
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87. *Die Intern*.
- 5-6 (1919), p. 5.
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- also Vogel, ch.
88. On the U
89. Rucker, *A*.
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- History* 8 (July
90. Rucker la
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91. Rucker, *A*.
92. *Ibid.*, pp.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7; Hulse, pp. 17-20; Lazitch and Drachkovitch, pp. 58-65, 77-8.
59. *CI Documents*, 1:14, 20, 14, 23, 28, 38, 23.
60. Dirk Schilp, *Dromen van de revolutie* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1967), p. 100.
61. E. Pataud and E. Pouget, *Comment nous ferons la révolution* (Paris: Tallandier, n.d.[1909]).
62. Quoted in Dieter Marc Schneider, *Revolutionärer Syndikalismus und Bolchewismus: Der Prozess der ideologischen Auseinandersetzung französischer Syndikalisten mit den Bolschewiki 1914-1922* (Erlangen: Palm and Enke, 1974), p. 130.
63. See Bar, pp. 436-51ff, and Meaker, pp. 99-108, 122-5ff.
64. Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, *Memoria del Congreso celebrado en el Teatro de la Comedia de Madrid, los días 10 al 18 Diciembre de 1919* (Barcelona: CNT, 1932), pp. 341-2, 345-6.
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 347, 350-2.
66. *Ibid.*, pp. 357, 359-60.
67. *Ibid.*, pp. 362-3.
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 363, 365.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 373.
70. Bertrand, "Revolutionary Syndicalism in Italy," pp. 214-5. Bertrand discusses the early reception of the Bolshevik Revolution in Italy in chs. 7-8.
71. *Ibid.*, pp. 249-50.
72. Borghi, *Italia tra due Crispi*, pp. 106-7.
73. *Guerra di classe*, 28 June 1919.
74. Borghi, *Mezzo secolo di anarchia* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1954), p. 196. The congress is reported in *Guerra di classe*, 7 Jan. 1920.
75. "Les Communautés Agraires en Russie," *La Revue du Travail* 1 (15 Nov. 1919):120-1.
76. On the CDS during the war see Schneider, pp. 100-6.
77. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 119.
78. Monatte to Jules Humbert-Droz, 3 Oct. 1919. *Archives de Jules Humbert-Droz*, ed. Siegfried Bahne, vol. 1, *Origines et débuts des partis communistes des pays latins (1919-1923)* (Dordrecht: D. Reidel, 1970), 6.
79. *La Vie Ouvrière*, 2 July 1919.
80. On the early post-war period in France, see especially Schneider, chs. 6-7; see also Maurice Labi, *La Grande Division des travailleurs: première scission de la CGT (1914-1921)* (Paris: Editions Ouvrières, 1964), pp. 113-41; Annie Kriegel, *Aux origines de communisme français*, 2 vols. (Paris: Mouton, 1964), 1:282-323.
81. Monatte to Trotsky, 13 Mar. 1920. *Syndicalisme révolutionnaire et communisme: les archives de Pierre Monatte (1914-1924)*, (cited hereafter as *Archives Monatte*), ed. Colette Chambelland and Jean Maitron. (Paris: François Maspero, 1968), p. 267.
82. See Persson, *Syndikalismen i Sverige 1903-1922*, ch. 7.
83. SAC to the NAS, 22 July 1919, SAC Archive, EXIII-I.
84. The conference is reported in *Der Syndikalist*, 4 Jan. 1919.
85. See, for example, Heinrich August Winkler, *Von der Revolution zur Stabilisierung: Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung in der Weimarer Republik 1918 bis 1924* (Berlin and Bonn: Dietz, 1984), pp. 159-84.
86. On the trade union policies of the communists in the early post-war period see Freya Eisner, *Das Verhältnis der KPD zu den Gewerkschaften in der Weimarer Republik* (Köln and Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1979), chs. 3-4.
87. *Die Internationale, eine Wochenschrift zur Praxis und Theorie der Marxismus*, no. 5-6 (1919), p. 6. The KPD(S) followed up by publishing a pamphlet on *Syndikalismus und Kommunismus* (Berlin: KPD (S), 1919) in which F. Brandt attacked the former and defended the party, the dictatorship of the proletariat and industrial centralization. See also Vogel, ch. 2; Bock, chs. 4, 6.
88. On the USPD conference: Wienand, p. 285; Kater: *Der Syndikalist*, no. 42 (1919).
89. Rocker, *Aus den Memoiren*, pp. 18-26. See also the sympathetic biography of Rocker by Peter Wienand, *Der "geborene" Rebell*. There is in English a very brief treatment by Margaret Vallance, "Rudolf Rocker - a Biographical Sketch," *Journal of Contemporary History* 8 (July 1973):73-95.
90. Rocker later produced the first biography of Most, *Johann Most: Das Leben eines Rebellen* (Berlin: Der Syndikalist, 1924).
91. Rocker, *Aus den Memoiren*, pp. 67-8.
92. *Ibid.*, pp. 171-7.

93. Fishman, p. 241.
94. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 254.
95. *Freedom*, Oct, 1907.
96. Wienand, p. 227.
97. Rocker later discussed his experiences in internment in *Hinter Stacheldraht und Gitter* (Berlin: Der Syndikalist, 1925).
98. Quoted in Wienand, p. 253.
99. Rudolf Rocker to Milly Witkop, 11 April, 4 July 1917. Rocker Archive, Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam.
100. *Ibid.*, 8 Aug., 1917.
101. *Ibid.*, 18 Aug. 1917.
102. *Ibid.*, 19 Nov. 1917, 1 Jan. 1918.
103. *Ibid.*, 31 Jan., 3 Feb., 1918. On the willingness of the Bolshevik government to receive the Rockers, Rudolf wrote, "I am thankful to Lenin and Trotzky for this noble attitude" (31 Jan. 1918), adding later that Lenin and Trotsky did not know the Rockers personally (10 Feb. 1918), though there is evidence that Lenin from time to time visited the Jubilee Street Club in London. See, for example, Fishman, p. 264. The later Soviet Foreign Minister, Chicherin, certainly frequented the Club.
104. *Die Rote Gewerkschafts-Internationale*, 15 Jan. 1921.
105. Rocker, *Aus den Memoiren*, p. 287.
106. Rudolf Rocker to Milly Witkop, 1 Aug. 1918. Rocker Archive.
107. Rocker, *Aus den Memoiren*, pp. 287-8.
108. Rudolf Rocker, *Die Prinzipienklärung des Syndikalismus, Referat des Genossen Rudolf Rocker auf dem 12. Syndikalisten-Kongress* (Berlin: Der Syndikalist, 1920), pp. 13, 18.
109. *Der Syndikalist*, no. 1 (1920).

Chapter Four

1. It has been cogently argued that the first effort to impose the Bolshevik model of democratic centralism - and the centralization, discipline and organizational subordination to the party that accompanied it - outside Russia came not in its application to the CI in 1920, as often claimed, but earlier in the Communist Youth International. A struggle had already begun within the Youth International in 1919 between those who, regarding the communist youth as the true vanguard of the revolution, defended the autonomy of the youth organizations and their International, and those - led by the CI Executive and the *Komsomol*, or Russian Communist Youth League - who insisted upon subordination of the youth groups to the national communist parties and collectively to the CI. See Richard Cornell, *Revolutionary Vanguard: The Early Years of the Communist Youth International, 1914-1924* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 1982).
2. Robert H. McNeal, gen. ed., *Resolutions and Decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, vol. 2, *The Early Soviet Period*, ed. Richard Gregor (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), pp. 88, 84, 86.
3. *CI Documents*, 1:15, 13.
4. *La Vie Ouvrière*, 10 Sept. 1919.
5. From fifteen million in 1913 to forty-five million in 1920. Lewis Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement* (New York: Harper, 1953), pp. 61-2.
6. V.I. Lenin, "'Left-Wing Communism': An Infantile Disorder," *Collected Works* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1966), 31:17-118.
7. Quoted in Albert Resis, "Comintern Policy Toward the World Trade-Union Movement," in J.S. Curtiss, ed., *Essays in Russian and Soviet History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), p. 252.
8. *Communist International*, no. 11-12 (June-July 1920), pp. 2133-4.
9. *CI Documents*, 1:109, 103-4.
10. *The Second Congress of the Communist International: Proceedings of Petrograd Session of July 17th and of Moscow Sessions of July 19th-August 7th, 1920* (Moscow: Communist International, 1920) (hereafter, *Second CI Congress*), lists the delegates (pp. 590-1). The list, however, is not complete for it overlooks, for example, the Spaniard Wilkens, and John Clarke of Britain.
11. Wilkens: *Le Libéraire*, 21-28 Jan. 1921; Lepetit: *ibid.*, 7-14 Jan. 1921.
12. Emma Goldman, *Living My Life*, 2 vols. (New York: Knopf, 1931), 2:799-800.

13. Victor Serge, *On Peasants* (London: Panther, 1951), p. 117. On Pestaña, see *ibid.*, pp. 5-77; Angel Mañá (1978); and Xavier Tena, *Terrorismo en Barcelona* (Barcelona: La Llibertat, 1978).
14. Lera, p. 29.
15. Poor health was not the only reason, although he was a proponent of libertarian communism, which no records exist for (Germany and Russia) elsewhere the revolution de Llano, p. 17.
16. Serge, p. 117.
17. On the Blau, see *ibid.* of Gustav Landauer and B. Maurer. *Call to the People* (Wayne State University Press, 1964).
18. Souchy, *Leben und Tod* (Stockholm: Axel Högström, 1964).
19. For an appraisal of the *Philosophy of the Workers* (Stockholm: Axel Högström, 1964), pp. 25-8.
20. *Diktatur och Demokrati* (Stockholm: Axel Högström, 1964).
21. *CI Documents*, 1:15, 13.
22. The document *Compte-rendu de la Confédération Nationale des Tercera Internaciona* (Stockholm: Axel Högström, 1964), pp. 25-8.
23. Pestaña, *Memoirs* (Stockholm: Axel Högström, 1964).
24. Pestaña, *Memoirs* (Stockholm: Axel Högström, 1964).
25. Pestaña, *Memoirs* (Stockholm: Axel Högström, 1964).
26. *Compte-rendu de la Confédération Nationale des Tercera Internaciona* (Stockholm: Axel Högström, 1964).
27. Pestaña, *Memoirs* (Stockholm: Axel Högström, 1964).
28. *CI Documents*, 1:15, 13.
29. *Second CI Congress*, pp. 590-1.
30. Rosmer, p. 103-4.
31. *Second CI Congress*, pp. 590-1.
32. Pestaña, *Memoirs* (Stockholm: Axel Högström, 1964).
33. Rosmer, p. 103-4.
34. Pestaña, *Memoirs* (Stockholm: Axel Högström, 1964).
35. Rosmer, pp. 103-4.
36. *Second CI Congress*, pp. 103-5.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 76-7.
38. *CI Documents*, 1:15, 13.
39. *Second CI Congress*, pp. 590-1. The early mass action outside the party "participates in the revolutionary process" (Miller, *Das Problem der Revolution* (1964), p. 96. As late as the Reichstag, in 1919, Carl Schorske. *Germany and the SPD* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 103. But the SPD soon

13. Victor Serge, *Mémoires d'un révolutionnaire, 1901-1941* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1951), p. 117. On Pestaña, see his autobiographical account, "Lo que aprendi en la vida," in Pestaña, *Trayectoria sindicalista* (Madrid: Tebas, 1974), p. 94. On Pestaña, in addition to these memoirs originally published in 1933, see Antonio Elorza's "Prologue," *ibid.*, pp. 5-77; Angel Maria de Lera, *Angel Pestaña: retrato de un anarquista* (Barcelona: Argos, 1978); and Xavier Tusell and Genoveva Garcia Queipo de Llano, "Prologue," in Pestaña, *Terrorismo en Barcelona (memorias inéditas)* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1979), pp. 9-43.
14. Lera, p. 29.
15. Poor health prevented Pestaña from playing a larger role in the CNT's 1919 congress, although he was a sponsor of the resolution committing the organization to the goal of libertarian communism. CNT, *Memoria del congreso*, p. 373. In secret sessions of which no records were kept he was one of a few selected to travel to European nations (Germany and Russia in Pestaña's case) to help coordinate internationally with unions elsewhere the revolutionary actions that the *cenetista* leaders anticipated. Tusell and Queipo de Llano, p. 17.
16. Serge, p. 117.
17. On the *Bund*, see Eugene Lund, *Prophet of Community: The Romantic Socialism of Gustav Landauer* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 190-200; Charles B. Maurer, *Call to Revolution: The Mystical Anarchism of Gustav Landauer* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1971), ch. 5.
18. Souchy, *Leben*, p. 17.
19. For an appreciation of Souchy's book - *Gustav Landauer: Revolutions Filosof* (Stockholm: Axel Holmstroems, 1920) - see Ruth Link-Salinger Hyman, *Gustav Landauer: Philosopher of Utopia* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1977), pp. 104-11.
20. *Diktatur och Socialism* (Stockholm: Axel Holmstroems, 1918).
21. *CI Documents*, 1:90.
22. The document is reproduced in *Compte-rendu du Conseil International des Syndicats Rouges pour la période de 15 juillet 1920-à 1-er juillet 1921* (Moscow, 1921) (hereafter *Compte-rendu du CISR*), pp. 20-2, and in Angel Pestaña, *Memoria que al comité de la Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo presenta, de su gestion en el II Congreso de la Tercera Internacional, el delegado Angel Pestaña* (Madrid: Nueva Senda, n.d. [1921]), pp. 25-8.
23. Pestaña, *Memoria*, pp. 28-30; *CI Documents*, 1:185.
24. Pestaña, *Memoria*, pp. 30-2, 36-7. See also Rosmer, p. 61. Pestaña (p. 37n) described the failure to make the agreed change as Lozovskii's "unpardonable treachery."
25. Pestaña, *Memoria*, p. 33; *Compte-rendu du CISR*, p. 17.
26. *Compte-rendu du CISR*, p. 18.
27. Pestaña, *Memoria*, pp. 38, 34-6ff.
28. *CI Documents*, 1:129-30.
29. *Second CI Congress*, pp. 63-5, 70. See also *CI Documents*, 1:127.
30. Rosmer, p. 101.
31. *Second CI Congress*, p. 63.
32. Pestaña, *Memoria*, p. 53.
33. Rosmer, p. 102.
34. Pestaña, *Memoria*, pp. 53-4.
35. Rosmer, pp. 103.
36. *Second CI Congress*, pp. 74-5 (see also Zinoviev's remarks, p. 86, and Rosmer, pp. 103-5).
37. *Ibid.*, p. 76-7.
38. *CI Documents*, 1:154.
39. *Second CI Congress*, pp. 286-7, 296-7. Souchy was justified in claiming that there was nothing innovative about the 'new revolutionary parliamentarism' espoused by the Bolsheviks. The early German social democrats, similarly committed to revolution through mass action outside parliament, also defended parliamentary participation for its agitational value. Their 1874 congress, with only three opposing votes, declared that the party "participates in elections to parliament and through its representatives in parliamentary procedures essentially only for purposes of agitation." Quoted in Suzanne Miller, *Das Problem der Freiheit im Sozialismus* (Frankfurt: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1964), p. 96. As late as the 1890's the SPD still pursued a policy of "pure opposition" in the Reichstag, utilizing it "more as a platform of agitation than a legislative organ." Carl Schorske, *German Social Democracy, 1905-1917* (New York: Harper, 1972), p. 7. But the SPD soon succumbed to the practices and rituals of parliamentary politics. The

syndicalists saw nothing in communist parliamentary dogma, despite its rhetoric, to prevent communist parties from ultimately following the same course.

40. *CI Documents*, 1:126-7.

41. Pestaña, *Memoria*, p. 66. Before the congress convened Radek had urged the CI Executive to bar syndicalist delegates. Rosmer, p. 117.

42. Rosmer, p. 108.

43. *Second CI Congress*, p. 317.

44. Degras, 1:166.

45. *Second CI Congress*, p. 373; see also Pestaña, *Memoria*, pp. 67-8.

46. Quoted in *CI Documents*, 1:167, in which the twenty-one points are reproduced (pp. 168-72).

47. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

48. Clarke, *Worker*, 18 Sept. 1920; Pestaña, *Memoria*, p. 67.

49. Pestaña, *Memoria*, pp. 69-72. Earlier Pestaña (p. 41) had declared to Lozovskii that a trade union meeting held in Russia would be of little value since "the excessive influence of the Russian Communist Party would be as prejudicial to the conference as is the manzanilla tree to him who sleeps in its shade."

50. *Compte-rendu du CISR*, p. 109. This document was almost identical to that initially presented in the pre-congress session of the CI Executive, *Ibid.*, pp. 20-2.

51. Serge, p. 117.

52. Borghi, *Mezzo secolo*, p. 234.

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 242-3.

54. Pestaña, *Memoria*, pp. 72-6.

55. The Bolsheviks apparently resorted to some duplicity to secure Pestaña's signature on the Provisional Bureau's plan of propaganda, which put the Bureau to be established in each country under the control and direction of the national communist party. Not surprisingly, Pestaña warned the Bolsheviks that there were limits to his good faith. See Pestaña, *Memoria*, pp. 77-81; Pestaña, *Consideraciones y juicios acerca de la Tercera Internacional* (1922; rpt., Madrid: Editorial XYZ, 1968), pp. 27-9. Borghi, *Mezzo secolo*, p. 244. Borghi also discussed his experiences in Russia and this episode in *Guerra di classe*, 15 Oct. 1921. Souchy also declined to sign the proposed documents.

56. See Emma Goldman, *My Disillusionment in Russia* (London: Daniel, 1925), p. 85.

57. Maximoff, p. 140.

58. Kropotkin's message appeared in the *Labour Leader*, 22 July 1920. Kropotkin discussed with Souchy the need to re-establish communal councils in Russia. George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, *The Anarchist Prince: A Biographical Study of Peter Kropotkin* (London: Boardman, 1950), pp. 418-9. Souchy, *Leben*, pp. 46-9. Souchy regarded his visit with Kropotkin to be the highlight of his six months in Russia. Becch of the IWW and Tanner also called upon Kropotkin. *Solidarity*, July 1920. In *Mezzo secolo*, pp. 240-1, Borghi reported a visit he and Pestaña made to Dimitrov and Kropotkin's declaration of support for the domestic syndicalists against those anarchists who were supporting the Bolsheviks. See also Pestaña, *Setenta dias en Rusia: lo que yo vi* (Barcelona: Cosmos, n.d. [1924]), pp. 193-200. Kropotkin professed his support for syndicalism to Emma Goldman. See *Living My Life*, 2:864. In *My Disillusionment in Russia* (p. 100) Goldman wrote that Kropotkin "had come to think that syndicalism was likely to furnish what Russia most lacked: the channel through which the industrial and economic reconstruction of the country may flow. He referred to Anarcho-Syndicalism. That and the co-operatives would save other countries some of the blunders and suffering Russia was going through." In May 1920 Kropotkin declared: "I believe the syndicalist movement... will emerge as the great force in the course of the next fifty years, leading to the creation of the communist stateless society." Quoted in Avrigh, p. 227.

59. Some delegates of the Shop Stewards' Movement radically altered their views in Moscow, a transformation in which the direct influence of Lenin frequently played an important role. Gallacher recalled the experience in *Revolt on the Clyde* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1936), ch. 11, and in *The Rolling of the Thunder* (London: John Lane, 1941), chs. 8-10. The Executive of the Shop Stewards' movement decided upon provisional affiliation with the RILU Council in September 1920. *Solidarity* (London), Oct. 1920. When Murphy returned to England in December he bore with him the funds to found a British bureau of the RILU. Walter Kendall, *The Revolutionary Movement in Britain, 1900-1921* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), p. 262ff.

60. Souchy, *Leben*, pp. 41-4; Borghi, *Mezzo secolo*, pp. 235, 238-40; Wilkens in *Le Libertaire*, 11-18 Feb. 1921.

61. Quoted in

62. Pestaña, S

63. *Le Liberi*

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64. *Le Liberi*

65. Serge, p.

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67. *Der Synd*

68. *Bericht* n

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69. *Ibid.*, p.

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78. *Solidari*

79. *Der Syn*

61. Quoted in Lera, p. 155.
62. Pestaña, *Setenta días en Rusia*, pp. 201-12.
63. *Le Libertaire*, 12 Dec. 1920. See additional letters in *ibid.*, 22 Dec. 1920, 7-14 Jan. 1921, and *La Vie Ouvrière*, 3 Sept. 1920. The ambiguity of the attitude of Vergeat and Lepetit - and of Raymond Lefebvre, who vanished with them - and the mysterious circumstances of their disappearance generated considerable debate in France, discussed most fully in Kriegel, *Aux origines*, 2:767-87. The suggestion of the bourgeois press at the time, and even sometimes of libertarians, that the Bolsheviks either directly or indirectly had a hand in their disappearance is extremely implausible.
64. *Le Libertaire*, 7-14 Jan. 1921.
65. Serge, p. 117; Wilkens recorded his memories of Lepetit and Vergeat in *Le Libertaire*, 11-18 Feb. 1921. It's impossible to say whether despite their objections the two were prepared to support the CSR's affiliation with the Provisional Bureau of the RILU. Borghi's autobiography (*Mezzo secolo*, p. 245) states that Vergeat and Lepetit were the most intransigent of the foreign syndicalists in Moscow in 1920 in their opposition to the Bolsheviks. In her otherwise careful study of the case of Vergeat and Lepetit (above, note 67), Kriegel notes neither Wilkens's nor Borghi's testimony.
66. Borghi: *Guerra di classe*, 15 Oct. 1921; Pestaña: *Consideraciones y juicios*, p. 15.
67. *Der Syndikalist*, no. 51/52 (1920).
68. *Bericht über die Internationale Syndikalistische Konferenz gehalten zu Berlin vom 16 bis 20 Dezember 1920* (Amsterdam: NAS, n.d. [1921]), hereafter, *Bericht-1920*), p. 1.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 2; *I.A.A.: 10 Jahre internationaler Klassenkampf* (Berlin: Internationale Arbeiter-Assoziation, n.d. [1933]) (hereafter, *IAA: 10 Jahre*), p. 4. The CNT and the USI, not represented in Berlin, together represented at least another million workers.
70. The standard work on the factory occupation movement is Paolo Spriano, *L'occupazione della fabbrica, settembre 1920* (Turin: Einaudi, 1964), but see also Gwyn A. Williams, *Proletarian Order* (London: Pluto Press, 1975), chs. 9-10; Martin N. Clark, "Factory Councils and the Italian Labour Movement," (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1966), chs. 6-7; Martin Clark, *Antonio Gramsci and the Revolution that Failed* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977), chs. 8-9. For the role and attitude of the USI these works should be supplemented by Bertrand, "Revolutionary Syndicalism in Italy," ch. 10; and Borghi, *Italia tra due Crispi*, ch. 7, and *Mezzo secolo*, ch. 18.
71. Borghi, *Mezzo secolo*, p. 252.
72. *Bericht-1920*, p. 2.
73. Kriegel analyzes the strikes in great detail. *Aux origines*, 1:355-547. See also Adrian Jones, "The French Railway Strikes of January-May 1920: New Syndicalist Ideas and Emergent Communism," *French Historical Studies*, vol 12, no. 4 (Fall 1982):508-40.
74. See, in addition to Kriegel, Jean Charles, "Les Débuts de l'Internationale Syndicale Rouge et le mouvement ouvrier français (1920-1923)," part 1, *Cahiers d'Histoire de l'Institut Maurice Thorez*, 12(1978), nos. 25-26:161-99, part 2, 12(1978), no. 28:125-64, part 1, pp. 161-79; Schneider, ch. 7; Labi, pp. 141-89. For the perspective of one who had been a member of the minority during the war but had become a leading post-war opponent of it, see Peter Marshall Arum, "Georges Dumoulin: Biography of a Revolutionary Syndicalist, 1877-1923," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1971), ch. 6.
75. Pierre Monatte later (at the 1921 *minoritaire* congress at Lille) told Souchy that he had dispatched Victor Godonnèche and Jean Ceppe to Berlin specifically to prevent at any price the formation of a syndicalist International. *Bulletin International des syndicalistes révolutionnaires et industrialistes*, no. 1 (16 June 1922), p. 17. See also *Le Libertaire*, 29 July-5 Aug. 1921.
76. Delegates reported the conference in a number of newspapers, among them Souchy in *Der Syndikalist*, no. 51/52 (1920); Bouwman of the NAS in *De Arbeid*, 1 Jan. 1921; Tanner in *Solidarity*, 7 Jan. 1921; Barker of the FORA in *Worker*, 15 Jan. 1921; and Godonnèche of the CSR in *La Vie Ouvrière*, 14 Jan. 1921. Godonnèche argued that the Germans convened the meeting to found a separate International, but none of the reports of Souchy, Bouwman, Tanner, Barker (or Severin - reprinted in *Solidarity* (Chicago), beginning 26 Feb. 1921) confirms this claim. A German participant, moreover, maintains that the Germans had not at this time decided in favour of a separate International. Augustin Souchy to the author, 27 Feb. 1976.
77. *IAA: 10 Jahre*, p. 4; Rudolf Rocker, "Revolution und Rückfall in die Barberei," pp. 220-1, Rocker Archive, Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam.
78. *Solidarity* (Chicago), 26 Feb. 1921.
79. *Der Syndikalist*, no. 51/52 (1920).

80. *De Arbeid*, 1 Jan. 1921.
81. *La Vie Ouvrière*, 14 Jan. 1921.
82. Tanner afterward complained that Belinskii's attitude "was not at all helpful" and nearly destroyed the conference (*Solidarity* (London), 7 Jan. 1921), while Hardy noted that the conference nearly broke down at times because Belinskii insisted "upon calling the Germans inappropriate names whenever their attitude did not suit him" (*Solidarity* (Chicago), 22 Jan. 1921). Despite some sharp exchanges relative harmony prevailed until midway in the conference, however, when the meeting was thrown into disarray by a blistering attack upon Souchy launched by the Russian delegation, which had just been joined by one Grebelskaja. In the prolonged dispute Grebelskaja accused Souchy of bad faith, of playing a double game by having participated in Moscow in the work of the RILU Provisional Council, in the name of the German syndicalists the previous summer, as well as in the work of the Berlin conference. Souchy denied that he had misrepresented his authority in Moscow, insisting that his cooperation with the Bureau had been personal and provisional. The German delegation defended Souchy's actions in Moscow. *Solidarity* (London), 7 Jan. 1921; *Der Syndikalist*, no. 51/52 (1920); *Der Arbeid*, 1 Jan. 1921.
83. *Der Syndikalist*, no. 51/52 (1920).
84. The records of the NAS Executive meetings show that some within the organization had questioned whether Bouwman, a member of the Executive but also of the communist party, could faithfully represent the interests of the organization at the Berlin conference. Bestuurvergadering, 9 Dec. 1920, Nationaal Arbeids-Secretariaat Archive, Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam.
85. *De Arbeid*, 1 Jan. 1921.
86. *Der Syndikalist*, no. 51/52 (1920).
87. *La Vie Ouvrière*, 14 Jan. 1921.
88. The CSR declaration is reproduced in *ibid.*, and in *Bericht-1920*, pp. 4-5.
89. *De Arbeid*, 1 Jan. 1921.
90. *Ibid.*, but see especially *Der Syndikalist*, no. 51/52 (1920).
91. For the declaration of the NAS, see *Bericht-1920*, p. 3; for the committee's resolution, see *ibid.*, p. 7; for an account of the ensuing discussion, see *Der Syndikalist*, no. 51/52 (1920), but especially *De Arbeid*, 1 Jan. 1921.
92. The phrase Severin proposed was "der Macht der Arbeiterklasse." *Der Syndikalist*, no. 51/52 (1920). This was infelicitously translated as "the domination of the working class" in *Solidarity* (London), 7 Jan. 1921, and *Worker*, 15 Jan. 1921. But other interested parties rightly took 'Macht' to convey the meaning of 'power' or 'authority' (or possibly 'power and authority') rather than 'domination', as demonstrated by the rendering given it in Dutch ('macht', *De Arbeid*, 1 Jan. 1921), Italian ('potere', *Guerra di classe*, 22 Jan. 1921), and Spanish ('poder', *La Protesta*, 29 May 1921).
93. The Berlin Declaration is reproduced in Appendix C. It was unanimously accepted (Belinskii being a fraternal delegate only), except for Tanner who voted against two of its six points. One of his complaints was that the document did not sanction proletarian dictatorship, which the Shop Stewards had already endorsed. The second was that it did not call for the trade union International to act in cooperation with the CI. The assembly rejected an amendment from Tanner requiring organizations attending the RILU congress to accept its decisions as binding.
94. There was some disagreement following the conference regarding the actual mandate of the Bureau. The British Shop Stewards' Movement had already affiliated with the RILU Council, and *Solidarity* (London), 7 Jan. 1921, declared the Bureau to have been "appointed to act solely for information purposes." The official *Bericht* (p. 9), however, clearly states that the Bureau was also charged with seeking an understanding with the RILU Council ("sich mit dem Rat der Roten Gewerkschaft-Internationale in Moskau ins Einvernehmen zu setzen").
95. Bouwman: *De Arbeid*, 8 and 15 Jan. 1921; Belinskii, *Die Rote Gewerkschafts-Internationale*, no. 1 (15 Jan. 1921); Hardy, letter of 26 Dec. 1920 to the IWW, *Solidarity* (Chicago), 22 Jan. 1921; Souchy, *Der Syndikalist*, no. 51/52 (1920).
96. Their task was all the more difficult because some delegates were far more willing to accommodate themselves to Moscow than were the organizations they represented. Despite his position as General Secretary of the IWW, Hardy's views were rapidly undergoing a transformation that would carry him into the communist party. Immediately after the Berlin conference Belinskii invited Hardy and Barker to Russia. There Hardy assured Lenin that he believed in a disciplined party and would work for the communists upon his return to the USA. Hardy, *Those Stormy Years* (London: Lawrence and Wishart,

1956), pp. 133-7.
 His term of "violations of the *Solidarity*, 18 Mar. 1921." Saxon Section of the anarchist movement. Victor Godomir in Berlin. In the FORA and their organization (1922).
 97. Quoted in 1928 (New York Russian Congre

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1. *De Arbeid*.
2. Belinskii's *Gewerkschafts-Internationale* Konvulsionen de no. 5 (1921).
3. See Avrich.
4. Zvi Y. Git the CPSU, 1917.
5. Schectman, "So Aronson, Jacob Brunswick, Lon
6. Kloosterm
7. Goldberg
8. Kloosterm
9. Souchy, *U einer Studien*
10. Maximoff
11. Rosmer's Russian edition
12. "Résolution de l'alimentation
13. The circu
14. The IWW 1921: A. Kolon See also, for *the Revolution* Press, 1960), ch
15. *Resolutio*
16. *The Early Sov*
17. Quoted in of Toronto Pre
18. Lenin, C
19. Kolontay
20. Berkman
21. Instituut voor
22. Reproduc
23. Rosmer's
24. Reproduc
25. *Le Libert*

1956), pp. 133-7. Back in the USA he worked for the affiliation of the IWW to Moscow. His term of office expired in 1921. Early in 1922 his local union expelled Hardy for violations of the IWW's constitution and for working against the organization. *Industrial Solidarity*, 18 Mar. 1922. He then joined the communist party and worked for the Anglo-Saxon Section of the RILU in Europe. Given his background, "to help to overcome the anarchist and syndicalist prejudices widespread in the international trade union movement . . . was made my special task." Hardy, p. 164. Like Hardy, Tom Barker and Victor Godonnèche later found themselves at odds with the organizations they represented in Berlin. In the founding congress of the RILU in Moscow Barker again represented the FORA and Godonnèche the CSR, following which they were both disavowed by their organizations (Godonnèche: *L'Humanité*, 16 July 1921; Hardy, *La Protesta*, 4 July 1922).

97. Quoted in Jay B. Sorenson, *The Life and Death of Soviet Trade Unionism, 1917-1928* (New York: Atherton Press, 1959), p. 115. Lenin was speaking at the Second All-Russian Congress of Miners in January 1921.

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1. *De Arbeid*, 1 Jan. 1920; *Solidarity* (Chicago), 22 Jan. 1921.
2. Belinskii's article, "Die Konvulsionen des Syndikalismus," appeared in *Die Rote Gewerkschafts-Internationale*, no. 1 (15 Jan. 1921), itself published with *Der Kommunistische Gewerkschaftler*. His main target, the German syndicalists, replied in "Die Konvulsionen des Syndikalismus oder die Konfusionen des Herrn Belinski," *Der Syndikalist*, no. 5 (1921).
3. See Avrich, pp. 196ff; Goldberg, pp. 49ff.
4. Zvi Y. Gitelman, *Jewish Nationality and Soviet Politics: The Jewish Sections of the CPSU, 1917-1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), p. 121. See also Joseph Schectman, "Soviet Russia, Zionism, and Israel," in *Russian Jewry, 1917-1967*, ed. Gregor Aronson, Jacob Frumkin, Alexis Goldenweiser, Joseph Lewitan (New York, South Brunswick, London: Thomas Yoseloff, 1969), p. 408.
5. Kloosterman, p. 11.
6. Goldberg, p. 208.
7. Kloosterman, p. 11-2.
8. Souchy, *Wie lebt der Arbeiter und Bauer in Russland und in der Ukraine? Resultat einer Studienreise von April bis Oktober 1920* (Berlin: Der Syndikalist, 1921), pp. 23-4.
9. Maximoff, p. 362.
10. Rosmer recalled that a chief ambition of the syndicalists had been to publish a Russian edition of Pelloutier's *Histoire des Bourses du Travail*. Rosmer, p. 141.
11. "Résolutions du groupe anarcho-syndicaliste au IIe Congrès panrusse des Travailleurs de l'alimentation (17-25 mars 1920)," in Skirda, pp. 101-3.
12. The circular is reproduced in Maximoff, pp. 454-61.
13. The IWW translated her work, prepared for the Tenth Party Congress in March 1921: A. Kolontay, *The Workers Opposition in Russia* (Chicago: IWW, n.d.). See p. 6. See also, for example, Sorenson, ch. 6, and Robert Vincent Daniels, *The Conscience of the Revolution: Communist Opposition in Soviet Russia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), ch. 5.
14. *Resolutions and Decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, vol. 2, *The Early Soviet Period: 1917-1929*, Richard Gregor, ed., (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1974), p. 66.
15. Quoted in Daniels, p. 126.
16. Lenin, "The Party Crisis," *Collected Works* 32:50.
17. Quoted in Sorenson, pp. 114, 115.
18. Lenin, *Collected Works* 32:53.
19. Kolontay, p. 44.
20. Berkman, "Diary: Russia 1919-1921," (7 Mar. 1920), Berkman Archive, Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam.
21. Reproduced in Maximoff, pp. 446-9.
22. Rosmer, p. 142.
23. Maximoff, p. 442.
24. Reproduced in *ibid.*, pp. 449-53.
25. *Le Libertaire*, 7-14 and 21-28 Jan. 1921. See also Maximoff, pp. 445-6.

26. Avrich, p. 225.
27. The Kronstadt Provisional Revolutionary Committee, unaware that they were both already imprisoned, requested that Voline and Iarchuk be sent to Kronstadt to work with it. Goldberg, pp. 187-8.
28. Maximoff, p. 443. Rosmer presents a very different account of his dealings with the syndicalists. In *Moscou sous Lénine* Rosmer remarks (p. 23) that his memories of this period were "so precise and so certain" that he could only have made "tiny errors of detail." Yet his memory seems to have failed almost completely regarding his encounters with the Russian syndicalists, for he recalls only the initial meeting with Schapiro where it was agreed that the syndicalists draw up a statement for Rosmer to submit to the CI. There were no further meetings, he adds, since the syndicalists cancelled a subsequent appointment, and while Rosmer claims not to know why, he is willing to speculate: "There was a discussion and varying points of view and tendencies had collided; . . . finally, it was the most narrow-minded, the most quarrelsome and vindictive who had prevailed. The decision was stupid . . . their attitude deprived the Revolution of valuable cooperation on more grounds than one, but it was even more harmful to themselves" (pp. 142-3). Rosmer does not recall having met with the syndicalists at least three times after the original meeting, sometimes with Schapiro and/or the Dutch communist Jansen (Johan Proost) present. Nor does he remember twice insisting that the offending document be rewritten, nor that he submitted it to the CI Executive Committee, of which he and Jansen were members, nor that he later communicated with the syndicalists. These negotiations extended from the summer or autumn of 1920 to February 1921. This is a striking lapse by a "precise" and "certain" memory.
29. Circular, 20 Apr. 1921, SAC Archive, EXIII-I. In December 1920 in the Berlin conference, a German delegate, Polonsky, had proposed that the Soviet government's imprisonment of anarchists and syndicalists be added to a more general resolution protesting the persecution of revolutionaries. An infuriated Belinskii demanded that the specific names of such victims be produced, otherwise the amendment would be "a base slander of Russia." The resolution made no reference to Russia. *Solidarity* (Chicago), 26 Feb. 1921.
30. *Le Libertaire*, 20-27 May 1921.
31. Souchy, *Wie lebt der Arbeiter und Bauer in Russland und in der Ukraine?*
32. *Die Rote Gewerkschafts-Internationale*, 15 Jan. 1921.
33. *Der Syndicalist*, nos. 10 and 11 (1921).
34. *Ibid.*, no. 26 (1921). Fifty-four percent of the respondents - the majority of local organizations did not participate in the referendum - rejected participation. Of major European syndicalist organizations, then, only the FAUD expressly refused to send a delegation to the RILU congress. All the others were represented except the *Confederação Geral do Trabalho* of Portugal. As early as the summer of 1920 the CGT-P had explicitly disavowed any kind of cooperation with communist parties: the CGT-P "is revolutionary in its objectives and in its means." By decision of its national congress, it "refuses to collaborate with bourgeois organizations as well as with political parties, whatever their methods and goals may be." The CGT-P "refuses to acknowledge the communist party as a revolutionary organization that can be allowed the administration of production. It takes the view that the complete socialization of the land must be undertaken by the peasants, of the mines, factories, workshops, etc., by the workers. By no means can this goal be achieved by a political party, including the communist party" (quoted in *IAA: 10 Jahre*, p. 5). The CGT-P nevertheless dispatched a delegate to the RILU, but he arrived only after the congress had closed. See the letter from the CGT-P to the USI, 10 May 1922, in the *Bulletin International des Syndicalistes Révolutionnaires et Industrialistes* (hereafter, *BISRI*), no. 2-3 (Aug. 1922).
35. Algemeene bestuursvergadering, NAS, 16 Oct. 1920. Notulen van de bestuursvergadering 1920-1923, Nationaal Arbeids-Secretariaat Archive (hereafter, NAS Archive), Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam.
36. Bestuursvergadering, 9 Dec. 1920, NAS Archive. At the Berlin conference itself Bouwman expressed personal support for Belinskii's amendment stating that the proposed labour International, while organizationally independent, would consult and cooperate with the Third International, but Bouwman noted that as a NAS delegate he would not vote for it. *De Arbeid*, 1 Jan. 1921.
37. *De Arbeid*, 8 and 15 Jan. 1921.
38. Bestuursvergadering, 19 Feb. 1921, NAS Archive.
39. Dagelistiche bestuursvergadering, 25 Feb. 1921; Dagelistiche bestuursvergadering, 18

Mar, 1921; Bestuurs-
 40. Dagelistiche b
 41. *Compte-rendu*
 Mar, 1921, in which
 42. *Guerra di class*
 43. *Ibid.*, 13 and 14
 44. Reproduced in
 Comune, n.d. [1963]
 45. Rucker, *Aus*
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 46. On Leval, see
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 47. This is the co
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 48. *Lucha Social*
 49. Rosmer, p. 19
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- Mar. 1921; Bestuurvergadering, 8 Apr. 1921, *ibid.*
40. Dagelistiche bestuurvergadering, 18 Mar. 1921, *ibid.*
41. *Compte-rendu du CISR*, pp. 157-60; see also the preceding article in *Het Volk*, 21 Mar. 1921, in which Lansink explained his decision.
42. *Guerra di classe*, 25 Sept. 1920.
43. *Ibid.*, 13 and 17 Nov. 1920.
44. Reproduced in Armando Boghi, *La rivoluzione mancata* (Milan: Edizioni Azione Comune, n.d.[1964]), pp. 176-81.
45. Rucker, *Aus den Memoiren*, pp. 347-8. Gerald Meaker suggests that Pestaña may also have wished to avoid undermining the morale of the *cenetistas* at a time when they were desperately beleaguered, *The Revolutionary Left in Spain, 1914-1923* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), p. 313. In November Pestaña published his *Memoria*, and in March 1922 the second part of his report, *Consideraciones y juicios acerca de la Tercera Internacional*.
46. On Leval, see Xavier Paniagua, "La visio de Gaston Leval de la Russia Sovietica el 1921," *Publicat a Recerques*, no. 3 (1974), pp. 199-224.
47. This is the conclusion of Gerald Meaker; on the communist-syndicalist movement during this period, see Meaker, ch. 13. To mislead the police the *cenetistas* announced that the April meeting would be held in Lerida; they misled a long series of historians as well (including Meaker, pp. 392ff.). The meeting actually occurred in Barcelona. See, for example, Paniagua, p. 200; Bar, p. 615.
48. *Lucha Social*, 17 May 1922.
49. Rosmer, p. 192.
50. Godonnèche wrote (5 Feb. 1921) to Second Casteu of *Le Libertaire* to suggest that Wilkens was an agent of the Spanish police. Perhaps, Godonnèche added, *Le Libertaire* - "a little pressed in the passion of the polemic" - was utilizing suspect documentation by publishing a series of articles on Russia by Wilkens. *Le Libertaire*, 18-25 Feb. 1921. Wilkens had signed an article written in Russia as J. Galan. Casteu identified Wilkens only as G, perhaps because he was illegally in France. Hilario Arlandis later identified him as Aimé Salan. *La Vie Ouvrière*, 10 Feb. 1922.
51. Although even this was used against him. Still attempting to discredit Wilkens's testimony over a year after he initiated his series on Russia, *La Vie Ouvrière* published an article (10 Feb. 1922) in which Arlandis argued that in Russia Wilkens had originally been a "Bolshevik to his fingertips," but had completely altered his opinion in a matter of months and therefore could not be taken seriously. Reproducing an article Wilkens had written in Russia supporting the establishment of a communist party in Spain, Arlandis conjectured that Wilkens's careerist ambitions to play a leading role in such a party had not been supported by the Bolsheviks, and he had therefore turned against them. *Le Libertaire* (17-24 Feb. 1922) professed outrage that *La Vie Ouvrière* would calumniate a man who had been victimized by the government (Wilkens had just been deported to Belgium), observing that Wilkens had never concealed his original pro-Bolshevik sympathies.
52. Russian authorities reportedly told Wilkens he had been arrested for publicly criticizing the soviet system and seeking to discredit the Russian Communist Party. Wilkens charged that he had been denounced to the authorities by the Spanish communist delegate, Ramon Merino Gracia. *Le Libertaire*, 18-25 Feb. 1921.
53. *Le Libertaire*, 7-14, 21-28 Jan., 18-25 Feb. 1921; 17-24 Mar. 1922.
54. Wilkens's series, "Six mois en Russie," began in *Le Libertaire* on 14-21 Jan. 1921 and continued for about six months. It covered a wide range of topics, including visits to Lenin and Kropotkin, the Russian anarchists, the Red Army, the soviets, trade unionism, working and living conditions, the peasants, women, education, and so on. His series was a major part of what *La Vie Ouvrière* (10 Feb. 1922) denounced as his "violent campaign" against Bolshevik Russia, which had "aroused everyone's emotions." Significantly, his opponents attempted to discredit the man rather than debate his evidence. Even Arlandis, though he lamented that Wilkens's articles ignored the successes of the Bolshevik Revolution, grudgingly granted that, "certainly, a great many of the facts cited by Wilkens are objectively correct." *Ibid.*
55. Rosmer to Monatte, [July 1921], *Archives Monatte*, p. 301. In an earlier letter (p. 291), Rosmer, speaking of the same three, wrote that "they are full of themselves, of their 'doctrine' as they say, and are blind to any intelligent action."
56. On the *Pacte*, see Jean Maitron, 2:58-65.
57. Rosmer to Monatte, August 1921 (but misdated July - see Charles, part 1, p. 190n),

Archives Monatte, p. 301. "You have sent us quite a team!" an exasperated Rosmer wrote (*ibid.*, p. 291) of the CSR delegation as a whole to Monatte, who had remained in Paris. In charges remarkably similar to some of those made by the syndicalist against the majority delegates at the second CI congress in 1920, Godonnèche and others complained that the largest part of the French delegation, and that most critical of Bolshevik policies, acting like tourists at Moscow, paid insufficient attention to the proceedings of the congress. Ultimately even the Gaudeaux-Sirolle-Relenk union dissolved in hostility, with his former comrades accusing Relenk of abandoning the opposition in favour of self-promoting and mercenary approaches to the Bolshevik leaders, charges that the Bolsheviks neither confirmed nor denied. On the French delegation in Moscow, see the documents in *ibid.*, ch. 7, or the briefer survey in Charles, part 1, pp. 182-8. Its mandate (*ibid.*, p. 185n) required the CSR delegation to defend the complete independence of the RILU from the CI and the autonomy of the unions of each country, to oppose the reciprocal representation between the RILU and the CI contained in the RILU's proposed statutes, and to report the results of the congress, without endorsing them, to the CSR for internal union discussion.

58. Hardy, pp. 143-4. Hardy, a firm supporter of Moscow, viewed the choice of Williams as disastrous, since Williams could not accept the RILU as it came to be constituted and backed measures to build an international revolutionary opposition to Moscow. The Bolsheviks and their supporters questioned whether Williams actually represented attitudes in the IWW. They believed someone such as Bill Haywood, also in Russia at the time of the congress and a proponent of Moscow, would have made a better IWW delegate. Souvarine to Monatte, 9 Aug. [1921], *Archives Monatte*, p. 320. But Haywood was in Russia because he had 'jumped' the bail his friends had put up for him during the unsuccessful appeal of a mass prison sentence for the leading anti-war 'Wobblies'. Dozens of his fellows reported to prison while Haywood, his health poor, fled to Russia in the hope of aiding the Revolution. Haywood had been told the loss of the bail money would be made up by the CI, though this was never done. What the Bolsheviks and their supporters like Souvarine did not understand was that Haywood's flight had greatly undermined his standing in the IWW. See Joseph R. Conlin, *Big Bill Haywood and the Radical Union Movement* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1969), ch. 8.

59. From the theses on the role of the party adopted by the 1920 CI congress. Degras, 1:128.

60. *Industrial Solidarity*, 18 Mar. 1922.

61. *CI Documents*, 1:166.

62. *Communist International* 3, no. 16-17, 14.

63. For these and other examples of the Bolshevik packing of the congress, see George Williams, *The First Congress of the Red Trade Union International at Moscow, 1921: A Report of the Proceedings by Geo. Williams, Delegate from the I.W.W.* (Chicago: Industrial Workers of the World, n.d. [1922?]), pp. 4-9, 13-5, 19-25; Lemoine to Monatte, 13 July 1921, *Archives Monatte*, p. 319; the Norwegian paper, *Alarm*, 13 Aug. 1921; and George Cascaden's report of the congress in the weekly *Alberta Labor News*, 14 Jan.-25 Feb. 1922.

64. Cascaden represented the Edmonton branch of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union of Canada. He was also questioned on the dictatorship of the proletariat, but declined to elaborate his views prior to the congress. Pressure from the French and Spanish delegations helped him to win a deliberative vote in the assembly. *Alberta Labor News*, 4-11 Feb. 1922.

65. Williams, p. 9.

66. *Lucha Social*, 3 May 1922; Williams, pp. 23-4; *Bulletin du Premier Congrès International des Syndicats Révolutionnaires* (hereafter *ISR-Premier Congrès*) no. 5 (July 1921), pp. 10-2.

67. Harry Pollitt, *Serving My Time* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1940), p. 141.

68. *ISR-Premier Congrès*, no. 4 (13 July 1921), pp. 4, 3. Lozovskii lamented that the *Charte* continued to be defended fifteen years after its formulation: "The world is overthrown, only the *Charte d'Amiens* remains immutable."

69. Daniel F. Calhoun, *The United Front: The TUC and the Russians 1923-1928* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 12-3, discusses Lozovskii's background and character and quotes Serge.

70. Rosmer, p. 190.

71. For Rosmer's address see *ISR-Premier Congrès*, no. 6 (July 1921), pp. 14-21.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

73. *Ibid.*, no. 5 (July 1921), p. 10. British Bureau. See also the report that Mann's "speculative" syndicalism. His speech, one may doubt that as it may, Mann had differences between *Vie Ouvrière* 30. doctrinal subtleties is our movement. Each movement. Each enemy. We should be 74. E. Bouwman, *Le Congrès de Moscou 1921* (Paris, 1921), p. 4.

75. *ISR-Premier Congrès*, *Bulletin du Premier Congrès International des Syndicats Révolutionnaires*, 25 July 1921, p. 10.

76. Bouwman, *Le Congrès de Moscou 1921*, no. 7 (July 1921), p. 10.

77. Bouwman, *Le Congrès de Moscou 1921*, no. 5 (July 1921), p. 10.

78. *Résolutions et Propositions*, *Manifester*, *Résolutions*, p. 17. designated to determine as handed to him as provocative." He and parties at the p. 192.

79. *ISR-Premier Congrès*, *Bulletin du Premier Congrès International des Syndicats Révolutionnaires*, 25 July 1921, p. 10.

80. Arlandis, *Le Congrès de Moscou 1921*, p. 10. independence of the of the autonomy of

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81. *Lucha Social*, 3 May 1922, p. 10.

82. *ISR-Premier Congrès*, *Bulletin du Premier Congrès International des Syndicats Révolutionnaires*, 25 July 1921, p. 10.

83. *ISR-Résolutions*, p. 17.

84. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-9.

85. *Bulletin du Premier Congrès International des Syndicats Révolutionnaires*, 25 July 1921, pp. 37-8. Manifester

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Bouwman, *Le Congrès de Moscou 1921*, no. 4 (13 July 1921), pp. 11-12.

87. Williams, p. 2.

88. On the discussion in Italy, see *ISR-Résolutions*, p. 17.

89. Williams, p. 9.

90. "Manifeste" reproduced, *Le Congrès de Moscou 1921*, *Bulletin du Premier Congrès International des Syndicats Révolutionnaires*, 25 July 1921, p. 10.

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73. *Ibid.*, no. 5 (July 1921), pp. 12-5. J.T. Murphy (*The "Reds" in Congress* (Manchester: British Bureau, Red International of Trade and Industrial Unions, n.d.), p. 14) wrote that Mann's "speech was looked for with eagerness, because of his long association with syndicalism. His speech was undoubtedly a surprise to his syndicalist colleagues." But one may doubt that at this stage Mann's speech came as a surprise to anyone. Be that as it may, Mann had much earlier expressed his opinion that there were no significant differences between syndicalism and communism. In the first issue of the resurrected *La Vie Ouvrière* (30 Apr. 1919), Mann demonstrated his life-long readiness to disregard doctrinal subtleties in favour of revolutionary pragmatism: "My feeling is that Bolshevism is our movement, Spartakism is equally our movement, and syndicalism is also our movement. Each of them being virtually the same, whoever seeks to destroy it is our enemy. We should be prepared to speak and to act accordingly."

74. E. Bouwman, Th. J. Dissel and C. Kitz, *Het congres der Roode Vak-Internationale te Moskou 1921: Rapport N.A.S. delegatie* (Amsterdam: Nationaal Arbeids-Secretariaat, 1921), p. 4.

75. *ISR-Premier Congrès*, no. 6 (July 1921), pp. 1-2; see also the Swedish newspaper, *Syndikalisten*, 23 Sept. 1921.

76. Bouwman, Dissel and Kitz, *Het congres der RVI*, pp. 5-6; see also *ISR-Premier Congrès*, no. 7 (July 1921), p. 7.

77. Bouwman, Dissel and Kitz, *Het congres der RVI*, pp. 5-6; Rosmer, p. 191; *ISR-Premier Congrès*, no. 7 (July 1921), pp. 18-9.

78. *Résolutions et statuts adoptés au Ier Congrès International des Syndicats Révolutionnaires, Moscou: 3-19 juillet 1921* (Paris: Librairie du Travail, 1921) (hereafter *ISR-Résolutions*), p. 17. Even Rosmer found the language of the resolution he had been designated to defend, and which was to be the crowning result of "these painful debates," as handed to him in its final form by Lozovskii, to be "uselessly and dangerously provocative." He could win only a concession describing the connection between unions and parties at the national level as "highly desirable" rather than mandatory. Rosmer, p. 192.

79. *ISR-Premier Congrès*, no. 7 (July 1921), pp. 18-9.

80. Arlandis declared the Spanish delegation to be bound by mandate to defend the independence of the RILU. The experience of decades, he argued, taught the necessity of the autonomy of the syndical movement. Today the CI was no doubt revolutionary. "But what guarantees do we have that it will not abandon the revolutionary path tomorrow; that it will not become opportunist?" Since the working class alone could establish a new social regime, "we must above all defend our independence with all our powers and not permit any political party whatsoever to submit us to its will." The delegates must have been baffled by Arlandis's labyrinthine logic, however, for he added that his remarks were only a declaration of principle, while in practice his delegation completely supported the Rosmer-Mann resolution, which accorded with their mandate. *Ibid.*, no. 5 (July 1921), p. 15. The Spanish delegation, except for the steadfast Leval, proceeded to embrace a resolution that breathed not a word about union autonomy. Spanish support for the RILU-CI resolution was one of the greatest surprises for the remaining syndicalists. See, for example, Tanner's article in *Industrial Solidarity*, 24 Sept. 1921.

81. *Lucha Social*, 24 June 1922.

82. *ISR-Premier Congrès*, no. 15 (July 1921), pp. 6-7.

83. *ISR-Résolutions*, p. 6.

84. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-30, 69.

85. *Bulletin of the Executive Committee of the Communist International*, no. 1 (8 Sept. 1921), pp. 37-8. Murphy also included it in *"Reds" in Congress* (pp. 16-7) as representing the position of the syndicalists.

86. Williams, p. 31. Williams reproduced the German statement, pp. 31-2. See also, Bouwman, Dissel and Kitz, *Het congres der RVI*, pp. 6-7; *ISR-Premier Congrès*, no. 11-12 (July 1921), pp. 26-7 and no. 14 (July 1921), pp. 14-5.

87. Williams, p. 27; Bouwman, Dissel and Kitz, *Het congres der RVI*, pp. 6-7, 21.

88. On the directives of the RILU to the labour organizations of France, Spain and Italy, see *ISR-Résolutions*, pp. 53-5.

89. Williams, pp. 28-31.

90. "Manifeste aux syndicalistes-révolutionnaires du monde," SAC Archive, EXIII-I; reproduced, for example, in Michel Relenk, *Travaux du camarade Michel Relenk au congrès de l'I.S.R. de Moscou, seul resté fidèle à la conception du syndicalisme révolutionnaire français et à son mandat* (Paris: Coster, n.d. [1921]), pp. 6-10.

91. "Manifeste aux syndicalistes-révolutionnaire du monde," SAC Archive, EXIII-I; reproduced, for example, in Williams, pp. 32-4.
92. "Au Bureau des Organisations Syndicalistes Révolutionnaires," SAC Archives, EXIII-I; reproduced, for example, in Bouwman, Dissel and Kitz, *Het congres der RVI*, pp. 22.
93. Arlandis and Nin, quoted in Gras, *Alfred Rosmer*, p. 226, and Meaker, p. 397, respectively.
94. Bouwman, Dissel and Kitz, *Het congres der RVI*, pp. 6-8, 21, 23.
95. *ISR-Premier Congrès*, no. 16 (July 1921), p. 16.
96. "Procès-verbal de la réunion privée du 13 août 1921," *Archives Monatte*, pp. 308-15. The document was published in *L'Internationale Syndicale Rouge*, 10 Nov. 1921, and reprinted in Colette Chambelland, "Autour du 1er congrès de l'ISR," *Le Mouvement Social* 4 (1964), no. 6, 31-44. Charles (part 1, p. 190) inexplicably states that all members of the French delegation, except Relenk who was barred, declared in favour of affiliation to the RILU at this meeting. But even if we set aside Godonnèche and Tommasi, two declared partisans who were not present, it should be noted that neither Claudine nor Albert Lemoine attended the meeting.
97. Rosmer to Monatte, [July (actually August) 1921], *Archives Monatte*, p. 293.
98. See Cornell, ch. 7.

Chapter Six

1. Jean Gaudeaux, *Six mois en russie bolcheviste: documents inédits* (Paris: Romans Nouveaux, 1924), pp. 122-34ff.
2. *Le Libertaire*, 29 July - 5 Aug. 1921.
3. Gaudeaux, p. 143.
4. Paniagua, p. 218.
5. Goldman, *Living My Life*, 2:909-10.
6. Paniagua, p. 221.
7. Trotsky's letter is reproduced in International Committee for Political Prisoners, *Letters from Russian Prisoners* (London: Daniel, 1925), pp. 255-7.
8. Joaquin Maurin, *Revolucion y contrarrevolucion en España* (N.p. [Paris]: Ruedo Iberico, 1966), pp. 261-3.
9. Goldman, *Living My Life*, 2:910-3.
10. All references to these disturbances were deleted from the official report of the RILU congress, though it contains an abbreviated version of Bukharin's address and Sirolle's reply. *ISR-Premier Congrès*, no. 15 (July 1921), pp. 13-4. A number of witnesses, however, graphically recorded the scene. See for example Goldman, *Living My Life*, 2:913-4; Goldman, *My Disillusionment in Russia*, pp. 217ff; Gaudeaux, pp. 150-6; Paniagua, pp. 222-3; Alexander Berkman, *The Bolshevik Myth (Diary 1920-1922)* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1925), p. 317; M. Disch, *Von den Weltkongressen in Moskau 1921: Tagebüchblätter* (Hamburg: Albert Fr. Heil, n.d.), pp. 23-5; and the Norwegian newspaper, *Alarm*, 3 Sept. 1921.
11. Paniagua, p. 223. Serge (p. 156) recalled a similar episode (or perhaps an extension or confused account of the same one) in which Arlandis criticized the persecution of the Russian anarchists. A furious Trotsky "seized him violently by the lapels of his jacket while nearly shrieking, 'I would certainly like to see you in that situation, petty bourgeois that you are!'" Leval had not made himself popular among the Bolsheviks, and when, following the congress, he requested permission to work in a Russian factory for a few months, to study working class life, Lozovskii refused. Paniagua, p. 224. Lozovskii later complained in a letter to Monatte (Jan. 1922) about Leval's critique of the Bolsheviks and the RILU, published in *Le Libertaire*. *Archives Monatte*, p. 339.
12. Rocker, *Aus den Memoiren*, p. 321-4.
13. *L'Humanité*, 16 July 1921. Both Rosmer and Godonnèche quickly wrote Monatte to contest the CSR declaration to which he had added his name. *Archives Monatte*, pp. 301-8.
14. *La Vie Ouvrière*, 29 July 1921.
15. *Archives Monatte*, pp. 312-3.
16. *La Lucha Social*, 17 Aug. 1921.
17. On 15 September 1921, Williams of the IWW, Pagani of the USI, Relenk of the CSR, and the Germans, informally agreed that "completely non-binding discussions" on international trade unionism should be held conjointly with the FAUD's imminent

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annual congress. FAUD to the SAC, 16 Sept. 1921. SAC Archive, EXIII-I. This communication is signed not only by Souchy and Kater of the FAUD, but by Bernard Lansink Jr. of Holland, apparently in his capacity as Secretary of the International Syndicalist Bureau.

18. *Der Syndikalist*, no. 42 (1921). The FAUD's 1921 congress also took the exceptional step, perhaps to prevent communist cell-building, of prohibiting FAUD members from also holding membership in political parties, as incompatible with the autonomy and freedom of decision required by the organization's federalism.

19. Vecchi's and Mari's report of their mission to Russia, in which they urged the USI's entry into the RILU, appeared in *Guerra di classe*, 8 Oct. 1921. This prompted Borghi to publish an account of his experiences in Russia in 1920, in an article sharply critical of the Bolsheviks. *Ibid.*, 15 Oct. 1921.

20. *Ibid.*, 15 Oct. 1921. See also the statement (5 Nov. 1921) following the USI-PCI-RILU discussions.

21. Lozovskii's and Schapiro's letters are reproduced in *La Vie Ouvrière*, 17 Mar. 1922.

22. On the congress, see *Guerra di classe*, 25 Mar. 1922. Vecchi's and Giovanetti's resolutions can be found in Ugo Fedeli, "Breve storia dell'Unione Sindacale Italiana," *Volontà* 10 (30 Sept. 1957). For the criticisms of *Internazionale*, see the issue of 1 Apr. 1922; for those of Lozovskii, *La Correspondance Internationale*, 22 Apr. 1922.

23. Lozovskii to Rosmer, 8 Nov. 1921, quoted in Charles, part 1, pp. 192. Since Charles endorses it, Lozovskii's claim is worth considering. Charles asserts (pp. 191-2) that the attitude in Moscow of the "pure" syndicalists in the French RILU delegation had an important and conspicuous international impact. "It crystallized latent opposition, hostilities as yet muffled," he writes, noting that in subsequent months important syndicalist organizations - the FAUD, the IWW, the CNT and the USI - "distanced themselves from the RILU." He adds that the Bolsheviks realized "that the French attitude had facilitated, perhaps even released this more than injurious reaction against the RILU." But Charles's claim, resting upon an uncritical acceptance of Lozovskii's letter, invites many and varied objections. The FAUD, for example, did not await the reaction of the French before distancing itself from the RILU; it had done so long before. Again, French opposition in the RILU congress, though visible and by no means insignificant, nevertheless constituted but one facet of a larger syndicalist and industrialist opposition that did not require French inspiration. Other organizations represented, such as the SAC, had expressed scepticism regarding the RILU long before the French delegation did, and yet others, such as the independent German unions, would inevitably resist the RILU's directions to dissolve. Nor did the proposal of informal cooperation of dissident delegates in Moscow come from the French, nor did the French play a commanding role among the dissidents. Further, the attitude of the French dissidents in Moscow obviously did not inspire the Italian or Dutch or the majority of the Spanish delegates present, who returned not as critics of the RILU but as its supporters. A more cautious approach to Lozovskii's claims, and greater familiarity with developments in the non-French syndicalist movement, may well have induced Charles to moderate the international importance he attributes to the French response to the RILU.

24. Lozovskii to Rosmer, 8 Nov. 1921. Quoted in *ibid.*

25. Charles maintains (part 1, pp. 188-9, 191) that the CSR's declaration symbolized the coalescence of *minoritaire* support for the radical syndicalist position. He invokes (p. 190) in support of this view Rosmer's lament in a letter to Monatte in July 1921 that the declaration constituted a victory for the pure syndicalists: "You let yourself be outflanked by Verdier and his *éminence grise* [Griffuelhes]. It is he [Verdier] who has triumphed, he who had only a minority in Orléans and who now imposes his point of view." Charles attaches particular importance to the fact that the declaration did not endorse union-party collaboration.

26. Godonnèche to Monatte, 28 July 1921, *Archives Monatte*, p. 303; Rosmer to Monatte [July 1921], *ibid.*, p. 301.

27. "We nevertheless accepted the motion, because, despite everything," *Le Libertaire* added, "the affirmation of federalist ideas is precise, and we [the libertarians] did not have the right, knowing the general state of the spirit of the delegates, to appear to be intransigent over a word." *Le Libertaire* nevertheless optimistically headlined its issue (29 July - 5 Aug. 1921) "Le Fédéralisme triomphe." Nor does the historian of the 1921 schism within the CGT see the minority as having reunited on the platform of the pure syndicalists following the RILU congress. Maurice Labi (p. 203) writes that immediately preceding the CGT congress in Lille, "federalists and centralists, Bakuninists and Marxists

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- opposed one another as sharply within the minority as revolutionaries and reformists within the CGT. . . . The homogeneity of this [minority] opposition was not less fragile than that of the entire trade union organization and it could, like the latter, snap at the first opportunity."
28. CGT, *XXIIIe Congrès national corporatif (XVI de la C.G.T.)* (Villeneuve-Saint-Georges: CGT, n.d.), p. 295.
 29. Labi, pp. 191-9; Arum, pp. 427-30.
 30. *La Vie Ouvrière*, 22 July 1921.
 31. Trotsky to Monatte, 13 July 1921, *Archives Monatte*, p. 297.
 32. CI (Zinoviev) to the PCF, 26 July 1921, *ibid.*, pp. 353-60; CI resolution, pp. 360-1. Zinoviev added (p. 357) that "communists who persist in the error, according to which their trade union action would be independent of the party, should as a general rule be expelled from the party." This followed from the fact that some of the leading defenders of syndicalist autonomy in France, such as Verdier and Quinton, were - in the tradition of syndicalism that permitted militants to pursue any political activity they wished outside of the unions - also members of the PCF. See also, Schneider, pp. 210-2.
 33. *La Vie Ouvrière*, 19 Aug. 1921. On the French delegation's post-congress declaration, see above, p. 192. The Bolsheviks' apparent victory with the dissidents in the CSR delegation proved to be short-lived, for they were less than supportive of the RILU upon their return. Rosmer wrote Lozovskii (21 Nov. 1921) that they were damaging the RILU's interests in France by privately drawing a picture of Soviet Russia "so sombre that our best friends are troubled by it." A month later Godonpèche wrote to Lozovskii that "Sirolle and his friends, having left Moscow in a conciliatory spirit, have arrived here more anarchist than ever." Quoted in Charles, part 1, p. 190n.
 34. *La Vie Ouvrière*, 19 Aug. 1921. Letters from Mann, Andreytchine and Nin also appear in this issue.
 35. Pierre Besnard wrote to Frans Severin (22 Jan. 1922) that the "revolutionary syndicalist faction will remain the most important in the new CGT, which I am convinced will group over 300,000 members at its start." SAC Archive, EXIII-I. Robert Wohl (*French Communism in the Making, 1914-1924* [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966], p. 280) gives the figures for July 1922 as 350,000 for the CGTU and 250,000 for the CGT.
 36. *L'Humanité*, 17 Mar. 1922.
 37. CGTU, *Ier Congrès tenu à St. Etienne du 25 juin au 1er juillet 1922* (Paris: Maison des Syndicats, n.d.), pp. 11-2.
 38. *Third Congress of the Communist International: Report of Meetings held at Moscow June 22nd - July 12th 1921* (London: Communist Party of Great Britain, n.d.), p. 127.
 39. Lozovskii's appeal: *Arbetaren*, 7 Jan. 1922; the SAC's reply: *ibid.*, 23 Jan. 1922.
 40. *ibid.*, 16 May 1922.
 41. *Alberta Labor News*, 14 Jan. 1922. Cascaden's report ran through the issue of 25 February. The lead editorial on 14 February, entitled "The New War on the Unions," rejected the RILU. But the General Convention of the Lumber Workers resolved to support Moscow, repudiated Cascaden, and suspended the Edmonton local branch that had mandated him until it elected officers who, among other things, would abide by "the aims, purposes, and constitution" of the RILU. See the *British Columbia Federationist*, 20 Jan. 1922.
 42. The IWW's telegram: SAC Archive, EXIII-I; the statement of the IWW Executive: *Industrial Solidarity*, 17 Dec. 1921. Later, after the RILU Executive publicly attacked Williams, the IWW defended its delegate and reiterated its rejection of the RILU in *The IWW Reply to the Red Trade Union International (Moscow) by the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World* (Chicago: n.p. [IWW], 1922).
 43. *La Protesta*, (on FAUD congress) 17 Dec. 1921; (on RILU) 24-29 June 1922; (on Barker) 4 July 1922.
 44. Jane Degras, "United Front Tactics in the Comintern 1921-1928," in *International Communism*, pp. 9-22. Ed. David Footman. (London: Chatto and Windus, 1960), p. 9.
 45. Calhoun, p. 15.
 46. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
 47. It has been pointed out that the introduction of the united front also implanted the concept of deviation in the CI. By abandoning the war on the social democrats that had been a fundamental purpose in founding the CI, by making collaboration with them contingent upon specific circumstances judged from case to case by the CI itself, the policies of communist activists and parties could no longer be judged simply on content, for left and right ceased to be distinct positions and became mere "errors in timing."

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48. Quoted in E.
49. Quoted in E. front unique." p. 35.
50. A few of *International* (no. 8, 12 Nov. and Mexican by Moscow, such in France in May.
51. "L'Internationale Syndicale" 15-6. The *Bulletin* (hereafter *BISRI*) de guerre a poste.
52. Maurice Cl. the USI's claim delegate to the US such a meeting C.
53. USI Circular, a telegram from 1922. On the ar the FAUD, the N Archive, EXIII-I by the Administr to such an assem.
54. *BISRI*, no. 55.
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56. The dispute by the return of special congress. Since the referen regarded particip in July would de similarly decline "an International likely support it had learned of th P, the IWW and.
57. *Lucha Social*.
58. Meaker, p. 3 syndicalist strong as the communis in fact met in E the communis CNT's affiliation 28.
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62. *Lucha Social* syndicalists argu abandoned." C Revolution and series of *Comite CNT*, but the Co.
63. *BISRI*, nos.

Communists who resisted united front tactics, when the CI (frequently after the fact) deemed them appropriate, became sectarians; those who inappropriately favoured such tactics became opportunists. The momentary interpretations of the CI displaced any objective criteria of orthodoxy and deviation. See Degras, pp. 12-3.

48. Quoted in Degras, p. 11.

49. Quoted in Jean-Louis Robert and Danielle Tartakowsky, "Internationale Parti et front unique," in *Cahiers d'histoire de l'Institut Maurice Thorez*, no. 1 (Nov.-Dec. 1972), p. 35.

50. A few of many possible examples include the articles in *Die Rote Gewerkschafts-Internationale* against Williams of the IWW and the October 1921 meeting of the FAUD (no. 8, 12 Nov. 1921), and against the Russian (nos. 10 and 11, 15 and 31 Dec. 1921) and Mexican (no. 12, 15 Jan. 1922) syndicalists. Certain national newspapers subsidized by Moscow, such as Vecchi's *Internazionale* and *La Lutte de Classe*, a paper established in France in May 1922 for Rosmer, Godomèche and Tommasi, also took up the attack.

51. "L'Internationale Syndicale Rouge, les communistes et les syndicalistes," *L'Internationale Syndicale Rouge: Bulletin du Bureau Exécutif*, no. 15 (June-July 1922), pp. 15-6. The *Bulletin International des Syndicalistes Révolutionnaires et Industrialistes* (hereafter *BISRI*), no. 1 (16 June 1922), p. 14, observed of Brandler's article, "Une déclaration de guerre *a posteriori*, c'est bon à savoir!"

52. Maurice Chambelland of *La Vie Ouvrière* (24 Mar. 1922) had immediately questioned the USI's claim that the CGTU supported such a congress, but the CGTU's fraternal delegate to the USI congress, Tutti, had been authorized by the CGTU Executive to propose such a meeting. Charles, part 2, p. 127n.

53. USI Circular, 8 May 1922. Already by 18 May the SAC acknowledged receipt of a telegram from Paris shifting the conference site to Berlin. SAC to the CGTU, 18 May 1922. On the arrangement of the conference in general, see the correspondence between the FAUD, the NAS, the SAC, the USI and the CGTU, 21 Apr. to 31 May 1922, SAC Archive, EXIII-I. The transfer of the conference to Berlin may well reflect the recognition by the Administrative Committee of the CGTU of sharp opposition within the organization to such an assembly. See below, this chapter, p. 228.

54. *BISRI*, no. 1 (16 June 1922), pp. 3-10, 12.

55. *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 21.

56. The dispute within the NAS on the international question had been accentuated by the return of its delegation from Moscow with a recommendation for the RILU. A special congress in Arnheim, in March 1922, decided to hold a referendum on the issue. Since the referendum was underway at the time of the June conference, the NAS Executive regarded participation as inappropriate. Because the CGT-P's annual congress to be held in July would decide the international question, and for financial reasons, the Portuguese similarly declined to participate, though they added that if the conference worked towards "an International under the control of no politicians' International," the CGT-P would likely support it. Finally, a letter sharply critical of the RILU explained that the IWW had learned of the conference too late to send a delegation. The letters from the CGT-P, the IWW and the NAS are reproduced in *ibid.*, nos. 2-3 (Aug. 1922), pp. 17-21.

57. *Lucha Social*, 27 Aug. 1921.

58. Meaker (p. 421), and he is not alone, mistakenly places this plenum in the communist-syndicalist stronghold of Lerida and, more importantly, characterizes it as unrepresentative, as the communist-syndicalists' retaliation against the earlier August plenum. The plenum in fact met in Barcelona and neither in composition nor result was it engineered by the communist-syndicalists. See Bar, pp. 618-9, and more generally on the issue of the CNT's affiliation with Moscow following the founding congress of the RILU, pp. 612-28.

59. On the impact of Pestaña's *Memorias* in Spain, see especially Bar, pp. 569, 620.

60. Manuel Buenacasa, *El movimiento obrero español, 1886-1926 (historia y crítica)* (Paris: Familia y amigos del autor, 1966), p. 89.

61. Quoted in Bar, p. 569.

62. *Lucha Social*, 24 June 1922; Buenacasa, pp. 111-2; Bar, 620-5. The communist-syndicalists argued that in the Zaragoza plenum "the idea of revolution was totally abandoned." (Circular, Box 25, Joaquín Maurin Archives, Hoover Institute on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford.) Following the earlier French example, they formed a series of *Comités Sindicalistas Revolucionarios* to defend the RILU and recapture the CNT, but the *Comités* enjoyed little success.

63. *BISRI*, nos. 2-3 (Aug. 1922), p. 15.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 5; see also p. 18.
65. Borghi, *Mussolini Red and Black* (London: Wishart, 1935), p. 7.
66. *BISRI*, nos. 2-3 (Aug. 1922), pp. 6-7.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 8; *Der Syndikalist*, no. 25 (1922); *Le Journal du Peuple*, 18 July 1922.
68. *Le Journal du Peuple*, 18 July 1922.
69. "That was the end," Souchy recalled much later of Andreev's negative attitude on the question of the persecution of Russian libertarians. It was only after this "that we decided to go our own way. And that was to break with the RILU and also with Moscow." Augustin Souchy to the author, 8 and 27 Feb. 1976.
70. *Der Syndikalist*, no. 25 (1922); *BISRI*, nos. 2-3 (Aug. 1922), p. 7.
71. *Le Journal du Peuple*, 18 July 1922; *BISRI*, nos. 2-3 (Aug. 1922), p. 7.
72. *BISRI*, nos. 2-3 (Aug. 1922), pp. 7-8.
73. Rocker, "Revolution und Rückfall in die Barbarei," p. 224; *BISRI*, nos. 2-3 (Aug. 1922), pp. 8-11.
74. *BISRI*, nos. 2-3 (Aug. 1922), pp. 12-4.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
76. Although equitable neither with regard to the legitimacy of the Nin-Maurin delegation to Moscow nor the personal motives of its members, Diez reflected the wrath felt by many *cenetistas* concerning the conduct of the delegation when he declared that the Zaragoza conference had unanimously repudiated the affiliation of the CNT with the RILU, and "disavowed the delegates who went to Moscow without having been authorized to do so, their duty having been to remain at their posts during the persecutions; but they were afraid, and while thousands of militants were being assassinated, they were betraying them [at Moscow]." *Ibid.*, p. 14. Bar (pp. 625n, 626) mistakenly asserts that the CNT was not represented at the June conference.
77. *BISRI*, nos. 2-3 (Aug. 1922), p. 9. Rocker specifically indicted Lenin's *State and Revolution* as a chief factor that had led "a certain number of revolutionary syndicalists, especially in France, to undertake a 'revision' of their ideas." *Ibid.*, p. 8. The Declaration of Principles is reproduced in Appendix D.
78. See Appendix D.
79. Lozovskii to Rosmer, 4 May 1922, Charles, part 2, p. 132. On the apparently decisive month of May, see *ibid.*, pp. 130-1.
80. See Lozovskii to Monatte, Jan. 1922 and 15 May 1922, *Archives Monatte*, pp. 336-41. Lozovskii stressed as essential the construction of such a bloc before the congress to Rosmer, 4 May 1922, Charles, part 2, p. 133.
81. The CI Executive sharply criticized the inaction of the PCF regarding the unions, insisting that the trade union movement could not realize its tasks "without the direction of the communist unionists by their political party. This influence will be conquered only in the open struggle of ideas against the anarchist bunglers, against the adventure seekers, against the oligarchic cliques. The party should pass to the offensive all along the line, by exposing and criticizing the confusion and the confusionists, by conquering for its members the responsible posts in the union movement, by placing the communists in the unions under its control, by educating them in the spirit of the strictest discipline and by pitilessly driving from its ranks all those who, under the pretext of autonomy, would dare to continue their demoralizing work in the union movement." CI Executive to the PCF Executive, 12 May 1922, *Archives de Jules Humbert-Droz*, 1:553. "I no longer see any progress on the trade union question. To the contrary, we see here an uninterrupted retreat of the party," Trotsky wrote to the International Secretary of the PCF a few weeks later. "In politics, as in physics, nature abhors a vacuum. You evacuate the trade union position, while the masses seek a guide: that is why the syndicalists and libertarians automatically occupy positions to which they have no moral right." He insisted that the decisions of the CI be applied and that party members like Verdier and Quinton, who defended autonomy in the unions, be expelled. Trotsky to Antoine Ker, 6 June 1922, *ibid.*, p. 190-1.
82. *La Vie Ouvrière*, 26 May 1922; Humbert-Droz's report to the CI on the PCF, 30 May 1922, *Archives de Jules Humbert-Droz*, 1:178. The CI had apparently not received Humbert-Droz's report when it issued its directive (11 June) that the PCF rid itself of "spiritual brothers" like Verdier and Quinton. *Ibid.*, p. 560.
83. Lozovskii: *L'Humanité*, 10 June 1922; the CGTU: *Le Journal du Peuple*, 15 June 1922, *L'Humanité*, 14 June 1922; Monmousseau: *La Vie Ouvrière*, 16 June 1922.
84. *La Bataille Syndicaliste*, 15 June 1922, published the *Pacte* (see above, p. 178), which is reproduced in *Archives Monatte*, pp. 277-8. The publication of the *Pacte* inevitably

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saddled the libertarians with a conspiratorial image. It also enabled the communists to argue that they were simply advancing their own views in the unions, just as the libertarians had organized themselves to do, although the communists did not observe that the PCF had its own secret instructions to capture the leadership of the unions. The publication of the *Pacte* on the eve of the St. Etienne congress obviously worked against the libertarians. The fact that the libertarians had organized to defend the autonomy of the unions, the communists to subordinate the unions to an outside organization, was little noted.

85. *La Vie Ouvrière*, 22 June 1922. Among other things, Andreev denounced the presence at Berlin of delegates of the Russian Syndicalist Minority, a minority that "has never existed." The Syndicalist Bureau replied to the declaration point by point in *BISRI*, no. 2-3 (Aug. 1922), pp. 21-2.

86. *La Vie Ouvrière*, 22 June 1922. Chambelland claimed that the French delegation had voted against the admission of Vecchi and Wurster. The report of the conference in *Der Syndikalist*, no. 25 (1922), stated specifically that the French did not vote on this question. The French delegation itself denied having voted on any issue whatsoever. *Le Journal du Peuple*, 19 July 1922.

87. See for example Pierre Semard's remarks, reproduced in *La Vie Ouvrière*, 7 July 1922, and Chambelland's and Bouet's, reproduced in Charles, part 2, pp. 135-7, 141-2. Critics argued that the CGTU delegation had violated its mandate by the facts that Totti had served as Co-President of the conference, and Besnard had served on the Mandate Committee. Chambelland falsely claimed that the delegation had participated in every vote taken in Berlin.

88. *BISRI*, nos. 2-3 (Aug. 1922), p. 12.

89. Lozovskii's speech is reprinted in *La Vie Ouvrière*, 7, 14, and 21 July 1922, and in *Les Syndicats et la révolution: discours prononcé par A. Lozovsky au congrès de la CGTU à Saint-Etienne, juin 1922, suivi du message de l'Internationale Syndicale Rouge, Petite Bibliothèque de l'Internationale Rouge*, no. 4 (Paris: Librairie du Travail, n.d. [1922?]). He later resumed his attack on the Berlin conference in *Frankreich und die französische Arbeiterbewegung in der Gegenwart*, Bibliothek der Roten Gewerkschafts-International (hereafter, BRGI), vol. 13 (Berlin: Führer-Verlag, 1922). There he again falsely claimed that Andreev had been given only a consultative vote in the "anarcho-syndicalist comedy" in Berlin, while the Russian Syndicalist Minority had been given a deliberative vote (p. 75). The latter consisted solely of ten "emigrants" and their families (p. 74). There Lozovskii again disparaged the Berlin Declaration's condemnation of organized violence by revolutionary governments, and again attacked the German syndicalists, this time dismissing them as "pacifists and political vegetarians" (p. 68). The young unionist Benoît Frachon, a member of the PCF, witnessed Lozovskii's dramatic appearance and fervent reception at the St. Etienne congress, which so impressed him that he still found it strange, decades later, that the assembly did not unanimously declare its support for the RILU. Frachon, *Pour la CGT: mémoires de lutte, 1902-1939* (Paris: Editions Sociales, 1981), p. 102.

90. Borghi's and Diez's addresses are reproduced in *Le Libéraire*, 7-14 July 1922.

91. *L'Humanité*, 28 and 30 June, 1 July 1922. On the St. Etienne congress, see also Wohl, pp. 282-4. Charles, part 2, pp. 157-9, reproduces the relevant motions of Besnard and Monmousseau.

92. He added that "members of the party are in the majority in the Administrative Commission and St. Etienne has proven that the party has great possibilities of action" within the CGTU. *Archives de Jules Humbert-Droz*, vol. 2, *Les partis communistes des pays latins et l'Internationale communiste dans les années 1923-1927* (Dordrecht: D. Reidel, 1983), 242-3.

93. For the declaration of the minority at St. Etienne, see *BISRI*, nos. 2-3 (Aug. 1922), p. 32. For the appeal for the formation of the CDS and its policies, see *Le Journal du Peuple*, 9 July 1922, and numerous articles thereafter.

94. Lozovskii to Monatte, 27 July 1922. *Archives Monatte*, pp. 350-2. An exasperated Lozovskii also railed against the CDS in *Frankreich*, (pp. 112-4), declaring among other things that "the forms, bases and origins of this entire organization are a perfect example of the greatest hypocrisy and demagoguery."

95. On the changes in the RILU statutes, see *Beschlüsse und Resolutionen des 2. Internationalen Kongresses der revolutionären Gewerkschaften vom 19. November bis 2. Dezember 1922 in Moskau*, BRGI, vol. 16 (1923), 62-4. They in no way altered the practical relationship between the RILU and the CI. Andres Nin, at the time Lozovskii's chief lieutenant in the RILU, later wrote that "this agreement put an end to our differences

with French revolutionary syndicalism. At the bottom the concession was one of pure form. Immediately after the congress, an Action Committee including representatives of the two Internationals was formed." Quoted in Rosmer, p. 257.

96. Official affiliation came later, in March 1923, when the CGTU formally entered the RILU. Louis, 2:99.

97. See *De Arbeid*, 1 July, 1922. On the international issue within the NAS during this period, see also Bultsma and van der Tuin, pp. 30-1.

98. This resolution won 5,826 votes, against 4,458 for affiliation with the RILU. *De Arbeid*, 12 Aug. 1922.

99. Ibid., 23 Dec. 1922; NAS, *Verslag van het NAS in Nederland over de jaren 1922-1923-1924* (Amsterdam: n.p. [NAS], n.d. [1925?], pp. 71-3. The NAS Executive in its 20 December meeting accepted Dissel's resolution by 7-6. The Executive had earlier been split by 9-6, the ratio by which it recommended the formation of an independent International, over entry into the RILU, at the extraordinary Aarheim congress in March 1922, *De Arbeid*, 25 March 1922.

100. *Beschluisse und Resolutionen des 2. Internationalen Kongresses der revolutionären Gewerkschaften*, BRGI, vol. 16 (1923), 52.

Chapter Seven

1. The Bureau's letter (1 July 1922): *BISRI*, nos. 2-3 (Aug. 1922); Lozovskii's reply (28 July 1922): *Der Syndikalist*, no. 34 (1922).

2. The Bureau's final letter (12 Aug. 1922) is reproduced in *Der Syndikalist*, no. 34 (1922).

3. The responses of the RILU and the IFTU (it also declined) to the Bureau's proposal on behalf of the Italian workers appears in *Der Syndikalist*, no. 40 (1922).

4. A copy of the report on Kropotkin's funeral survives in the Mark Mratchnyi Archives, Labadie Collection, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. The report was published, for example, in *Freedom*, April 1922. For the protests in relation to the March events see, for example, *Le Libertaire*, 20-27 May 1921.

5. Quoted in Kloosterman, p. 16. *Die russische Revolution und die kommunistische Partei* (Berlin: Der Syndikalist, 1921) was published in English in 1922. In 1921 Rocker also initiated a public critique of the Bolshevik regime. See his *Der Bankrott des russischen Staats-Kommunismus* (Berlin: Der Syndikalist, 1921).

6. Berkman, *Bolshevik Myth*, pp. 318-9.

7. Delegates from thirteen nations participated in the congress, which among other things commended syndicalism, called upon anarchists in the labour movement to support the formation of a syndicalist International, and urged a campaign on behalf of imprisoned libertarians in Russia. *Der Syndikalist*, no. 1 (1922), reports the congress, and a handwritten *compte-rendu* survives in the Ugo Fedeli Archives, Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam.

8. Goldman, *The Crushing of the Russian Revolution* (London: Freedom Press, 1922); Berkman, *The Russian Tragedy (A Review and an Outlook)* (Berlin: Der Syndikalist, 1922); Berkman, *The Kronstadt Rebellion* (Berlin: Der Syndikalist, 1922).

9. Schapiro discussed his imprisonment in a number of journals, including *Le Libertaire*, 1-8 Dec. 1922 and subsequent issues, *Der Syndikalist*, no. 51 (1922), and *La Protesta*, 21 May 1923. On the Bureau's response, see the circular published in *Le Libertaire*, 6-13 1922, and various other papers.

10. *Der Syndikalist*, no. 51 (1922), carried a letter (dated 12 Oct. 1922) from Lozovskii to Sandomirskii, noting the role of the RILU and the All-Russian Trade Unions in recommending Schapiro's expulsion from Russia.

11. *La Protesta*, 21 May 1923.

12. Two of its original officers offered brief overviews of the origins and founding of the IWMA: Souchy, "Die Gründung der Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation," in *IAA: 10 Jahre*, pp. 2-9; Rocker, *Anarcho-Syndicalism* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1938), pp. 138-143, and *Aus den Memoiren*, pp. 304-21. See also Arthur Lehning, "Del sindicalismo revolucionario al anarcosindicalismo: el nacimiento de la Asociacion Internacional de Trabajadores de Berlin," in *Cuadernos de Ruedo ibérico*, no. 58 (July-Dec. 1977), pp. 55-75. Lehning's "Die Internationale Arbeiter-Assoziation (IAA). Ein Beitrag zur Theorie und Ideologie der anarcho-syndikalistischen Internationale," in *Internationale Tagung der Historiker der Arbeiterbewegung, 16. Linzer Konferenz 1980, Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung ITH-Tagungsberichte 16* (Vienna: Europaverlag, 1982), pp. 76-99, is a revised

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version of the preceding article. See also Wayne Westergard-Thorpe, "Syndicalist Internationalism and Moscow, 1919-1922: The Breach," *Canadian Journal of History* XIV, 2 (August 1979):199-234.

13. Additional organizations given consultative status included the *Anarcho-Syndikalistische Jugend* of Germany (Hessberg, Stein), the *Fédération du Bâtiment* of France (Couture), and the *Fédération des Jeunesses Syndicalistes de la Seine*. Representatives of three Dutch organizations were seated as guests: Roodeveldt, Ultee and Dornbosch represented the *Federatie van Bouwvakarbeiders* and the *Federatie van Metaalarbeiders*, and Kolthek the *Socialistische Partij Holland*, which was not an orthodox political party, but an anti-parliamentary group formed in response to legislation in The Netherlands making voting compulsory. Bart de Ligt represented the International Anti-Militarist Bureau. Representation in the congress is discussed in *Der Syndikalist*, nos. 1-2 (1923); *De Arbeid* (13 Jan. 1923); Rocker, "Revolution und Rückfall," pp. 225-6; Abad de Santillan, "La AIT," part 3, *La Revista Internacional Anarquista* 1 (25 Mar. 1925):108. The reports of the number of workers represented, whether by personal delegates or not, range from *De Arbeid's* (13 Jan. 1923) 2,106,100 to *Alarm's* (20 Jan. 1923) 2,313,600. But even the most moderate of these reports is too high. The figures given by *De Arbeid* are:

FORA	200,000	USI	500,000	FAU-C	1,000
IWW-C	40,000	NSF	3,000	AAUE	75,000
CGT-M	30,000	SAC	32,000	NAS	22,500
CNT	800,000	Denmark	600	CDS	100,000
CGT-P	150,000	FAUD	120,000	Féd. du Bâtiment	32,000

But the figure for the FORA represents its membership before it split (see Alberto Belloni, *Del Anarquismo al Peronismo* [Buenos Aires: A Peña Lillo, 1960], pp. 29ff.), and only one section (the 'FORA of the Vth Congress') attended the Berlin congress and eventually entered the IWMA. The 120,000 attributed to the FAUD is certainly too high for late 1922, and the figures given for the USI, the CNT and the CDS may be challenged as inflated, to cite but a few examples. A more realistic estimate is that the congress may have represented 1,500,000 workers.

14. *Le Peuple*, 24 Dec. 1922, published Lozovskii's article in Paris. RILU official Fritz Heckert wrote in *Die Rote Fahne*, 23 Dec. 1922, of the creation of joint action committees by the RILU and the CI: "It is to be hoped that in not too long a time a lasting and inseparable union between the Comintern and the RILU will grow up anew from this alternate [form of] alliance."

15. *Der Syndikalist*, no. 1 (1923). This, of course, was before the NAS Executive reversed its position. The IWW had intended to send a delegation to Berlin, but its last congress resolved to forego international affiliation.

16. NAS, *Verslag NAS, 1922-24*, p. 74.

17. Ritter, Novak, Giovanetti, Gradi: *Der Syndikalist*, no. 2 (1923); Severin, Santillan, Schapiro: *ibid.*, no. 3 (1923); Smith: *ibid.* and *Alarm*, 27 Jan. 1923.

18. *Der Syndikalist*, no. 2 (1923). This charge was not without foundation. Syndicalists and radical members of the centralist unions spearheaded the general strike against the Kapp putsch of March 1920. The SPD and the USPD supported the strike. The KPD initially opposed it. Only when it became clear that the strike was actually being carried through did the KPD desperately reverse itself and race to catch up with the workers, but it did so too late to permit the national party (though not some of its local organizations) from playing a significant role in the defeat of the putsch. Thus the leaders of the national communist party - the vanguard of the proletariat - showed themselves to be out of step with the labour movement at the high-water mark of mass workers' action in post-war Germany. On the KPD and the strike, see, for example, George Eliasberg, *Der Ruhrkrieg von 1920* (Bonn-Bad Godesberg: Neue Gesellschaft, 1974), pp. 41-2; Johannes Erger, *Der Kapp-Lüttwitz-Putsch* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1967), pp. 200-2; Werner Angress, *Stillborn Revolution: The Communist Bid for Power in Germany, 1921-1923* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 45.

19. *Der Syndikalist*, no. 2 (1923).

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*, no. 3 (1923).

22. *Ibid.* The delegates, however, had initially invited Lozovskii, then in Berlin, to address the congress, although he did not appear. The NAS delegation made the charge that the congress had abandoned the Berlin Declaration of 1920 a central point in its report.

De Arbeid, 13 Jan. 1923. But it reserved its main attack upon the congress until just prior to the NAS congress, in which the international question was to be debated. It then unequivocally urged the affiliation of the NAS with the RILU. *Ibid.*, 17 and 24 Mar. 1923.

23. The Dutch and Swedish resolutions can be found in *Der Syndikalist*, nos. 2-3 (1923), respectively; that of the Dutch is also reproduced in *De Arbeid*, 13 Jan. 1923. The NAS delegates much later explained that their decision to withdraw from active participation in the congress owed much to Rocker's observations about Moscow's lucre, which they took as an assault upon their own integrity. NAS, *Verslag NAS, 1922-24*, p. 73.

24. The Norwegian syndicalist organ, *Alarm*, 6 Jan. 1923, recorded that the syndicalist International had been founded at 11:20 p.m., Wednesday, 27 December 1922.

25. *Resolutionen des Internationalen Kongresses der revolutionären Syndikalistinnen zu Berlin vom 25. Dezember 1922 bis 2. Januar 1923* (n.p.: Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation, n.d.[1923]) (hereafter, *Resolutionen-1922*), pp. 4-5.

26. *Der Syndikalist*, no. 4 (1923).

27. *Resolutionen-1922*, pp. 5-6; *Le Journal du Peuple*, 13 Jan. 1923; *La Protesta*, 31 Jan. 1923.

28. Rocker, "Revolution und Rückfall," p. 228.

29. IWMA (AIT-IAA) Archive, I A, File 1: Congress - Berlin 1922, FORA submission, p. 7.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 8; *La Protesta*, 31 Jan. 1923.

31. Abad de Santillan, "La AIT," part 3, p. 109.

32. *Alarm*, 6 Jan. 1923.

33. A number of governments attempted to impede the travel of known militants around the time of the congress. On the difficulties of Albert Jensen, for example, see *Le Libertaire*, 23-30 Mar. 1923. Foreign delegates and observers, moreover, had to enter Germany either under false pretenses or simply illegally, without visas. Smith most fully reported the ongoing conflict with the police, in *Alarm*, 6, 13 and 27 Jan. 1923. The young Arthur Lehning attended the founding congress of the IWMA, of which he would later become Secretary. Over fifty years later he still recalled the dramatic scenes caused by the police, particularly the enormous upheaval of their final intrusion, in which over a dozen of the assembled libertarians were arrested. Tempers flared; only the intervention of the stolid leader of the FAUD, Fritz Kater, who succeeded in calming the assembly, averted open resistance. Lehning and Bart de Ligt had travelled from Holland, crossing the border on the pretext of holidaying in Germany. Noting this information on de Ligt's visa, the police demanded that he explain his presence at a revolutionary congress. "Well," de Ligt sardonically replied, "some people amuse themselves one way on holiday, and others another." Interview: Arthur Lehning, 19 Mar. 1976, Amsterdam. Emma Goldman attended the congress and wrote of the interruptions by the police. Letter to Carl Newländer, 12 Jan. 1923, Goldman Archive, Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam. Most of those arrested were Russian libertarian refugees. The FAUD organized protests to win the release of those being held. Within two weeks Giovanetti, Gradi and Orlando were released. On police intervention see also *Le Journal du Peuple*, 7 Jan. 1923. The difficulty with the police underscored the weakness of the syndicalists' earlier demands that the second RILU congress be held outside Russia. Ilovovskii had long scoffed at this demand. At the CGTU's St. Etienne congress, for example, he offered to convene it in Paris or Milan if the syndicalists could ensure the meetings. "But if you cannot receive us, comrades, why engage in demagoguery?" *La Vie Ouvrière*, 21 July 1922.

34. *Statuts de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* (Corbevoit: AIT, n.d.) p. 4-5. For the Declaration of Principles, see Appendix D.

35. Rocker, "Revolution und Rückfall," p. 227.

36. *Der Syndikalist*, no. 6 (1923).

37. *Resolutionen-1922*, pp. 13-4.

38. See *Der Syndikalist*, no. 5 (1923). As modified by 1935, the statutes specified that even provisional agreements for joint action were never "to be concluded with political parties, that is, with organizations that accept the State as a system of social organization." *Statuts adoptés par le congrès de L'A.I.T. Berlin, décembre 1922. Modifiés par le IV congrès de L'A.I.T. Madrid, 1931 et par le V congrès de L'A.I.T. Paris, 1935* (Limoges: AIT, n.d.), p. 10.

39. The statutes also instructed the IWMA to publish an information bulletin for the workers' press, and a review to deal with theoretical and tactical questions. The former began appearing on 1 April 1923 as the *Press-Dienst herausgegeben von dem Sekretariat*

der IAA. It also appeared soon in Spanish. It was identical in content to the *Internationale Communiste* (IC) which was taken by Deutscher (Gesellschaftskritik) and FAUD) between 1923 and 1924. It was published in *Internationale Anarcho-Syndikalismus* 40. On the NSV, see 22 July 1923.

41. The respective views were very different per the issue.

42. A complete report from putting his views on 28 Apr. and 19 May 1923. The congress, the 64 page brochure *Berlijn of Moskau* and its Secretary.

43. The NAS reported in *Verslag NAS, 1922-24*, p. 73. ballots.

44. The pro-RILU laid responsibility of the Berliners. Not founded by the party van der Tuin, p. 3.

45. Quoted in *NSV*. The response of *De Arbeid*. On Communist Party its attitude toward Haag: Kruseman the schism two volumes *Geschiedenis der*

pro-RILU historical international congress Schilp, especially of the NSV (ch. 3).

46. The November represented the *de la Prensa*, supplement 3).

47. Wohl, p. 34-3). On the congress pp. 343-7; David (1931), pp. 61-9. *and Politics in*

University of Illinois 48. Report of L. Droz, 1:418. Early of the difficult contact with the pessimistic because here, and they a Monatte and Me

ibid., 328-9. The other militants were 49. *La Vie Ouvrière*

der IAA. It also appeared in French (*Service de la Presse*), English (*News Service*), and soon in Spanish (*Servicio de la Prensa*). The different language editions were not always identical in content. The review appeared between March 1924 and January 1926 as *Die Internationale: Organ der Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation* (hereafter *Int-IAA*). Its place was taken by *Die Internationale: Zeitschrift für die revolutionäre Arbeiterbewegung, Gesellschaftskritik und sozialistischen Neuaufbau*, published by the FAUD (hereafter, *Int-FAUD*) between November 1927 and February 1933. For six months in 1938 the IWMA published *Internationale: Organe de l'AIT*. For years it also published the *Bulletin of the Relief Fund of the International Working Men's Association for Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndicalists Imprisoned or Exiled in Russia*.

40. On the NSF: *Service de la Presse* 3 (1 May 1923), p. 1; on the CGT-P: *A Batalha*, 22 July 1923.

41. The respective reports on the IWMA congress in *De Arbeid* by Lansink (13 and 20 Jan. 1923) and the NAS delegation (13 Jan.; 17 and 24 Mar. 1923) were written from very different perspectives. The February and March issues carry numerous articles on the issue.

42. A *compte-rendu* of the congress appears in *ibid.*, beginning 14 April 1923. Prevented from putting his case in the sessions, Souchy advanced it instead in two articles. *Ibid.*, 28 Apr. and 19 May 1923. *Service de la Presse* 2, 15 Apr. 1923, pp. 2-3, also reported the congress. The most sustained argument in the prolonged controversy appeared in a 64 page brochure following this congress, *Internationale verbindingen van het N.A.S.: Berlijn of Moskou?* (Amsterdam: NAS, 1923), in which the President of the NAS, Lansink, and its Secretary, Dissel, defended the IWMA and the RILU respectively.

43. The NAS referendum result is reported in *De Arbeid*, 2 June 1923, again in NAS, *Verslag NAS, 1922-24*, p. 76, as 6489 (Berlin) to 7302 (Moscow) with 655 blank or damaged ballots.

44. The pro-RILU faction that dominated the NAS, following the schism within it, laid responsibility for the failure of the compromise proposal wholly at the doorstep of the Berliners. NAS, *Verslag NAS, 1922-24*, p. 82. The historians of the new organization founded by the pro-IWMA forces hold the communists chiefly responsible. Bultsma and van der Tuin, p. 38.

45. Quoted in *Service de la Presse* 11 (5 July 1923), p. 1, from the first circular of the NSV. The response of the remaining NAS Executive can be traced in the summer issues of *De Arbeid*. On NAS militants (such as E.J. Bouwman and Dirk Schilp) in the Dutch Communist Party, the party's complicated trade union policy in the early 1920's, and its attitude toward the NAS, see A.A. de Jonge, *Het communisme in Nederland* (Den Haag: Kruseman, 1972), esp. pp. 36-9. A leading communist-syndicalist looks back on the schism two years later in the postscript to A. Losofsky, *De Balans van vijf jaar werken: Geschiedenis der R.V.I. (met naschrift van E.J. Bouwman)* (Amsterdam: NAS, 1925). The pro-RILU history of the split is also put in NAS, *Verslag NAS, 1922-24*, pp. 62-86. The international controversy in the NAS is recalled by an active pro-Moscow disputant in Schilp, especially ch. 13. Bultsma and van der Tuin discuss the split in their history of the NSV (ch. 3).

46. The November congress is reported in *De Syndicalist*, 1 and 8 Dec. 1923. Lansink represented the NSV at the IWMA's Innsbruck conference at the end of the year. *Servicio de la Prensa*, supplement to 19 (30 Dec. 1923), pp. 2-3.

47. Wohl, p. 344 (on the CGTU delegation at the second RILU congress, see pp. 302-3). On the communist expansion and consolidation of power in the CGTU see *ibid.*, pp. 343-7; David Saposs, *The Labor Movement in Post-War France* (New York: Russell, 1931), pp. 61-9. Kathryn E. Amdur's valuable study, *Syndicalist Legacy: Trade Unions and Politics in Two French Cities in the Era of World War I* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois, 1986), unfortunately appeared too late to be used here.

48. Report of L. Sellier to the Executive Committee of the CI, *Archives de Jules Humbert-Droz*, 1:418. Earlier, following the St. Etienne congress, the CI's agent in Paris wrote of the difficult task of building a viable party, when many of its leaders had so little contact with the working class and so little understanding of its life. "I still remain pessimistic because I seek those who would be able to form a true communist party here, and they are outside the party and in the trade union movement." He mentioned Monatte and Monmousseau in particular. Humbert-Droz to A.M. Rakosi, 2 Sept. 1922, *ibid.*, 328-9. That too would change in 1923, with Monatte, Monmousseau and various other militants who had previously resisted, now accepting membership cards in the PCF.

49. *La Vie Ouvrière*, 23 Nov. 1923.

50. Quoted in Saposs, pp. 67-8.
51. *La Vie Ouvrière*, 23 Nov. 1923.
52. *D'Amiens à Bourges: documents* (Paris: Vie Ouvrière, n.d.[1923]), pp. 3-4. *La Vie Ouvrière* sought with this brochure to minimize the differences between the positions adopted in three famous congresses in French labour history: Amiens, St. Etienne and Bourges.
53. *La Vie Ouvrière*, 23 Nov. 1923.
54. *Ibid.*
55. For the letter of the IWMA to the RILU and the subsequent statement of the IWMA Bureau, see *News Service* 1 (1 Apr. 1923), p. 1. Although the RILU ignored the IWMA's call for joint action in support of the Ruhr strikers, it proposed joint action to the IFTU, which ignored its proposal. Calhoun, p. 24.
56. Quoted in Abad de Santillan, "La AIT," part 3, p. 110.
57. The events of 11 January 1924 are reported from the libertarian and communist viewpoints in *Le Libertaire* and *L'Humanité*, respectively, 12 Jan. 1924 and following.
58. *La Vie Ouvrière*, 18 Jan. 1924.
59. *Le Libertaire*, 6 Oct. 1924.
60. Treint's article appeared in *Bulletin Communist*, 6 Oct. 1924. The *minoritaires* charged Treint with at least provoking and probably directing the murders of Poncet and Clos. See the articles in *Le Libertaire*, 11-30 Oct. 1924.
61. *Le Libertaire*, 29 Oct. 1924.
62. See Saposs, p. 71. A conference report appears in *Le Libertaire*, 2-8 Nov. 1924. In "Ein Blick in den revolutionären Syndikalismus Frankreichs," *Int-IAA*, no. 4 (Jan. 1925), pp. 13-9, Schapiro condemned the intermediate policy of the UFSA and questioned the courage of the French syndicalists. He again criticized their strategy of 1924 in the Swedish theoretical journal, *Syndikalismen*, Oct. 1926, in part five of his series on "Den franska syndikalismens förfallsperiod," pp. 185-90.
63. *La Voix du Travail*, 15 Nov.-15 Dec. 1926.
64. On the Lyon congress, see *Le Combat Syndicaliste*, Dec. 1926, Jan. 1927. The "Motion d'Orientation" is also reprinted in *Les Buts et l'organisation du syndicalisme révolutionnaire* (Limoges: CGTSR, n.d.), together with Besnard's comments on the new *Charte*. Financial records in the Albert de Jong Papers, AIT, I 1928, show that the IWMA gave the CGTSR subsidies of 26,000 francs and 2,500 goldmarks between December 1926 and April 1928, partly to underwrite the costs of publishing *La Voix du Travail*. The IWMA's 1928 congress voted to continue to aid the CGTSR, *Int-FAUD*, no. 6 (Apr. 1929), p. 22, but it is uncertain how long it received subsidies. The IWMA's report for the period 1933-35, *Taetigheit der Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation* (n.p.: IAA, n.d.), noted that the CGTSR was more or less regularly paying its international dues (p. 13). The Centre de recherches d'histoire des mouvements sociaux et du syndicalisme, Paris, possesses a *mémoire de maîtrise* (1974) on "La Confédération Générale du Travail Syndicaliste Révolutionnaire: à travers son journal 'Le Combat Syndicaliste' (1926-1937)," by Samuel Jospin.
65. *La Protesta*, 24 Feb., 10 Mar. 1923. *La Protesta* largely spoke for the FORA, although it was not an official FORA organ. The first installment of the congress report began appearing on 31 Jan. 1923. *La Protesta's* criticisms began immediately (1 Feb.: "Las vacilaciones de los sindicalistas revolucionarios;" 2 Feb.: "Consecuencias del neutralismo sindicalista;" etc.).
66. *Ibid.*, 7 Apr. 1923.
67. *Congreso constituyente de la Asociación Continental Americana de Trabajadores* (Buenos Aires: ACAT, 1930), pp. 11, 21-3, 13.
68. *Industrial Solidarity*, 2 Dec. 1922. The IWW specifically cited the approval of sabotage and violence by the syndicalists' June conference as preventing the IWW's entry into the IWMA. Despite the IWW's professions of cordiality, *Industrial Solidarity* disparagingly remarked that the decision constituted the reply of American industrial unionists "to the invitation of both the Syndicalists and the Communists to join their circus."
69. As late as 1933 the IWMA published a brochure written by Schapiro - *The International Working Men's Association (I.W.M.A.): Its Purpose - its Aim - its Principles* (Berlin: IWMA, n.d. [1933]) - intended for dissemination in the United States, that directly addressed the issue of IWW-IWMA relations. The 1934 IWW congress decided to distribute the brochure to its members for purposes of discussing possible affiliation with the IWMA. IWW to the IWMA, 21 Nov. 1934, *Taetigheit IAA*, p. 98. That affiliation never came. The IWMA also for a time had close relations with the AAUE of Germany. The AAUE

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The AAUE
it considered
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the IWMA
vis-à-vis the
7. The AAUE
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and Jean Bar
ch. 14. On
theoretician of
Räte," in
1970), pp. 224-
70. The IWM
forced out of
the Internat
1935 to Paris
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Conclusion

1. This is not simply reactive of the syndicalist Revolution of the Institution of the Three Lorwin, Labor
2. Molnar, I
3. Ridley, p.
4. Lorwin, I
5. V.I. Lenin
6. V.I. Lenin
7. *Ibid.*, pp.
8. V.I. Lenin
9. Daniels, p
10. Amos Per (New Haven)

represented a series of factory committees and saw a federalist organization of such committees, rather than trade unions, as the basis of future society. Like the FAUD, the AAUE advocated class war, direct action, the general strike, and opposed the state and state socialism. It opposed party dictatorship, but accepted the dictatorship of the producing class through a council system, and accepted the violence such dictatorship involved. Although it had little use for the activities of political parties, it was not anti-political. The AAUE emphatically rejected the distinction between political and economic action: it considered all forms of direct action from the smallest wage struggle to the general strike as political acts. Franz Pfempfert attended the 1922-1923 and 1925 congresses of the IWMA for the AAUE, and in both instances outlined the position of his organization vis-à-vis the FAUD. *Der Syndikalist*, no. 2 (1923); *Int-IAA*, no. 65 (June 1925), pp. 126-7. The AAUE and the FAUD attempted to negotiate a merger but never succeeded in overcoming their differences. The AAUE is discussed in Bock, ch. 7. See also, Denis Authier and Jean Barrot, *La Gauche communiste en Allemagne, 1918-1921* (Paris: Payot, 1976), ch. 14. Otto Rühle, a leading figure of left-communism in Germany, was the main theoretician of the early AAUE. See his "Die Revolution ist keine Parteisache!" and "Die Räte," in Frits Kool, ed., *Die Linke gegen die Parteiherrschaft* (Olten-Freiburg: Walter, 1970), pp. 329-37, 534-7.

70. The IWMA still survives, currently situated in Spain. Headquartered in Berlin until forced out of the country after Hitler's rise to power, when it lost the whole of its records, the International moved in April 1933 to Madrid, in June 1934 to Barcelona, in August 1935 to Paris, and in November 1938 to Stockholm, where it spent the war years. It returned to France in the 1950's and later, some years after Franco's death, to Spain.

Conclusion

1. This frequently expressed one-dimensional view of the formation of the IWMA as simply reactive betokens a lack of familiarity with the pre-war international endeavours of the syndicalists. See, for example, Max Nomad, "The Anarchist Tradition," in *The Revolutionary Internationals, 1864-1943*, Milord M. Drachkovitch, ed. (Stanford: Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, 1966), pp. 87-8; William Z. Foster, *History of the Three Internationals* (New York: International Publishers, 1955), pp. 323-4; Lewis Lorwin, *Labor and Internationalism*, pp. 559-61.

2. Molnar, *Le Déclin de la Première Internationale*, p. 193.
3. Ridley, p. 270.
4. Lorwin, *Labor and Internationalism*, p. 577.
5. V.I. Lenin, "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?" *Collected Works* 26:101-5.
6. V.I. Lenin, "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," *ibid.*, 27:258-9.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 268-9.
8. V.I. Lenin, "The Role and Function of the Trade Unions under the New Economic Policy," *ibid.*, 33:189.
9. Daniels, p. 147.
10. Amos Perlmutter, *Modern Authoritarianism: A Comparative Institutional Analysis* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 185.

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“The Workers Themselves”

By providing the first sustained historical analysis of the contributions of revolutionary syndicalism to working class internationalism, *“The Workers Themselves”* fills a long gap in European labour and radical history. It analyzes the international policies and endeavours of the syndicalist movement before and after the First World War, relations among national syndicalist organizations, and the collective syndicalist response to rival forms of labour internationalism – especially post-war relations between communists and syndicalists. *Workers Themselves”* offers the first comprehensive study of the origins of the International Working Men’s Association, which was founded in 1922 and which proved to be the lifeblood of all anti-authoritarian labour Internationals.

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