



The key figures associated with the Japanese anarcho-syndicalist journal *Rōdō Undō* ("Labour Movement") in February 1921.

From left to right: Nakamura Gen'ichi, Kondō Kenji, Takeuchi Ichirō, Iwasa Sakutarō, Takatju Seidō, Itō Noe (1895–1923), Ōsugi Sakae (1885–1923), and Kondō Eizō. Itō and Ōsugi were murdered by military police in 1923. Small but trenchantly militant, the Japanese anarchist movement waged war on the strictures of Japanese traditions from geishas to the "divine" emperor, later clashing head-on with the militarist state. *Picture courtesy of the Centre for International Research on Anarchism.*



Mexico City: a scene from the 1916 general strike by the anarcho-syndicalist House of the Workers of the World.

"No era in the history of labour in the western hemisphere has witnessed the working-class belligerence" that la Casa's members "demonstrated in 1915 and 1916" (Hart 1991: 197). The organisation's strength peaked in this mid-revolutionary year, but it made a severe error of judgment in using its "Red Battalions" to fight what should have been a natural ally, the anarchist-influenced rural Zapatista guerrillas. *Picture courtesy of University of Texas Press.*

Anarchism, Syndicalism, the IWW, and Labour

This book has consistently linked anarchism to syndicalism, and grouped the varieties of anarchism, including syndicalism, into the broad anarchist tradition. We have also stated that syndicalists who identified themselves as Marxists, like Connolly and De Leon, should be considered part of the broad anarchist tradition, while figures like Godwin, Proudhon, and Tolstoy should be excluded from that tradition. In this chapter, we develop these arguments more fully, focusing on broad strategic distinctions; we also deal with the various issues that arise, such as the origins of syndicalism, its early history, the relationship between anarchism, syndicalism, and the IWW, and the De Leonist tradition.

Bakunin, Sorel, and the Origins of Syndicalism

Most immediately, it is necessary to confront a number of traditional arguments that deny a connection between anarchism and syndicalism, and in some instances, even suggest an opposition between the two currents. Such assertions may be classified into two groups: that which maintains anarchism and syndicalism were based on conflicting principles; and that which identifies the roots of revolutionary syndicalism as lying outside anarchism—specifically either the late nineteenth-century “Revolt against Reason,” or classical Marxism.

The first set of claims is represented by the perspective that although “some syndicalist viewpoints share a superficial similarity with anarchism, particularly its hostility to politics and political action,” “syndicalism is not truly a form of anarchism.”¹ According to this, by “accepting the need for mass, collective action and decision-making, syndicalism is much superior to classical anarchism.” A variant of this argument, often made in reference to Italian syndicalism, suggests that anarchism and syndicalism were rival movements that “agreed on tactics but not on principles,” or were different, albeit overlapping, tendencies.² For Miller, syndicalism was “far from being an anarchist invention;” although its stress on class struggle, direct action, and self-management helped make it attractive to the anarchists.³ Another writer points out that while there were similarities between anarchism and syndicalism, the “anarchist movement continued in existence parallel to syndicalism and there was considerable interchange between the two.”⁴

This contention is commonly linked to the view that attributes the origins of the syndicalist conception to Sorel, a retired French engineer and former Marxist, and consequently, to his admirers, like Antonio Labriola in Italy.⁵ According to Louis Levine, this claim was first developed in Werner Sombart's *Socialism and the Social Movement*, which appeared in English translation in 1909, and then "made its way into other writings on revolutionary syndicalism."⁶ Nearly a century later, this idea remains pervasive. Joll described Sorel as "the theorist of anarcho-syndicalism," while Kieran Allen alleged that the French CGT was "committed to the ideas of Georges Sorel."⁷ According to Darrow Schechter, Sorel was "the leading theorist of Revolutionary Syndicalism," and he therefore speaks of syndicalism's "synthesis of Marx and Sorel"—a view shared by Charles Bertrand, who maintains that the syndicalists "attempted to reconcile the positions of Karl Marx and Georges Sorel."⁸ Jeremy Jennings refers to Sorel as "syndicalism's foremost theoretician," and to his paper, *Le Mouvement socialiste*, as "the syndicalist movement's principal journal."⁹

Sorel's ideas were not always consistent (according to Jennings, the key feature of Sorel's thought was precisely its "disunity" and "pluralism").¹⁰ Sorel was also very much a representative of a particular mood among radical Western intellectuals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—a mood that has been called the "Revolt against Reason."¹¹ This stressed feeling over thought, action over theory, will over reason, and youth over civilisation. It is from this perspective that Sorel's characteristic opposition to rationalism and parliamentary democracy, and his belief in the regenerative power of myth and violence, must be understood. Sorel thought that Europe was in a state of decadence, and that the bourgeoisie was incapable of carrying out the historic mission ascribed to it by Marx: the development of an advanced industrial basis for a future socialist society. There is no doubt that Sorel gravitated toward the French CGT when it adopted a syndicalist platform; he believed that the general strike of the syndicalists was a heroic (if irrational) myth that would galvanise the working class into violent action and thereby regenerate Europe.¹²

By linking syndicalism to the Revolt against Reason, this identification of Sorel with syndicalism has significant implications. For Bertrand, the syndicalists "failed to produce a coherent ideology ... the only identifiable common principle ... became a belief in the efficacy of violence and direct action."¹³ According to Emmet O'Connor, syndicalism was less a strategy than a mood, an "exaltation of will over reason," an "anti-intellectual and anti-rational" trend in the labour movement that infused an "irrational impulse ... into industrial unrest."¹⁴ Further, given that the sentiments of the Revolt against Reason later found their key expression in Italian fascism, and given that Sorel later associated with the far Right, while Labriola became an outright fascist, the identification of syndicalism and Sorel lends itself to the thesis that syndicalism had close links to Italian fascism—a claim that will be dealt with separately below.

The notion that Sorel was the "leading theorist" of syndicalism was assiduously promoted by the man himself, but is nonetheless quite baseless.¹⁵ Sorel was essentially a commentator on the syndicalist movement from outside, one who, moreover, tended to see his own convictions—such as an opposition to rationalism, a hostility toward democracy, and the belief in the power of myth and violence—in

the CGT. His actual influence on the syndicalist movement was negligible. As far back as 1914, Levine argued that the notion that Sorel was the leader of syndicalism "is a 'myth' and should be discarded," noting that Sorel and his circle did not develop the basic ideas of syndicalism or act as spokespersons for the CGT; they were "no more than a group of writers ... watching the syndicalist movement from the outside ... stimulated by it," but whose ideas were often at odds with those of the syndicalists.¹⁶

The syndicalists agreed. Sorel and his followers, argued Rocker, "never belonged to the movement itself, nor had they any mentionable influence on its internal development."¹⁷ Syndicalism "existed and lived among the workers long before" Sorel and others wrote about it," Goldman observed.¹⁸ Her point is important. Sorel's interest in syndicalism in the early twentieth century came nearly ten years *after* the start of the rise of French syndicalism and therefore he can hardly be described as the movement's "theorist." The key biography of Sorel supports these claims: Sorel's outline of syndicalist doctrine was unoriginal, his reflections on syndicalism were a "response" to an existing movement, his influence was "negligible," and his support for syndicalism lasted only from around 1905 to 1909, at which time he moved to the far Right.¹⁹ It is, moreover, "impossible to show a direct link between the militants of the French labour movement and the philosophers of the Revolt against Reason": "Sorel had no contact with the labour movement," never set foot in the CGT offices, "played no part, however small, in its affairs," and had "fundamental differences" with the CGT unionists.²⁰

"Sorel speculated on the syndicalist movement from outside, elaborating ideas that syndicalist militants would not have endorsed even had they been fully familiar with them."²¹ Sorel had no "appreciable attention in France, let alone a following."²² It would have been difficult to find syndicalist militants who preferred to "regenerate decadent bourgeois society" rather than destroy it, or who regarded the general strike as nothing but a heroic myth. He "had no direct connection with the syndicalist movement, whose ideas were evolved independently of and, indeed, before the appearance of Sorel, and the real syndicalists certainly did not support his mythical interpretation of syndicalism."²³ Despite suggesting that Sorel was the "theorist" of syndicalism, even Joll admitted that "Sorel was not ... launching a new strategy for the working classes ... but rather trying to fit what they were already doing into his own highly personal, subjective and romantic view of society."²⁴ Sorel was indeed far closer to the extreme Right than to the syndicalists. To these points it might be added that the Revolt against Reason was largely confined to academic and artistic circles, and had a negligible impact on the broad socialist movement, and even less on organised labour.

The distance between Sorel, Labriola, and the Revolt against Reason, on the one hand, and syndicalism, on the other, removes much of the basis for claims that there was some sort of special affinity between fascism and syndicalism. Nevertheless, because of the assertions positing such a connection—which are made mainly by reference to Italy and the archetypal fascist movement of Mussolini—it is necessary to sketch out some historical background. A syndicalist current emerged in the Italian Socialist Party (PSI) and its affiliated General Confederation of Labour (CGL, later the Italian General Confederation of Labour, CGIL) in the early twen-

tieth century. It formed a National Resistance Committee in 1907, which was expelled in 1908. Placed under severe pressure in the CGL, the syndicalists broke away en bloc to form the Italian Syndicalist Union (USI) in 1912. When the First World War started, it became clear that a militantly nationalist and militarist faction had emerged in the USI, which adopted a prowar position; associated with Labriola, this minority was driven out by the USI, formed the Italian Labour Union (UIL) in 1915, and eventually linked up with Mussolini, who represented a similar breakaway from the PSI.

These developments have suggested to some writers that there was a close connection between syndicalism and fascism. Bertrand identifies Italian syndicalism with the UIL (as opposed to the USI, which he describes as anarchist).²⁵ Likewise, O'Connor alleges that Italian syndicalism laid "a theoretical basis for post-war fascism," drawing on the work of A. James Gregor, and David Roberts, who stress the UIL link to the later Fascist movement and the influence of Sorel on Mussolini.²⁶ Another writer on Italian anarchism maintains that there were "syndicalist intellectuals" influenced by Sorel and his cothinkers who "helped to generate, or sympathetically endorsed" the emerging Fascist movement, sharing its "populist and republican rhetoric."²⁷

Such arguments are not convincing. The critical point is that the UIL group had broken with the basic politics of syndicalism with its embrace of nationalism and militarism. Moreover, the prowar section of the USI was a minority, and was roundly defeated and expelled at a special USI congress in September 1914, in line with the victorious antiwar resolution put forward by Armando Borghi.²⁸ Born in Castel Bolognese, he became an anarchist militant at age sixteen, moved to Bologna in 1900, was arrested repeatedly for antimilitarist and anarchist work as well as propaganda, and edited *L'Aurora* ("The Dawn").²⁹ In 1907, he became a union activist, was part of this syndicalist current in the CGL and PSI, went into exile in 1911, and returned in 1912, joining the USI. Active in antimilitarist work and the Red Week of 1914, a popular uprising, he led the struggle against the UIL tendency, became the USI secretary, and directed the union paper *Guerra di classe* ("Class War"). In 1920, he visited the USSR (missing the 1920 Italian factory occupation movement) and was singularly unimpressed by Lenin. Jailed with Malatesta and others later that year, he left Italy with the Fascist takeover in 1922 for France and then the United States, returning in the 1940s and 1950s to Italy, where he helped produce the revived *Umanita Nova* ("New Humanity"). He died in 1968.

It was people of the calibre and convictions of Borghi, not nationalists like Labriola, who represented Italian syndicalism. Furthermore, rather than enjoying close link with Fascists, the "anarchists probably suffered greater violence proportionate to their numbers than other political opponents of fascism," and Fascist squads played a central role in the destruction of the syndicalist unions in Italy.³⁰ "It is no coincidence," notes a recent study, "that the strongest working class resistance to Fascism was in ... towns or cities in which there was a strong anarchist, syndicalist or anarcho-syndicalist tradition."³¹ In 1922, the USI helped organise a general strike to try to halt the Fascist takeover in Italy and was involved in great street battles against fascist paramilitaries in Parma in August that year. Banned in 1926,

the underground USI and other anarchist groups, such as the Galleanists, continued to wage a bitter struggle against the dictatorship.

The First International and the First Syndicalists

Where, then, did syndicalist ideas emerge? The evidence supports an alternative argument: that the syndicalist conception arose within the anarchist movement in the first days of the First International. According to Levine, the “anarchists entering the syndicates” in France “largely contributed to the revolutionary turn which the syndicates took,” and their “main ideas” may “all be found” in the First International, “especially in the writings of the Bakounist [*sic*] or federalist wing”; syndicalism was not really a “new theory” but “a return to the old theories.”³² For Lewis Lorwin, similarly, 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.”³³ Joll admits that syndicalist ideas were, “in a sense,” a return to Bakunin and the anarchists of the First International.³⁴

Reviewing the literature, Thorpe holds that the syndicalists were “the anarchist current within the workers’ movement,” representing “the non-political tradition of socialism deriving from the libertarian wing of the First International” and the writings of Bakunin.³⁵ In his excellent study of the IWW, Sal Salerno likewise notes that “the libertarian wing of the First International” launched modern syndicalism.³⁶ Obviously syndicalism cannot be conflated with anarchism—not all anarchists accepted it, and some syndicalists rejected the anarchist label—but syndicalism must be regarded as the progeny of anarchism, as an anarchist *strategy or variant* rather than an alternative to anarchism.

The view that anarchism and syndicalism were integrally linked was commonplace in the anarchist literature of the “glorious period,” the movement’s peak from the mid-1890s to the mid-1920s. Guillaume commented: “What is the CGT if not the continuation of the First International?”³⁷ Goldman argued that the First International saw “Bakunin and the Latin workers forging ahead along industrial and Syndicalist lines”: “Syndicalism is, in essence, the economic expression of Anarchism.”³⁸ Kropotkin maintained that the “current opinions of the French syndicalists are organically linked with the early ideas formed by the left wing of the International,” and that syndicalism’s “theoretical assumptions are based on the teachings of Libertarian or Anarchist Socialism.”³⁹ Malatesta believed that syndicalism was “already glimpsed and followed, in the International, by the first of the anarchists.”⁴⁰ Maximoff stated that the views “basic to French Revolutionary Syndicalism, and which have since been stressed continually by those Anarchists who now call themselves Anarcho-Syndicalists,” went back to the First International.⁴¹ For Rocker, “Anarcho-Syndicalism is a direct continuation of those social aspirations which took shape in the bosom of the First International, and which were best understood and most strongly held by the libertarian wing of the great workers’ alliance.”⁴²

If many syndicalists viewed “themselves as the descendants” of the anarchist wing of the First International, it is also notable that both Marx and Engels consis-

tently identified anarchism with syndicalism.⁴³ Marx, for example, complained that anarchists contended that workers “must ... organise themselves by trades-unions” to “supplant the existing states,” while Engels lamented the “Bakuninist” conception that the “general strike is the lever employed by which the social revolution is started”; “One fine morning all the workers of all the industries of a country, or even of the whole world, stop work,” added Engels, to “pull down the entire old society.”⁴⁴

There was certainly ample support for this view in the works of Bakunin and the Alliance.⁴⁵ For instance, the Jura section of the First International, an anarchist stronghold, maintained that “the future Europe would be a simple federation of labour unions without any distinction according to nationality,” while the Romande Federation, based in Francophone Switzerland, described “federated unions as the only weapon capable of assuring the success of the social revolution.”⁴⁶ While Marx hoped to see the First International become an international grouping of political parties aiming at state power, Bakunin tended to regard the organisation as the nucleus of an international union federation, an “organisation of professions and trades” that should strive for the “immediate aim—reduction of working hours and higher wages,” prepare “for strikes,” raise “strike funds,” and unify “workers into one organisation.”⁴⁷ These unions must be democratic, participatory, and accountable to the membership to prevent hierarchies from emerging, and to promote the self-activity of the rank-and-file; “the absence of opposition and control and of continuous vigilance” by members becomes a “source of depravity for all individuals vested with social power.”⁴⁸

For Bakunin, the experience of practical solidarity and immediate struggles, in tandem with the work of the Alliance in promoting the “new faith” of anarchism, would see the First International forge the powerful “ties of economic solidarity and fraternal sentiment” between the “workers in all occupations in all lands.” The First International should also provide the basis to “erect upon the ruins of the old world the free federation of workers’ associations.” Its structures, organised along the lines of trades and professions, crossing national borders, and coordinated through “Chambers of Labour,” would supply the lever for social revolution along with the basic infrastructure of a self-managed and stateless socialist order:

The organisation of the trade sections and their representation in the Chambers of Labour creates a great academy in which all the workers can and must study economic science; these sections also bear in themselves the living seeds of the new society which is to replace the old world. They are creating not only the ideas, but the facts of the future itself.⁴⁹

When the “revolution, ripened by the force of events, breaks out, there will be a real force ready which knows what to do and is capable of guiding the revolution in the direction marked out for it by the aspirations of the people: a serious international organisation of workers’ associations of all lands capable of replacing this departing world of *states*.”⁵⁰ Bakunin did not himself seem to have raised the idea of the revolutionary general strike at this time, but the notion was current in anarchist circles. The first properly constituted congress of the anarchist wing of the First International, held in Geneva in 1873, suggested a focus on “international trade union organisation” and “active socialist propaganda,” and delegates raised the view that a general strike was the key to social revolution.⁵¹ It is not surprising, then, that the

syndicalist IWA formed in 1922 adopted as its name the International Workingmen's Association—the name of the old First International—for they considered themselves the real heirs of that venerated body.⁵²

The First Wave: Syndicalism before the French CGT

To summarise, one of the main differences between Marx and Bakunin was on the union question: Marx saw unions as (at most) a school of struggle that could contribute to the formation of a revolutionary political party, while Bakunin adopted a syndicalist position.⁵³ Now if syndicalism existed as a key element of anarchism from its origins, two points follow. First, syndicalism is *part of* anarchism. Second, syndicalism *preceded* the formation of the French CGT. The latter point contradicts both the notion that Sorel was the theorist of syndicalism and the view that syndicalism first “arose in France as a revolt against political Socialism” in the 1890s, as a result of a rapprochement between “various groups” on the Left.⁵⁴ Obviously the French example is absolutely central: the term “revolutionary syndicalism” is, after all, an Anglicisation of *syndicalisme révolutionnaire*, literally “revolutionary unionism,” and only appears from the 1890s against the backdrop of the rise of the CGT.

The notion that syndicalism “was born in France” in the late nineteenth century is mistaken, however.⁵⁵ The doctrine of syndicalism, as we have argued, can be traced back to the days of the anarchist wing of the First International. To this should be added that there was a significant wave of syndicalist unionism in the 1870s and 1880s. In 1870, the anarchists of the Alliance formed the FORE in Spain, which was to become the largest single section of the First International. At its 1872 congress, delegates represented 20,000 Spanish workers in 236 local federations and perhaps 600 union trade sections, and in 1873, the membership reached 60,000.⁵⁶ “Whether or not one uses the term, the fundamental structure of anarchism” in Spain and elsewhere was “always syndicalist.”⁵⁷

The FORE structure adopted in 1871 anticipated in “many respects the syndicalist form of organisation later adopted by the French CGT,” and a vision of syndicalist revolution was widely held by 1873—the year that the anarchists helped organise a general strike in Alcoy and Barcelona, and were driven underground.⁵⁸ These early Spanish anarchists saw the unions as “an arm of war” under capitalism and a “structure for the peace that would follow,” with revolutionary unionism “a basic article in the credo of the Spanish Internationalists” that preceded the CGT example by decades.⁵⁹ Like Bakunin, the founders of Spanish anarchism believed revolutionary “labour organisations” would “destroy the bourgeois state”: “the Federation would rule.”⁶⁰

The successors of FORE, such as the Spanish Regional Labourers' Federation (FTRE) formed in 1881 and claiming to have seventy thousand members a year later, and the Pact of Union and Solidarity, launched in 1891, revived this approach and anticipated the better-known syndicalist unions of twentieth-century Spain like the CNT.⁶¹ The FORE model was also adopted in Cuba, where anarchists took control of the labour movement from around 1884. Following an early success with the 1883 Artisans' Central Council in Havana, the anarchists formed a Workers' Circle among cigar makers, printers, and tailors in 1885, a Tobacco Workers' Federation

in 1886, the Workers' Alliance in 1887 or 1888, and then the Federation of Cuban Workers, followed by the anarchist Cuban Labour Confederation (CTC) in 1895.⁶²

The Cuban movement organised among both white workers and newly emancipated black slaves (abolition took place only in 1886), and also established affiliates in Cuban communities in the United States.⁶³ A key figure was Enrique Roig de San Martín.⁶⁴ Born in Havana, he wrote in *El Obrero* ("The Worker"), the first Cuban anarchist newspaper, *El Boletín del Gremio de Obreros* ("Workers' Guild Bulletin"), and founded, in 1887, *El Productor* ("The Producer"), a popular anarchist paper. Roig de San Martín helped found the Workers' Alliance and was active in the Cuban labour movement. He died in 1889 at the age of forty-six in a diabetic coma, a few days after being released from a jail term.

The 1880s also saw a parallel development in the United States, where an anarchist network of "considerable proportions" emerged in the early 1880s.⁶⁵ Organised through the IWPA in Pittsburgh in 1883, these anarchists endorsed a syndicalist approach, according to which the union was the vehicle of class struggle, a weapon for revolution, and "the embryonic group of the future 'free society,'" "the autonomous commune in the process of incubation."⁶⁶ The person who formulated this thesis was Albert Parsons. Born in Montgomery, Alabama, he served in the Confederate Army, like many young white men of his generation, during the American Civil War (1861–1865). After the war, he became a firm opponent of slavery, and one of the "Radical Republicans" who tried to use postwar Reconstruction and abolition to enfranchise blacks and redistribute land. Subject to numerous attacks from the groups that would coalesce as the Ku Klux Klan, and married to Lucy Parsons, who will be discussed more in chapter 10, he moved to Chicago, helped found the IWPA, and became a leading anarchist orator as well as the editor of the anarchist paper the *Alarm*.

From its Chicago stronghold, the IWPA took over the Federative Union of Metal Workers of America and founded the syndicalist CLU in 1884; by 1886, the CLU was Chicago's biggest union federation, counting among its twenty-four affiliates the city's eleven largest unions. That year it was able to mobilise eighty thousand marchers on May 1 as part of the U.S.-wide strike for the eight-hour day, in which the anarchists played an important role. This movement was crippled by the Haymarket Affair, which saw eight Chicago IWPA militants arrested in 1887 for a supposed bomb plot; five, among them Albert Parsons and August Spies (1855–1887), were sentenced to death, and three got life imprisonment.⁶⁷

November 11, the day of the executions, was long commemorated by the anarchist movement. Another IWPA legacy was May Day, which was chosen as an international day of labour unity and action to commemorate the martyred Haymarket anarchists and their role in the struggle for the eight-hour day.⁶⁸ The IWPA's syndicalism would later be known as the "Chicago Idea," and would profoundly influence subsequent generations of radicals in the United States. Foster of the SLNA, for instance, would later recall that his circle, which defined syndicalism as "anarchism made practical," "consciously defined itself the continuer of the traditions of the great struggle of '86, led by the Anarcho-Syndicalists, Parsons, Spies, *et al*, and we were in constant contact with many of the veterans of that heroic fight."⁶⁹ He was heavily influenced by Jay Fox, an anarchist whose "theories in 1911 were a curious

amalgam of the old anarchist 'Chicago Idea' and Social Darwinism."⁷⁰ The Haymarket case and the Chicago Idea also had an important influence on the founders of the IWW, many of whom (their number included Lucy Parsons) consciously linked the new union to the efforts of the Chicago martyrs.⁷¹

There are indications of similar developments elsewhere. In Mexico, the early labour movement was heavily influenced by Fourier and Proudhon, and orientated toward forming cooperatives, mutual aid groups, and proto-union "resistance societies."⁷² This libertarian orientation, the rise of the First International, and ongoing links with Spain through immigration and language contributed to the rise of a distinctly anarchist current in the country. A clandestine anarchist political group, *La Social*, dated back to 1865, reconvened in 1871, and reorganised in 1876.⁷³ A key figure was Francisco Zalacosta (1844–1880), the son of an officer in the Liberal forces that entered Mexico City in 1854. The ward of a wealthy family in the city, he was exposed to anarchist ideas, became active in *La Social*, and edited its paper, *La Internacional* ("The International"). He was also active in the early labour group *Círculo Proletario* ("Workers' Circle"), which was formed in 1869 and organised urban workers, and in 1878 played a leading role in a peasant uprising in Chalco. Following an eighteen-month campaign, in which haciendas were attacked and their land given to peasants, Zalacosta was captured and executed.

The *Círculo Proletario*, inspired by news of the First International, helped convene a Workers Grand Circle (CGO); anarchists soon became prominent, with *La Social* sending representatives. The CGO was mainly made up of resistance societies. It supported strikes, and favoured a "political boycott and the refusal to recognise governments larger than the local community, or *municipio libre*," and insisted that workers must emancipate themselves, "using as their ultimate weapon the social revolution."⁷⁴ In practice, though, the anarchist minority was heavily focused on forming cooperatives. By 1874, the CGO had around 8,000 members, but the anarchists felt that the time had come for a proper union body; this was duly established in 1876 as the CGOM, which claimed to have 50,236 members by 1882.⁷⁵ Its manifesto called for "emancipating the workers from the capitalist yoke," and *La Social* aimed to develop the body into something "similar in nature" to the twentieth-century Spanish CNT.⁷⁶ *La Social* was represented at the 1877 congress of the anarchist First International, and the CGOM joined the Black International.

These early syndicalist initiatives were overshadowed by the rise of insurrectionist anarchism. By the late 1880s, however, as we have indicated in the previous chapter, there was a major swing back to mass anarchism. Malatesta quietly moved away from propaganda by the deed, and Kropotkin, who had initially been sympathetic to insurrectionism, now declared, "We have to be with the people, which is no longer calling for isolated acts, but for men of action in its own ranks."⁷⁷ He reminded his comrades of the centrality of "the economic struggle of labour against capital," noting that "since the times of the International ... the anarchists have always advised taking an active part in those workers' organisations which carry on the *direct* struggle of labour against capital and its protector—the State."⁷⁸ Even Most, previously a firebrand insurrectionist, shifted his stance in the 1890s, promoting syndicalism to German and Russian immigrants in the United States as "the most practical form of organisation for the realisation of anarchist-communism."⁷⁹

Developments in France played a particularly important role in the revitalisation of syndicalism. The general decline in anarchism in the 1880s in many countries—in large part due to the isolation attendant on the rise of insurrectionist anarchism—was rapidly reversed in the 1890s by the situation in France, where “the Anarchists, beginning with their famous ‘raid’ on the unions in the nineties had defeated the reformist Socialists and captured almost the entire French union movement.”⁸⁰

The French breakthrough attracted worldwide attention (unlike, for example, the concurrent successes of syndicalism in Cuba and Spain), and in this sense it is not without justice that Rocker could argue that the “modern Anarcho-syndicalist movement in Europe ... owes its origin to the rise of revolutionary Syndicalism in France, with its field of influence in the CGT.”⁸¹ It opened up the glorious period of anarchism and syndicalism, from the mid-1890s to the mid-1920s.⁸² In this period, it was above all in the union movement that anarchism advanced. Rather than “the record of the anarchosyndicalist movement” being “one of the most abysmal in the history of anarchism generally,” as Bookchin states, it was precisely through the new wave of syndicalism that anarchism was reborn as a mass movement.⁸³ Indeed, it was through syndicalism that anarchism became “an effective and formidable force in practical politics.”⁸⁴ The Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm, by no means an admirer of anarchism and syndicalism, would later admit that

in 1905–1914, the marxist left had in most countries been on the fringe of the revolutionary movement, the main body of marxists had been identified with a *de facto* non-revolutionary social democracy, while the bulk of the revolutionary left was anarcho-syndicalist, or at least much closer to the ideas and the mood of anarcho-syndicalism than to that of classical marxism.⁸⁵

In the glorious period, and after, anarchists and syndicalists established or influenced unions in countries as varied as Argentina, Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, France, Germany, Guatemala, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, the United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

In summary, syndicalism preceded the French CGT by more than two decades, and was intrinsically linked to the anarchist movement from the start. The syndicalist conception was not invented in France in the 1890s and then exported elsewhere; instead, what happened in France in the 1890s was a *revival* of the mass anarchist tradition, a return to the policies of Bakunin, not their supersession by a new current. The politics of the French CGT itself must be situated within the broad anarchist tradition and its history, and the entry of the anarchists into the French unions must be seen as the consequence of an *internal* strategic debate within the broad anarchist tradition. The conquest of the CGT played a decisive role in the decline of insurrectionist anarchism, but this role was demonstrative and inspirational, rather than innovative. The point is that there was in fact a wave of early syndicalist organizing, in the 1870s and 1880s, preceding the better known wave starting in the 1890s.

The IWW and Syndicalism

We have consistently identified the IWW with syndicalism and therefore as part of the broad anarchist tradition. There are, however, two traditions in the literature that would reject this assertion: the argument that maintains that the IWW was more Marxist than syndicalist in character, and the view that sees the IWW as developing independently of and separate to syndicalism. We suggest neither of these approaches is convincing.

The view that the IWW was Marxist rather than anarchist takes various forms. In some cases, the IWW is presented as “a curious blend of Marxism, syndicalism and anarchism” that “contained too many Marxist elements to be truly libertarian.”⁸⁶ The “central idea of the One Big Union” has, for example, been seen as “fundamentally opposed to the anarchists’ passionately held ideals of localism and decentralisation.”⁸⁷ Alternatively, it has been suggested that the IWW was “by no means committed to anarchism,” and that major IWW leaders were never anarchists.⁸⁸ A more far-reaching version of this line maintains that the IWW was “classically Marxist” in outlook and “owed its greatest philosophical debt to Marx.”⁸⁹ Whereas European syndicalists were influenced by anarchism, the IWW had “strongly defined Marxist views, which were impressed on it more particularly by Daniel De Leon.”⁹⁰ Thus, the IWW expected an “understanding of Marxism to catalyse the experience of workers,” and its “particular novelty” was really “the temper with which it expounded Marxism.”⁹¹

The notion that the IWW was classically Marxist and distinguished from other Marxists chiefly by its “temper” is obviously not easily reconciled with Marx and Engels’ view that the “constitution of the proletariat into a political party is indispensable,” and that the “conquest of political power” is the “great task of the proletariat.”⁹² It is difficult to imagine Marx endorsing the IWW’s *Preamble* of 1908:

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common....

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organise as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system....

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organised, not only for every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organising industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.⁹³

This is a characteristically syndicalist outlook, and its substance is not changed by the fact that the IWW was influenced by Marxist economics: there was nothing unusual about this.⁹⁴ Arguments that the IWW differed from anarchism in that it favoured mass struggles, and differed from syndicalism in that it advocated political education and opposed craft unionism, are based on something of a misunderstanding of anarchism and syndicalism, as is the notion that One Big Union is incompatible with anarchism.⁹⁵ In stressing industrial rather than craft unions, the IWW differed with many in the French CGT, but craft unionism was not a syndicalist principle; the Spanish CNT, for example, sought to organise industrial unions.

The view that the IWW developed independently of syndicalism usually makes the case that the IWW was purely the product of U.S. circumstances—spe-

cifically the bitter class struggles on the frontier. This stance emerged in the 1920s in U.S. scholarship, has been restated in recent years, and maintains that the IWW developed parallel to and independently of syndicalism elsewhere.⁹⁶ This perspective can be found in standard histories of anarchism, which claim the IWW “drew so much of its vigour and methods from the hard traditions of the American frontier” as well as in anarchist accounts that see the IWW as “wholly the outgrowth of American conditions.”⁹⁷

This “frontier origins thesis” is partly the result of a methodological nationalism that presents U.S. culture as free of foreign influences, and also arises from attempts by sympathisers to stress the U.S. credentials of the IWW.⁹⁸ The IWW itself sometimes stressed its U.S. character and roots.⁹⁹ Yet it is difficult to defend the view that the IWW developed separately to syndicalism elsewhere or was really a product of U.S. frontier conditions. The IWW was demonstrably influenced by both U.S. and immigrant anarchist and syndicalist traditions going back as far as the IWPA, was directly shaped by the French CGT, and expressed its identity with syndicalism elsewhere in many ways.¹⁰⁰

The ideas of the IWW were also clearly syndicalist in character. Political socialism was “completely absent” in IWW thinking, and the IWW had “no conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat.”¹⁰¹ “There will be no such thing as the State or States ... industries will take the place of what are now existing States.”¹⁰² It aimed to form a union movement that would “serve as a militant organ in the daily struggle with the employing class” and ultimately “a means of taking over the industry by the workers and ... function as a productive or distributive organ.”¹⁰³ The IWW’s “refusal to ally itself with parliamentary socialism, its repudiation of leaders or apotheosis of the collective membership, and its counter-emphasis on drawing from a proletarian culture of struggle as a means of building a movement aimed at social transformation, defines its indigenous anti-political philosophy as well as its major link to European anarcho-syndicalism.”¹⁰⁴

“There is no doubt that all the main ideas of modern revolutionary unionism ... exhibited by the IWW may be found in the old International Workingmen’s Association.”¹⁰⁵ There is “no escaping the similarities between the principles of the IWW and the sort of Syndicalism which was ... sweeping ... the European labour movement.”¹⁰⁶ The “basic nature of the IWW was that of a syndicalist organisation”; there was “no difference on most fundamental issues” between the French CGT and the U.S. IWW, and virtually “every scholar who has dealt extensively with the IWW has considered it as a form of syndicalism.”¹⁰⁷ There is, in short, very little basis to present the IWW as Marxist, rather than syndicalist, or to suggest that the IWW was not basically syndicalist.

De Leon and Connolly

The question of Marxism and the IWW does bear more examination, though. There is no doubt that many prominent IWW figures like Haywood and Trautmann admired Marx, identified as Marxian socialists, accepted Marx’s economic determinism to an extent unmatched by most other anarchists and syndicalists, and sometimes denounced anarchism.¹⁰⁸ At the same time, they advocated a “gov-

ernment” of “Industrial Socialism” through One Big Union rather than a “political state.”¹⁰⁹ This is not a serious objection to the IWW being included within the broad anarchist tradition. As we have argued, self-identification as a Marxist or an anarchist is less important than the *content* of the ideas adopted, and the ideas of the IWW are certainly within the ambit of the broad anarchist tradition. It was not necessary that every IWW leader declare themselves an anarchist; their syndicalism was anarchist in itself, for syndicalism was a type of anarchism.

It may yet be necessary to explain why we have described De Leonism as a form of syndicalism. De Leon was born in Curaçao and educated in Europe, moving in 1874 to the United States, where he studied at Columbia University. In 1890, he joined the Socialist Labour Party (SLP) and edited its paper, *The People*. The SLP, formed in 1876 by classical Marxists associated with the First International, developed a significant anarchist section that included Albert Parsons and broke away to form the IWPA.¹¹⁰ The remaining SLP adopted the view that a working-class majority would “sweep presidential and congressional elections, and then utilise its governmental majority to legislate into existence public ownership,” and joined the Labour and Socialist International.¹¹¹ Under De Leon, it developed a reputation for purism and sectarianism, organisational authoritarianism, and nasty polemics; increasingly influenced by the iron law of wages idea, it began to reject struggles for reforms and became a vehicle of “revolutionary authoritarianism” by the early twentieth century.¹¹² Driven out of the established unions, the SLP formed an unsuccessful Socialist Trade and Labour Alliance in 1895, and was soon overshadowed by the newly launched SPA.

It was from these unlikely beginnings that the SLP evolved into a syndicalist party. For reasons that are not entirely clear, around 1904 the “heart” of De Leon’s “revolutionary theory” was undergoing “dramatic and thoroughgoing alterations” toward revolutionary syndicalism.¹¹³ The SLP was one of the founders of the IWW, and by the close of the founding conference, De Leon had completed his metamorphosis. He now believed that only “trade union action could transfer property from individual to social ownership.”¹¹⁴ For De Leon, henceforth, a parliamentary road to socialism was a “gigantic Utopia,” because the working class could not use a state “built up in the course of centuries of class rule for the purpose of protecting and maintaining the domination of the particular class which happens to be on top” to overthrow class society.¹¹⁵

It could only emancipate itself through “Industrial Unionism, an economic weapon, against which all the resources of capital ... will be ineffective and impotent.”¹¹⁶ The “*Industrial Unions will furnish the administrative machinery for directing industry in the socialist commonwealth*” after the “general lockout of the capitalist class” and the “razing” of the state to the ground.¹¹⁷ Self-management in industry would be impossible under the state, whose electoral districts were based on regional demarcations; only along industrial lines could workers organise direct and democratic control over the different sectors of the economy.¹¹⁸ While De Leon continued to insist that he was a good Marxist and certainly no anarchist or syndicalist, his new approach “ran directly counter to the thought of Marx and Engels.”¹¹⁹ The following quote serves as ample illustration:

The overthrow of class rule means the overthrow of the political State, and its substitution with the Industrial Social Order, under which the necessities for production are collectively owned and operated by and for the people.... Industrial Unionism casts the nation in the mould of useful occupations, and transforms the nation's government into the representations from these.... Industrial Unionism is the Socialist Republic in the making ... the Industrial Union is at once the battering ram with which to pound down the fortress of Capitalism, and the successor of the capitalist social structure itself.¹²⁰

De Leon did not, however, repudiate all electoral activity. In his view, "Socialist Industrial Unionism" must organise on the "economic field" as well as the "political field." By the political field, he meant not only elections but also the realm of ideas. The aim was partly to spread propaganda to build One Big Union.¹²¹ Conversely, the growth of One Big Union would see increasing electoral power for the SLP: De Leon asserted that "the political movement is absolutely the reflex of the economic organisation." In addition he suggested—and this was something few other syndicalists would accept—that a socialist majority in parliament (a consequence of One Big Union) could aid the "general lockout of the capitalist class" by paralysing the state. The state was to be "taken" only "for the purpose of *abolishing it*," and the representatives of the working class would "*adjourn themselves on the spot*."¹²² In other words, elections were *secondary*, a tactic subordinated to the strategy of revolutionary industrial unionism.¹²³

This view, which was not so different from that supported at times by figures like Haywood, proved highly controversial, and coupled with suspicions regarding the SLP, led to a serious schism in the IWW.¹²⁴ At the fourth annual IWW convention in 1908, the union's "anti-political" majority, centred on Vincent St. John and Haywood, argued that participation in elections was futile, created illusions in the capitalist state, divided workers into different political parties, and in any case was irrelevant to a large part of the working class that the One Big Union sought to organise: blacks, immigrants, women, and children.¹²⁵

Charging that the convention was rigged, De Leon and the SLP withdrew, and the union split into the "Detroit IWW," headed by the De Leonists, and the "Chicago IWW" majority, opposed to electioneering. Because the De Leonist faction was a distinct minority in the United States, and because it changed its name to the Workers' International Industrial Union in 1915, we will, except where stated otherwise, use the phrase "U.S. IWW" to refer to the Chicago IWW. The De Leonists adopted the IWW's original 1905 *Preamble*, which had a clause stating that the working class must "come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field."¹²⁶ The Chicago IWW, however, revised the *Preamble* in 1908 to remove all references to the political field.

The split was replicated in movements inspired by the IWW across the English-speaking world, although the balance of influence between the Chicago IWW and the SLP did not always follow the U.S. pattern: in Australia, the SLP was routed by Chicago IWW adherents; in Britain, the SLP tradition was, however, the most influential; both traditions were represented in South Africa, but the SLP approach tended to predominate. Many overseas SLP groups were notably less sectarian and

dogmatic than the SLP in the United States, and less committed to the principle of “dual unionism”—that is, the idea that new separate revolutionary unions must be formed outside the existing unions. In Scotland, for example, De Leonists played a crucial part in the radical shop stewards’ movement that began in the industrial Clydeside area in 1915; faced with the new development and its own leading role in it, the SLP “abandoned dual unionism.”¹²⁷ In South Africa, adherents of both IWW tendencies worked together to form some of the first unions among workers of colour.

In Ireland, De Leonist ideas had a significant influence on the legendary activist Connolly. Born in the slum of Cowgate in Edinburgh, Connolly was active in a number of socialist groups before moving to Ireland in 1896. In 1902, he went to the United States to help an SLP election campaign; in 1903, he worked briefly as an organiser for the SLP in Scotland; from 1903 to 1908, he lived in the United States as an SLP and IWW activist, and clashed with De Leon over the iron law of wages, marriage, and religion.¹²⁸ Returning to Ireland, Connolly was active in labour and the Left. He was executed in 1916 for his role in the Easter Uprising, an unsuccessful insurrection against Britain, headed by Irish nationalists.

In Ireland, Connolly worked with James “Big Jim” Larkin to unite workers across sectarian lines in the Irish Transport and General Workers Union (ITGWU), formed in 1908. This was not a syndicalist union, although it had syndicalist elements.¹²⁹ Both men hoped it could become the nucleus of a revolutionary One Big Union.¹³⁰ Larkin, born in the slums of Liverpool to a poor family, became an organiser for the National Dock Labourers’ Union in Britain and Ireland, was expelled from the union for his role in unofficial strikes, and then helped found the ITGWU. Working from Dublin, he founded the *Irish Worker*, and with Connolly, formed the Independent Irish Labour Party in 1912, following which the ITGWU was involved in the Dublin Lockout from 1913 to 1914. Larkin later left for the United States, where he was involved with the IWW and SPA, became a supporter of Bolshevism, and was jailed and then deported in the Red Scare of the late 1910s. On his return, he formed the Irish Worker League (linked to the Comintern), was involved in elections, broke with the USSR in the 1930s, and then rejoined the Labour Party, dying in 1947.

Like De Leon, Connolly stressed the primacy of revolutionary industrial unions and their role as the “framework of the society of the future,” rejected the “bureaucratic state,” and maintained that “the political, territorial state of capitalist society will have no place or function under Socialism”:

In the light of this principle of Industrial Unionism every fresh shop or factory organised under its banner is a fort wrenched from the control of the capitalist class and manned with soldiers of the Revolution to be held by them for the workers. On the day that the political and economic forces of labour finally break with capitalist society and declare the Workers’ Republic these shops and factories so manned by Industrial Unionists will then be taken charge of by the workers there employed, and force and effectiveness thus given to that proclamation. Then and thus the new society will spring into existence ready equipped to perform all the useful functions of its predecessor.¹³¹

In other words, “they who are building up industrial organisations for the practical purposes of to-day are at the same time preparing the framework of the society of the future ... the principle of democratic control will operate through the workers correctly organised in ... Industrial Unions.” Like De Leon, Connolly favoured participation in elections, as the “perfected” industrial organisation should organise a Socialist Party as a “political weapon” wielded by the “Industrially Organised Working Class.” Yet “the fight for the conquest of the political state is not the battle, it is only the echo of the battle,” and the state must be abolished on the day of the revolution.¹³²

In closing the discussion on the IWW, there are several points worth highlighting. The IWW should be considered a syndicalist movement, and more precisely, as a revolutionary syndicalist movement. Furthermore, figures like Haywood, De Leon, and Connolly should be included in the broad anarchist tradition, of which they form an integral part, unlike, for instance, Godwin or Stirner. The view that Connolly was “the founder of Marxism in Ireland” and worked within the “framework of the Marxism of the Second International” is misleading.¹³³ Whether he is called a “Marxian-syndicalist” or a Marxist-De Leonist, he was a syndicalist for much of his active political life.¹³⁴

There are obvious problems with De Leonism. One is a failure to consider the possibility that a steady series of SLP electoral victories would be accompanied by an equally steady incorporation of the SLP into the state apparatus, changing the revolutionary character of the party. De Leonism did not propose any systematic safeguards against this eventuality. More seriously, the view that the capitalist state could simply be closed down by a parliamentary decision assumes that parliament may act as it wishes, when there is a great deal of evidence that the state bureaucracy and military are quite capable of subverting parliamentary decisions. De Leonism does not really address this problem, unlike other types of syndicalism. We will look at rank-and-file syndicalism in chapter 7.

The “Glorious Period” of the mid-1890s to mid-1920s

It is a fairly commonly held view that the zenith of syndicalism was in the period before the outbreak of the First World War in August 1914. Kedward, for example, spoke of the “great age of the anarchists in Europe and America ... between 1880 and 1914,” while Joll argued that anarchist and syndicalist ideas were “widespread” before 1914 but declined thereafter.¹³⁵ Hobsbawm claimed that anarchism and syndicalism were major forces from 1905 to 1914, but from 1917 on, “Marxism was ... identified with actively revolutionary movements,” and “anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism entered upon a dramatic and uninterrupted decline.”¹³⁶

The notion that syndicalism declined after 1914 is misleading. It is true that the French CGT underwent a severe internal crisis with the outbreak of the war and—alone of all the syndicalist unions—declared its support of the war effort, even joining a “Sacred Union” with employers, politicians, and the state for the duration of the war. No longer syndicalist, it fractured, eventually coming under the control of the Communist Party of France (PCF). It is also true that Kropotkin and a number of other prominent anarchists like Jean Grave (1854–1939) and Cherkovov came

out in support of the Allied side. Even though “the anarchist movement as a whole opposed the war,” the prowar stance of such leading anarchists certainly disrupted it.¹³⁷

On the whole, however, syndicalist unions generally peaked *during and after* the war, a number expanded in the 1920s and 1930s, and several continued to operate after the Second World War as well. The membership in the U.S. IWW rose rapidly from less than 10,000 in 1910, to 14,000 in 1913, to 30,000 by 1915, and 100,000 by 1917.¹³⁸ Disrupted by the Red Scare of the late 1910s, it nonetheless retained 35,000 members in 1919, and seems to have continued to grow until 1924, when a serious split took place.¹³⁹ In Australia, the peak of the IWW influence was in the 1910s.

In Scotland, the SLP exerted its greatest influence through the Shop Stewards and Workers’ Committee Movement, a key example of the rank-and-file version of syndicalism that emerged in 1915.¹⁴⁰ “The *ultimate aim* of the Clyde Workers’ Committee,” wrote Willie Gallacher (1881–1965), its chair and a De Leonist, in January 1916, “is to weld these [existing] unions into one powerful organisation that will place the workers in complete control of the industry.”¹⁴¹ Born in Paisley and trained as a fitter, Gallacher was converted to socialism by the Marxist John MacLean and became a syndicalist.¹⁴² In 1916, the SLP’s Glasgow offices and press were raided, and Gallacher and John Muir, editor of the Clyde Workers’ Committee’s paper, the *Worker*, were jailed. After the war Gallacher was active in strikes and arrested, and helped found the CPGB. In the United States, meanwhile, Foster and the SLNA—and its successors after 1914 like the Trade Union Education League—played an important role in the AFL, and were prominent in the mass steel strike of 1919.¹⁴³

The Italian USI surged from 80,000 members in 1912 to 800,000 in 1920.¹⁴⁴ The Spanish CNT shot up from 100,000 members in 1914 to 700,000 in 1919.¹⁴⁵ In Portugal, the anarchists were involved in forming the National Labour Union (UON) in 1914; conquered by the anarchists and reorganised as the syndicalist CGT in 1919, it was the only national union centre in Portugal and reached a peak of 90,000 members in 1922.¹⁴⁶ In relative terms, assessed against the size of the working class and the structure of the union movement, the Portuguese CGT was considerably larger than the USI in Italy, representing perhaps 40 percent of organised labour at its peak, and the CNT in Spain, representing around 50 percent of organised labour, for it faced no rival union centres. In Germany, in “the immediate postwar period” the syndicalist Free Association of German Trade Unions, or FVdG, “expanded at a rate six times greater than any other labour organisation in the country.”¹⁴⁷ It was restructured in 1919 as the Free Workers’ Union of Germany (FAUD), which claimed 120,000 members in 1922.¹⁴⁸

In South Africa, the broad anarchist tradition can be traced back to the pioneering work in the 1880s of Henry Glasse, an anarchist linked to the Freedom Press group in London. Yet it was only in the 1910s that anarchists and syndicalists became a significant force, establishing a number of syndicalist unions among workers of colour from 1917 onward. These included the Clothing Workers’ Industrial Union, the Horse Drivers’ Union, the Industrial Workers of Africa, the Indian Workers’ Industrial Union, and the Sweet and Jam Workers’ Industrial Union.¹⁴⁹ The Industrial Workers of Africa was based in Cape Town and Johannesburg, and

is particularly notable as the first union for African workers in southern Africa. The International Socialist League played an important role in these developments; the group was heavily influenced by De Leonism and rank-and-file syndicalism, and was mainly active in Durban, Johannesburg, and Kimberley. In Cape Town, though, it was the Industrial Socialist League—a separate group, close to the views of the Chicago IWW—that formed the Sweet and Jam Workers' Industrial Union.

Two of the key figures in the South African movement were the African militant Thomas William "T. W." Thibedi (his dates of birth and death are unknown) and the Scottish immigrant Andrew B. Dunbar (1879–1964). Thibedi, the son of a Wesleyan minister, resided in the multiracial slums of Johannesburg. He joined the International Socialist League and played a crucial part in the Industrial Workers of Africa in Johannesburg, and was active in the left wing of the African nationalist group, the Transvaal Native Congress. Like many other local syndicalists, he was a founding member of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) in 1921. Subsequently head of the Federation of Non-European Trade Unions sponsored by the CPSA, Thibedi was expelled from both the union and the party during the purges of the late 1920s. He rejoined the CPSA in 1935 and flirted with Trotskyism in the 1940s.

Dunbar was a Scottish blacksmith who immigrated in 1906 to South Africa, where he joined the labour movement. He was the general secretary of the South African IWW formed in 1910, a founding member of the International Socialist League, and active in launching the Industrial Workers of Africa, later switching over to the syndicalist Industrial Socialist League. In October 1920, the Industrial Socialist League reorganised as Africa's first Communist Party, on a largely revolutionary syndicalist platform, and with Dunbar as general secretary. This party merged into what became the CPSA, where Dunbar headed a syndicalist faction. Dunbar seems to have been expelled from the CPSA and later withdrew from political activism. In Australia, too, IWW ideas continued to influence the early Communist Party of Australia (CPA), and it was only in the late 1930s that the CPA "succeeded in laying to rest the ghost of the IWW that had haunted it in its formative era."¹⁵⁰

In Argentina, the FORA federation had split into two in 1914: the FORA of the fifth congress (FORA-V) and the FORA of the ninth congress (FORA-IX). Nonetheless, both sections grew rapidly, with FORA-IX increasing from 20,000 in 1915 to 70,000 in 1920, while FORA-V claimed 180,000 members in 1920 and 200,000 by 1922.¹⁵¹ (In the meantime, the moderate socialist General Union of Labour, or UGT, had developed into a third syndicalist union centre, the Argentine Regional Workers' Confederation, or CORA, and merged into FORA, which precipitated the breakaway of FORA-V). In Mexico, the first countrywide syndicalist federation since the days of the old CGOM was formed in 1912; this was the House of the Workers of the World (COM), reorganised as the Mexican Regional Workers' Federation (FORM) in 1916. The COM/FORM saw its membership rise to 50,000 in 1915 and then to around 150,000 the following year.¹⁵²

Disrupted in the late 1910s, Mexican anarcho-syndicalism revived with the formation of the CGT in 1921, which had a core membership of 40,000 in the 1920s and peaked at 80,000 in 1928–1929.¹⁵³ The IWW, which had a local presence since around 1912, also established a Mexican IWW federation in 1919.¹⁵⁴ The Commu-

nist Party of Mexico (CPM) was founded in the same year, but was heavily influenced by anarchism in the 1920s, despite being repudiated by the CGT in 1921. This influence was unsurprising given the enormous influence of anarchism and syndicalism—an influence that extended deeply into the Socialist Workers' Party, the body that initiated the CPM.¹⁵⁵

Meanwhile, it was only in the late 1910s that the syndicalists, who already dominated labour in Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay, and elsewhere, made their greatest breakthroughs other parts of Latin America. In 1912, anarcho-syndicalists formed the Chilean Regional Workers' Federation (FORCh), and in 1917, they captured the Grand Workers' Federation of Chile, the main labour formation, reorganising it as the Chilean Workers' Federation.¹⁵⁶ In 1918, the Chilean IWW was formed, growing from 200 to 9,000 to 25,000 members by the early 1920s.¹⁵⁷ In Peru, anarchists organised the syndicalist Peruvian Regional Workers' Federation (FORPe) in 1919.¹⁵⁸ In Cuba, syndicalism revived in the 1910s, and 1921 saw the formation of the syndicalist Havana Workers' Federation (FOH), followed by a countrywide federation, the Cuban Workers' National Confederation (CNOC) in 1925, which grew to 200,000 workers.¹⁵⁹ In Bolivia, the first syndicalist federation, the Local Workers' Federation (FOL), was only formed in 1927. It was in fact a national federation and the most important union body in the country; the term "local" was used to signify that the union was the local branch of the IWA and the ACAT.¹⁶⁰

Anarchism and syndicalism only spread to East Asia in the early twentieth century and peaked in the 1920s. The first anarchist and syndicalist influences emerged in the Philippines, where a critical role was played by Isabelo de los Reyes (1864–1938).¹⁶¹ Born to a poor Ilocano family in the small coastal town of Vigan on the northern island of Luzon, his mother a famous poet, de los Reyes was raised by wealthy relatives, ran away to study at a university in Manila, and published the paper *El Ilocano* ("The Ilocano") and several anthropological studies. In the crack-down after the failed 1896 Philippine Revolt, de los Reyes was sent to the notorious Montjuich prison in Barcelona, Spain, where he was exposed to anarchism. On his return, armed with works by Charles Darwin, Kropotkin, Malatesta, Marx, and Proudhon, he threw himself into union work, and although he was a small capitalist, used syndicalist ideas from Spain:

His success with organised strikes encouraged other sectors to follow suit and the union became quite quickly a Barcelona-style free-wheeling central—a Unión Obrera Democrática ["Democratic Workers' Union,"]—that would have delighted Tárrida [del Mármol, a famed Cuban anarchist] of *anarquismo sin adjetivos* ["anarchism without adjectives"]. The American rulers watched in disbelief and alarm, a huge wave of strikes in Manila and its surroundings, many of them successful because they were unexpected by capitalists and administrators alike.¹⁶²

The colonial authorities arrested him in 1902 for "labour conspiracy," but he was released after four months when it became clear that much of the prosecution's evidence was fabricated, and his position in the Unión Obrera Democrática was eventually taken over by Hermenegildo Cruz. Cruz was a self-educated worker influenced by anarchism who translated Reclus into Tagalog. For his part, de los Reyes became a politician. He was crippled by a stroke in 1929 and died in 1938. The

Unión Obrera Democratica collapsed in 1903, but it was important: it was a pioneer of the Filipino labour movement and the Left, as well as the more substantial syndicalist currents elsewhere in East Asia.¹⁶³

In China, Shifu championed syndicalism, and his circles pioneered unionism. By 1917, anarchists and syndicalists had founded the first modern labour unions in China, organising at least forty unions in the Canton area by 1921.¹⁶⁴ Chinese anarchists faced a number of challenges in union work: besides the various union initiatives of the nationalist Guomindang, there was also the rise of the CCP starting in 1920. The CCP managed to attract to its ranks a number of Chinese anarchists and anarchist sympathisers—among them the young Mao—and soon assumed a key role in the labour movement in Peking (now Beijing), Shanghai, and Wuhan.¹⁶⁵ In some cases—like the Beijing Communist nucleus, to which anarchists were initially admitted, even editing the group’s journal—anarchists were part of the early Communist movement.¹⁶⁶ Meanwhile, in central China, the anarchists Huang Ai and Pang Renquan formed a syndicalist Hunan Workers’ Association (*Hunan laogonghui*) in the provincial capital Changsha in 1921.¹⁶⁷ This may have had up to 5,000 members. Nonetheless, “anarchist domination of the existing labour movement” continued in Canton and Changsha, despite CCP advances, into the mid-1920s.¹⁶⁸ Anarchists also played a significant role in the Shanghai Federation of Syndicates (*Shanghai gongtuan lianhe hui*). In 1927, Canton anarchists formed the Federation of Revolutionary Workers (*Geming gongren lainhehui*), which aimed at forming a revolutionary union; it was one of many syndicalist groups formed in the 1910s and 1920s.¹⁶⁹

Kōtuku was an early Japanese proponent of syndicalism.¹⁷⁰ Born in Nakamura, he moved to Tokyo, where he became a journalist in 1893, founded the Social Democratic Party in 1901, translated *The Communist Manifesto*, and was jailed in 1905 for his outspoken opposition to Japanese imperialism. In jail, he read Kropotkin, became an anarchist and a syndicalist, translated Kropotkin’s *Conquest of Bread*, and launched the anarchist *Heimin Shimbun* (“Common People’s Newspaper”). In 1911, twenty-six anarchists—some influenced by insurrectionism—were convicted of plotting to assassinate the emperor. Kōtuku, who was not involved in the High Treason Incident, was caught up in the repression anyway, and was one of twelve anarchists hanged in January.

Japanese syndicalism grew in the following years, however, particularly in the late 1910s. By 1916, there was a syndicalist Sincere Friends’ Society (Shinyūkai) printers’ union, the Labour Movement (Rōdō Undō) circle, and the Righteous Progress Society (Seishinkai) newspaper workers’ union formed in 1919.¹⁷¹ Anarchists were also active in the Yūaikai, a moderate union that developed into the Japanese Federation of Labour (Nihon Rōdō Sōdōmei, often abbreviated to Sōdōmei) in 1921, and there was an attempt to merge the Sōdōmei, Shinyūkai, and Seishinkai. Worsening relations between moderates and anarchists saw cooperation break down. The first anarcho-syndicalist union federation was only formed in 1926, the Zenkoku Jiren, which soon claimed 15,000 members.¹⁷² Internal conflicts between syndicalists and “pure anarchists” saw a split in 1928 when syndicalists left to form the Nihon Jikyo. Both federations peaked in 1931, the Zenkoku Jiren with 16,300 members, and the Nihon Jikyo with 3,000 members.¹⁷³ The two federations were

reunited in 1934—partly because many pure anarchists came back to a syndicalist position—but Japan was then evolving into a semifascist state, and anarchism was crushed soon afterward. There were also unions among the Koreans in Japan: such as the Black Labour Association (Kokurōkai), founded in 1923; the Dong Heong labour union, founded in 1926; and the Korea Free Labour Union, founded in 1927.

It should be clear from the above account that syndicalism was by no means a spent force by 1914; many of the most important developments of the glorious period took place after this time. Nor did Bolshevism suddenly replace syndicalism after 1917. The international revolutionary turmoil of 1916–1923 certainly fostered the rise of Communist parties linked to the Comintern, but the anarchists and syndicalists were also major beneficiaries of the worldwide climate of radicalism. Syndicalism grew rapidly in this period, and many of the new Communist parties were founded by and remained for years deeply influenced by anarchists and syndicalists.

The glorious period came to a close in the mid-1920s. Anarchism and syndicalism fell back in the face of rival movements like Bolshevism, fascism and radical nationalism, and the authoritarian regimes with which such movements were closely associated; the early globalisation of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was coming to a close with the rise of closed economies, a stricter immigration regime, and the consolidation of nation states with their attempts to incorporate the working class into a more “national” community.

Even so, it is possible to speak of a third wave of anarchist and syndicalist organising and influence starting in the late 1920s. The Korean, Malaysian, and Vietnamese anarchist movements only really started in the late 1910s, growing in the 1920s and 1930s. Movements in Bulgaria and Poland also expanded in the 1920s and 1930s, remaining substantial in the 1940s. Important syndicalist unions grew and peaked after the mid-1920s, including the Bolivian FOL, the Cuban CNOC, the Mexican CGT, and the Japanese Zenkoku Jiren and Nihon Jikyo; in Spain the CNT grew massively, peaking in the late 1930s with nearly two million members. In volume 2 we will look at further waves of anarchist and syndicalist activism in the second half of the twentieth century, which were closely linked to international high points of social struggles like 1945, 1956, 1968, and 1989. There has been sustained growth from the 1990s onwards, including entirely new movements in parts of Africa and Asia.

A final point is this: there were different models of syndicalist organisation, but the two main ones appear to have been the Spanish FORE, the French CGT, and the U.S. IWW. Besides the prevalence of CGTs, CNTs, and IWWs, there is also the striking pattern of union names in Latin America: the FORA in Argentina, the FORCh in Chile, the FORM in Mexico, the FORP in Peru, the Paraguayan Regional Workers’ Federation (FORPa, formed in 1906), the FORU and the Venezuelan Regional Workers’ Federation (FORV, circa 1940); the syndicalist Confederation of Brazilian Workers (COB) also referred to itself as the Brazilian Regional Workers’ Federation (FORB).

In Conclusion: Syndicalism and the Broad Anarchist Tradition

At this point, we are able to summarise and outline a broad typology of anarchism and syndicalism. First, anarchism is a revolutionary, internationalist, class struggle form of libertarian socialism, and it first emerged in the First International. Second, there were two main currents in anarchism, defined by their strategic orientation: insurrectionist and mass anarchism. Bookchin, it will be recalled, used the term “lifestyle anarchism” to refer to a range of Stirnerite currents and eccentric groupings that claim the anarchist label, and distinguished this from the “social anarchism” of Bakunin, Kropotkin, and so forth.¹⁷⁴ We suggest, on the contrary, that it is incorrect to label these sects anarchist at all; they have no place in the anarchist tradition, for they are not anarchist.

Syndicalism was a form of mass anarchism that exemplified the view that the means must prefigure the ends and that daily struggles could generate revolutionary counterpower, and the great majority of anarchists embraced it. There were also antisindicalist mass anarchists, including both opponents and supporters of workplace activity. Third, there were two main forms of syndicalism: anarcho-syndicalism and revolutionary syndicalism; De Leonism was a form of revolutionary syndicalism. There was also rank-and-file syndicalism: this could be either anarcho-syndicalist (the version associated with Maximoff, the Union of Anarcho-syndicalist Propaganda, and the Confederation of Russian Anarcho-syndicalists) or revolutionary syndicalist (the Shop Stewards and Workers’ Committee Movement in Britain). Syndicalism was a mass anarchist strategy and should be understood as such, regardless of whether its proponents are aware of its anarchist genealogy. We use the term “syndicalism,” without prefixes or qualifications, to refer to all of these types.

All of these variants of anarchism can be grouped together as the “broad anarchist tradition,” which therefore excludes figures like Godwin, Stirner, Proudhon, and Tolstoy, while it includes figures like Bakunin, Kropotkin, Flores Magón, Makhno, Rocker, Shifu, Shin, Connolly, De Leon, and Haywood. We summarise our position in figures 5.1 and 5.2. Having established our general interpretation of the anarchist idea and movement, we can now turn to some of the key debates over tactics that have taken place in the broad anarchist tradition.

Figure 5.1
The Broad Anarchist Tradition

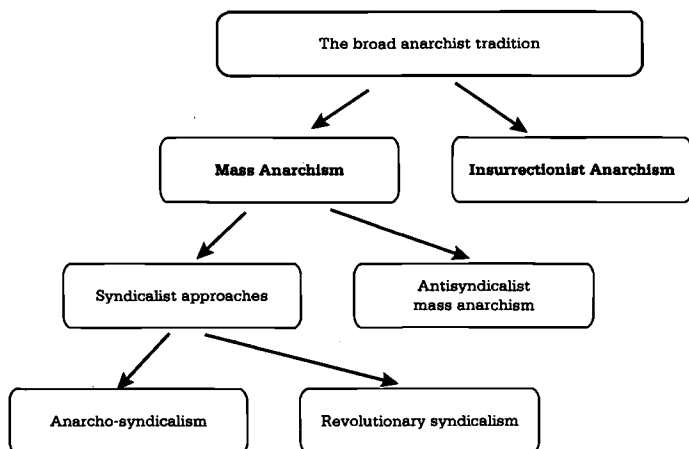
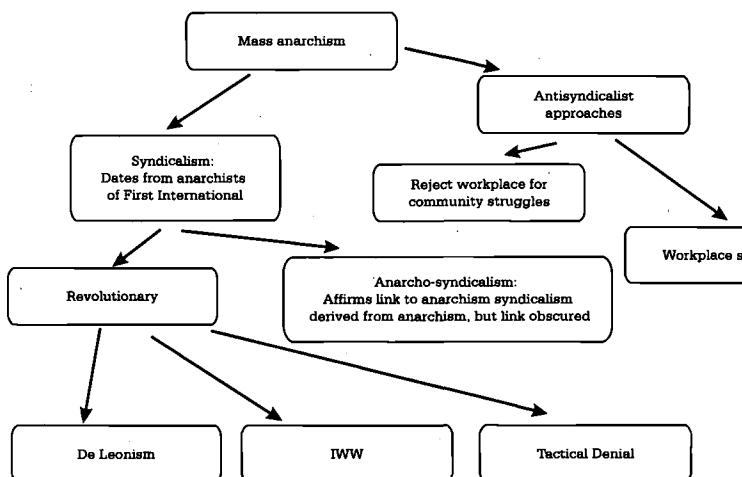


Figure 5.2
Anarchism and Syndicalism



Notes

1. D. McNally, *Socialism from Below*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: International Socialist Organisation, 1984), part 3.
2. C. L. Bertrand, "Revolutionary Syndicalism in Italy," in *Revolutionary Syndicalism: An International Perspective*, ed. W. Thorpe and M. van der Linden (Otterup, Denmark: Solar Press, 1990), 145; C. Levy, "Italian Anarchism, 1870–1926," in *For Anarchism: History, Theory, and Practice*, ed. D. Goodway (London: Routledge, 1989), 51–54.
3. Miller, *Anarchism*, 124.
4. F. F. Ridley, *Revolutionary Syndicalism in France: The Direct Action of Its Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 41–44.
5. The standard study of Sorel is J. R. Jennings, *Georges Sorel: The Character and Development of His Thought* (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1985). Sorel's views, in fact, underwent continual change and "cannot be categorised," for "Marxism, syndicalism, royalism, fascism, bolshevism excited him one after the other"; see Jennings, *Georges Sorel*, vii. A good discussion of Sorel is also provided in Joll, *The Anarchists*, 206–12. The book usually identified with Sorel's "syndicalism" is his meandering *Reflections on Violence*, which came out in 1912, and in English translation soon after; G. Sorel, *Reflections on Violence* (1912; repr., London: Allen and Unwin, 1915).
6. L. Levine, *Syndicalism in France*, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1914), 155.
7. Joll, *The Anarchists*, 207; K. Allen, *The Politics of James Connolly* (London: Pluto Press, 1987), 68.
8. Schechter, *Radical Theories*, 28, 35; Bertrand, "Revolutionary Syndicalism in Italy," 139.
9. Jennings, "The CGT and the Couriau Affair," 326, 328.
10. Jennings, *Georges Sorel*, 5, 7.
11. I. L. Horowitz, *Radicalism and the Revolt against Reason: The Social Theories of Georges Sorel* (London: Humanities Press, 1961).
12. See Jennings, *Georges Sorel*, 12–122, 134–36; see also Thorpe, "The Workers Themselves," 282n41.
13. Bertrand, "Revolutionary Syndicalism in Italy," 139.
14. E. O'Connor, *Syndicalism in Ireland, 1917–1923* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1988), 6–8.
15. Sorel "prided himself on writing 'the principal document of syndicalist literature [sic],'" *Reflections on Violence*; see Jennings, *Georges Sorel*, 146.
16. Levine, *Syndicalism in France*, 153.
17. Rocker, *Anarcho-Syndicalism*, chapter 6.
18. E. Goldman, *Syndicalism: The Modern Menace to Capitalism* (New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1913), 4.
19. See Jennings, *Georges Sorel*, 118, 120, 143–46; Levine, *Syndicalism in France*, 158–61. While Jennings provides a good account of Sorel's views, he does not, unlike Levine, draw sufficient attention to the gulf between many of these ideas and those of the syndicalists. For example, Sorel's belief that capitalism needed to be "regenerated" or that the general strike was a "myth" would have been anathema to the syndicalists; compare to Levine, *Syndicalism in France*, 157–59. It is generous of Jennings to describe Sorel's "actual involvement" in the CGT as "minimal."
20. Ridley, *Revolutionary Syndicalism in France*, 38–44, 192, 249, 250–51.
21. Thorpe, "The Workers Themselves," 282n40.
22. J.J. Roth, *Sorel and the Sorelians*, quoted in Thorpe, "The Workers Themselves," 282n40.
23. Woodcock, *Anarchy or Chaos*, 61.
24. Joll, *The Anarchists*, 211–12.
25. Bertrand, "Revolutionary Syndicalism in Italy," 144–50.

26. O'Connor, *Syndicalism in Ireland*, 6–7; A. J. Gregor, *Young Mussolini and the Intellectual Origins of Fascism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979); D. Roberts, *The Syndicalist Tradition and Italian Fascism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979).
27. Levy, "Italian Anarchism," 53.
28. M. Colombo, "Armando Borghi," *Le Monde Liberaire*, November 10, 1988.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Levy, "Italian Anarchism," 73–74.
31. T. Abse, "The Rise of Fascism in an Industrial City," in *Rethinking Italian Fascism: Capitalism, Populism, and Culture*, ed. D. Forgacs (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1986), 54; also of interest is "Italian Syndicalism and Fascism," *Black Flag: For Anarchist Resistance*, no. 217 (1999): 29. We would like to thank Iain McKay for drawing the Abse piece to our attention.
32. Levine, *Syndicalism in France*, 160–61.
33. L. Lorwin, "Syndicalism," in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan, 1959), 497.
34. Joll, *The Anarchists*, 195–96.
35. Thorpe, "The Workers Themselves," xiii–xiv.
36. Salerno, *Red November, Black November*, 52.
37. Quoted in *Ibid.*, 52.
38. E. Goldman, *Syndicalism*, 5, 7.
39. Kropotkin, quoted in Nettlau, *A Short History of Anarchism*, 279.
40. Malatesta, "Syndicalism," 220.
41. Maximoff, *Constructive Anarchism*, 7.
42. Rocker, *Anarcho-Syndicalism*, chapter 4.
43. Thorpe, "The Workers Themselves," xiii–xiv.
44. K. Marx, "Letter to Paul Lafargue in Paris," April 19, 1870, in *Marx, Engels, Lenin: Anarchism and Anarcho-syndicalism*, ed. N. Y. Kolpinsky (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1972), 46; F. Engels, "The Bakuninists at Work: An Account of the Spanish Revolt in the Summer of 1873," in *Marx, Engels, Lenin: Anarchism and Anarcho-syndicalism*, ed. N. Y. Kolpinsky (1873; repr., Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1972), 132–33.
45. See also Cahm, *Kropotkin and the Rise of Revolutionary Anarchism*, chapter 9.
46. Quoted in Maximoff, *Constructive Anarchism*, 7.
47. Bakunin, "The Programme of the Alliance," 255; Bakunin, "The Policy of the International," 173.
48. Bakunin, "The Programme of the Alliance," 245.
49. *Ibid.*, 249, 252, 255; see also 253–54.
50. Bakunin, "The Policy of the International," 174.
51. See Stekloff, *History of the First International*, 287–92; Woodcock, *Anarchism*, 232–34. The quotes are from Stekloff.
52. See Thorpe, "The Workers Themselves," 253–54.
53. The best analysis of classical Marxism and the trade unions remains R. Hyman, *Marxism and the Sociology of Trade Unionism* (London: Pluto Press, 1971). As Hyman notes, even at their most "optimistic," Marx and Engels argued that unions were basically defensive bodies, which provided some immediate protection for workers. The real significance of unions was their potential to lay the basis for workers to "adopt political forms of action," helping to create the political party that alone could "challenge directly the whole structure of class domination." Even this "optimism" was "by no means unqualified"; see *ibid.*, 4–20, 37–43.
54. B. Russell, *Roads to Freedom* (1920; repr., London: Routledge, 1993), 59, 62. Also compare to Ridley, *Revolutionary Syndicalism in France*, 1.
55. Schechter, *Radical Theories*, 24.

56. Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists*, 51, 54–55, 76–77, 87; see also M. Molnár and J. Pekmez, “Rural Anarchism in Spain and the 1873 Cantonalist Revolution,” in *Rural Protest: Peasant Movements and Social Change*, ed. H. A. Landsberger (London: Macmillan, 1974), 167.
57. T. Kaplan, *Anarchists of Andalusia, 1868–1903* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), 136.
58. Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists*, 51–55, 132, 135–37.
59. J. Amsden, *Collective Bargaining and Class Conflict in Spain* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), 14.
60. Maura, “The Spanish Case,” 66–67.
61. On the FTRE, see Rocker, *Anarcho-Syndicalism*, chapter 6.
62. J. Casanovas, “Slavery, the Labour Movement, and Spanish Colonialism in Cuba, 1850–1890,” *International Review of Social History* 40 (1995); J. Casanovas, “Labor and Colonialism in Cuba in the Second Half of the Nineteenth-Century” (PhD diss., State University of New York, 1994), especially chapters 6–9.
63. Casanovas, “Labour and Colonialism in Cuba in the Second Half of the Nineteenth-Century,” 8, 300–2, 330–32, 336–41, 366–67.
64. F. Fernandez, *Cuban Anarchism: The History of a Movement* (Tucson, AZ: See Sharp Press, 2001), chapter 1, available at http://www.illegalvoices.org/bookshelf/cuban_anarchism/chapter_1_colonialism_and_separatism_1865-1898_.html (accessed June 27, 2006).
65. Avrigh, *The Haymarket Tragedy*, 51, 55.
66. See *ibid.*, 73–75; Bekken, “The First Daily Anarchist Newspaper,” 13–14.
67. For what has become the standard history, see Avrigh, *The Haymarket Tragedy*. The final speeches of the Haymarket anarchists and related materials are collected in Fischer, “Adolph Fischer”; this was prepared during the trial by the imprisoned Albert Parsons, and published after his execution by his wife, Lucy Parsons, herself an anarchist. A range of primary materials and commentary may be found in D. Roediger and F. Rosemont, eds., *Haymarket Scrapbook* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, 1986). Also of interest is Bekken, “The First Daily Anarchist Newspaper”; B. C. Nelson, *Beyond the Martyrs: A Social History of Chicago’s Anarchists, 1870–1900* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988).
68. J. Quail, *The Slow Burning Fuse: The Lost History of the British Anarchists* (London: Paladin, 1978), 90.
69. Foster, *From Bryan to Stalin*, 63.
70. Johanningsmeier, “William Z. Foster and the Syndicalist League of North America,” 333.
71. See S. Salerno, “The Impact of Anarchism on the Founding of the IWW: The Anarchism of Thomas J. Hagerty,” in *Haymarket Scrapbook*, ed. D. Roediger and F. Rosemont (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, 1986), 189–91; Salerno, *Red November, Black November*, chapter 3.
72. Hart, *Anarchism and the Mexican Working Class*, 19–49.
73. *Ibid.*, 29, 47, 54.
74. *Ibid.*, 48.
75. *Ibid.*, 50–54, 59.
76. *Ibid.*, 48, 58.
77. Quoted in Guérin, *Anarchism*, 78.
78. Kropotkin, “Modern Science and Anarchism,” 165, 171.
79. Quoted in Salerno, *Red November, Black November*, 53.
80. Foster, *From Bryan to Stalin*, 49.
81. Rocker, *Anarcho-Syndicalism*, chapter 6.
82. Beyer-Arnesen, “Anarcho-syndicalism,” 20.
83. Bookchin, “Deep Ecology, Anarchosyndicalism, and the Future of Anarchist Thought,” 50.
84. Joll, *The Anarchists*, 205.

85. Hobsbawm, *Revolutionaries*, 72–73. The odd spelling of “marxism” is from Hobsbawm’s text.
86. Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible*, 500–1; Woodcock, *Anarchism*, 440.
87. Woodcock, *Anarchism*, 440.
88. Bookchin, “Deep Ecology, Anarchosyndicalism, and the Future of Anarchist Thought,” 50–51.
89. V. Burgmann, *Revolutionary Industrial Unionism: The IWW in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 42–47.
90. Rocker, *Anarcho-Syndicalism*, chapter 6.
91. Burgmann, *Revolutionary Industrial Unionism*, 42.
92. K. Marx and F. Engels, “From the Resolutions of the General Congress Held in the Hague,” in *Marx, Engels, Lenin: Anarchism and Anarcho-syndicalism*, ed. N. Y. Kolpinsky (1872; repr., Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1972), 85.
93. Reproduced in Dubofsky, “Big Bill” Haywood, 159–60, appendix 2.
94. The *Preamble* includes the phrase “Instead of the conservative motto, ‘A fair day’s wage for a fair day’s work,’ we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, ‘Abolition of the wage system.’” This is a quote from Marx, *Value, Price and Profit*, 126–27.
95. Burgmann, *Revolutionary Industrial Unionism*, 42–47.
96. See, for example, Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*, 5, 19–35, 73, 76–77; Dubofsky, “Big Bill” Haywood.
97. Woodcock, *Anarchism*, 440; Rocker, *Anarcho-Syndicalism*, chapter 6.
98. Salerno, *Red November, Black November*, 3–5.
99. For instance, see Industrial Workers of the World, *The IWW in Theory and Practice*.
100. Salerno, “The Impact of Anarchism on the Founding of the IWW”; Salerno, *Red November, Black November*, especially 69–90.
101. P. S. Foner, *The Industrial Workers of the World, 1905–17* (New York: International Publishers, 1965), 143.
102. Dubofsky, “Big Bill” Haywood, 66.
103. Industrial Workers of the World, *What Is the IWW? A Candid Statement of Its Principles, Objects, and Methods*, 2nd ed. (Cleveland, OH: IWW Publishing Bureau, 1924), available at <http://www.workerseducation.org/crutch/pamphlets/whatistheiww.html> (accessed June 15, 2004).
104. Salerno, *Red November, Black November*, 115.
105. P. Brissenden, *The IWW: A Study in American Syndicalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1920), 46.
106. Dubofsky, “Big Bill” Haywood, 67–68.
107. Foner, *The Industrial Workers of the World*, 158–59; for an outline of the IWW’s ideology, see also, in particular, 123–71.
108. Justus Ebert, an IWW writer, was angered by the view that the IWW was syndicalist. “Furious ... he defended Marxism and the conduct of the German Social Democratic Party and repeated all the slanderous attacks in the integrity and the ideology of Bakunin and the libertarian wing of the First International”; see S. Dolgoff, *Fragments: A Memoir* (London: Refract Publications, 1986), 134.
109. See, for example, Haywood and Bohm, *Industrial Socialism*, 4, 40, 44, 50–52, 55–56, 58, 62.
110. Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy*, 23–24, 40–41, 51–55.
111. See McKee, “The Influence of Syndicalism upon Daniel De Leon,” 276.
112. B. K. Johnpoll and L. Johnpoll, *The Impossible Dream: The Rise and Decline of the American Left* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981), 249, 252, 259, 262–63, 267.

113. McKee, "The Influence of Syndicalism upon Daniel De Leon," 276–77. See also R. J. Holton, *British Syndicalism: Myths and Realities* (London: Pluto Press, 1976), 2; D. K. McKee, "Daniel De Leon: A Reappraisal," *Labour History*, no. 1 (1960); Tasuro Nomura, "Partisan Politics in and around the I.W.W: The Earliest Phase," *Journal of the Faculty of Foreign Studies*, no. 1 (1977): 98, 105–8, 111–13, 118–20; L. G. Seretan, *Daniel De Leon: The Odyssey of an American Marxist* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 177–79, 184–86
114. McKee, "The Influence of Syndicalism upon Daniel De Leon," 277.
115. Socialist Labour Party [De Leon], *The Socialist Labour Party*, 18; see also De Leon, *The Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World*, 23.
116. Socialist Labour Party [De Leon], *The Socialist Labour Party*, 21.
117. *Ibid.*, 23; De Leon, *The Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World*, 23, 27.
118. De Leon, *The Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World*, 24.
119. See, for example, De Leon, "With Marx for Text"; De Leon, "Syndicalism"; McKee, "The Influence of Syndicalism upon Daniel De Leon," 278.
120. D. De Leon, "Industrial Unionism," *Daily People*, January 20, 1913.
121. De Leon specifically denounced the inclusion of any reforms in the SLP's electoral platform; see, for example, D. De Leon, "Getting Something Now," *Daily People*, September 6, 1910.
122. De Leon, *The Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World*, 21, 23–24, 25, 27–28.
123. "Another brand of syndicalism ... the Socialist Labour Party ... believed in a certain amount of political action, but only as a subsidiary to industrial action"; N. Milton, introduction to *John MacLean: In the Rapids of Revolution: Essays, Articles, and Letters*, ed. N. Milton (London: Allison and Busby, 1978), 13.
124. See, for example, Haywood and Bohm, *Industrial Socialism*.
125. Foner, *The Industrial Workers of the World*, 167–71.
126. Dubofsky, "Big Bill" Haywood, 159–60, appendix 2.
127. Hinton, *The First Shop Stewards Movement*, 283.
128. See Allen, *The Politics of James Connolly*, 59–64.
129. We would like to thank Alan MacSimoin for his comments on this issue; correspondence with Alan MacSimoin, December 3, 1998.
130. Holton, *British Syndicalism*.
131. J. Connolly, *Socialism Made Easy* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 1909), 48.
132. *Ibid.*, 43, 46, 56–59.
133. C. Kostick, *Revolution in Ireland: Popular Militancy, 1917 to 1923* (London: Pluto Press, 1996), 15; for a contrary view, see Allen, *The Politics of James Connolly*, ix–xviii, 125.
134. Compare to O. D. Edwards and B. Ransome, introduction to *James Connolly: Selected Political Writings*, ed. O. D. Edwards and B. Ransome (London: Jonathan Cape, 1973), 25, 27; B. Ransome, *Connolly's Marxism* (London: Pluto Press, 1980), 40. Since writing these lines we have come across B. Anderson, *James Connolly and the Irish Left* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1994). This makes the case for Connolly's syndicalism, but still calls Connolly a Marxist.
135. Kedward, *The Anarchists*, 5; Joll, *The Anarchists*, 223.
136. Hobsbawm, *Revolutionaries*, 72–73.
137. Woodcock, *Anarchism*, 202.
138. Dubofsky, "Big Bill" Haywood, 81, 95.
139. F. Thompson with P. Murfin, *The IWW: Its First Seventy Years, 1905–1975* (Chicago: IWW, 1976), 129, 150.
140. For a partial overview, see Hinton, *The First Shop Stewards Movement*.
141. Cited in *ibid.*, 129.
142. MacLean regarded his former student as "an openly avowed anarchist"; J. MacLean, "A Scottish Communist Party," in *John MacLean: In the Rapids of Revolution: Essays, Articles, and Letters*,

- ed. N. Milton (December 1920; repr., London: Allison and Busby, 1978), 225. Gallacher wrote an autobiography of his early years as an activist in which he greatly downplayed his role in the SLP; W. Gallacher, *Revolt on the Clyde*, 4th ed. (1936; repr., London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1978).
143. The Trade Union Educational League was initially syndicalist, but shifted to Communism along with Foster in the 1920s; see, for example, W. Z. Foster, *The Railroaders' Next Step*, Labor Herald pamphlets, no. 1 (Chicago: Trade Union Educational League, 1921).
144. G. Williams, *A Proletarian Order: Antonio Gramsci, Factory Councils and the Origins of Italian Communism, 1911–21* (London: Pluto Press, 1975), 194–95.
145. Woodcock, *Anarchism*, 352.
146. B. Bayerlein and M. van der Linden, "Revolutionary Syndicalism in Portugal," in *Revolutionary Syndicalism: An International Perspective*, ed. M. van der Linden and W. Thorpe (Otterup, Denmark: Scolar, 1990), 160–64.
147. W. Thorpe, "Keeping the Faith: The German Syndicalists in the First World War," *Central European History* 33, no. 2 (2000): 195.
148. Rocker, *Anarcho-Syndicalism*, chapter 6.
149. See, inter alia, L. J. W. van der Walt, "'The Industrial Union Is the Embryo of the Socialist Commonwealth': The International Socialist League and Revolutionary Syndicalism in South Africa, 1915–1919," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 19, no. 1 (1999); L. J. W. van der Walt, "Bakunin's Heirs in South Africa: Race, Class, and Revolutionary Syndicalism from the IWW to the International Socialist League," *Politikon* 30, no. 1 (2004); L. J. W. van der Walt, "Anarchism and Syndicalism in South Africa, 1904–1921: Rethinking the History of Labour and the Left" (PhD diss., University of the Witwatersrand, 2007).
150. Burgmann, *Revolutionary Industrial Unionism*, 266.
151. Munck, *Argentina*, 82, 87–88; Rocker, *Anarcho-Syndicalism*, chapter 6.
152. J. Hart, "Revolutionary Syndicalism in Mexico," in *Revolutionary Syndicalism: An International Perspective*, ed. W. Thorpe and M. van der Linden (Otterup, Denmark: Scolar Press, 1990), 194, 197.
153. Hart, *Anarchism and the Mexican Working Class*, 156; Hart, "Revolutionary Syndicalism in Mexico," 200–1.
154. Thompson with Murfin, *The IWW*, 50.
155. B. Carr, "Marxism and Anarchism in the Formation of the Mexican Communist Party, 1910–19," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 63, no. 2 (1983).
156. See P. De Shazo, *Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile, 1902–1927* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983).
157. Anonymous, *Chile: The IWW and FORC* (Sydney: Rebel Worker, n.d.), 4.
158. S. J. Hirsch, "The Anarcho-Syndicalist Roots of a Multi-Class Alliance: Organised Labor and the Peruvian Aprista Party, 1900–1933" (PhD diss., George Washington University, 1997).
159. See Fernandez, *Cuban Anarchism*, chapter 2, available at <http://illvox.org/2007/06/23/chapter-two-intervention-and-the-republic> (accessed November 22, 2008); Shaffer, "Purifying the Environment for the Coming New Dawn."
160. D. Gallin and P. Horn, *Organising Informal Women Workers*, available at <http://www.street-net.org.za/english/GallinHornpaper.htm> (accessed September 2006).
161. See B. Anderson, *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-colonial Imagination* (London: Verso, 2006).
162. *Ibid.*, 228.
163. *Ibid.*, 229.
164. Dirlik, *Anarchism in the Chinese Revolution*, 15, 27, 170.
165. "In 1919 and 1920, Mao leaned toward anarchism rather than socialism. Only in January 1921 did he at last draw the explicit conclusion that anarchism would not work, and that Russia's proletarian dictatorship represented the model which must be followed"; S. R. Schram, "General

- Introduction: Mao Zedong and the Chinese Revolution, 1912–1949,” in *Mao’s Road to Power: Revolutionary Writings, 1912–1949*, ed. S. R. Schram (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1992), xvi. See A. Dirlik, *The Origins of Chinese Communism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 178–79; E. J. Perry, *Shanghai on Strike: The Politics of Chinese Labor* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), particularly chapters 4 and 5.
166. Dirlik, *The Origins of Chinese Communism*, 217–19.
167. Nohara Shirō, “Anarchists and the May 4 Movement in China,” *Libero International*, no. 1 (January 1975). Available online at <http://www.negotiations.net/libero/number1@andmay4.htm> (accessed December 1, 2006).
168. Dirlik, *The Origins of Chinese Communism*, 214–15.
169. Dirlik, *Anarchism in the Chinese Revolution*, 290.
170. See, inter alia, Crump, *Hatta Shuzo and Pure Anarchism in Interwar Japan*, chapter 2.
171. See, inter alia, *ibid.*, chapter 2.
172. *Ibid.*, 78.
173. *Ibid.*, 92, 97.
174. Bookchin, *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism*.