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A AMÉRICA LATINA COMO "ILHA": UM PROJETO UTÓPICO LIBERTÁRIO
LATIN AMERICA AS AN "ISLAND": A LIBERTARIAN UTOPIAN PROJECT
CLÁUDIA GONÇALVES FELIPE

V!22

REVISTA V!RUS
VIRUS JOURNAL

issn 2175-974x
julho . july 2021



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PT | EN

How to quote this text: Felipe, C. T. G., 2021. Latin America as an "island": A libertarian utopian project. Translated from Portuguese by Cleber Vinicius do Amaral Felipe. *VIRUS*, 22, July. [online] Available at: <http://www.nomads.usp.br/virus/_virus22/?sec=4&item=4&lang=en>. [Accessed: 17 July 2021].

ARTICLE SUBMITTED ON MARCH, 7, 2021

Abstract

Conceived as a contribution to the dossier "Latin America: you are here!", proposed by the V!RUS journal, this article addresses a political-cultural project formulated by Latin American anarchists in the 1950s. Their proposal, in general terms, aimed at the libertarian reconfiguration of the political, social, geographical, and economic borders of the continent. Understanding anarchism as an internationalist movement, we analyze, at first, the organization of meetings and conferences to strengthen a universalist movement capable of aggregating different peoples around the same goal: the achievement of the libertarian utopia. Next, we analyze a specific case, involving the proposition of a Latin American society held at the American Anarchist Conference of Montevideo (1957). This conference was attended by representatives of anarchism from different regions of the American continent and had as its main agenda the need for integrating their countries into a single "island", where political, social, geographical, or economic borders would be abolished in favor of the consolidation of a libertarian federalist society.

Keywords: Anarchism, Universalism, Latin America, Utopia

1 Introduction

In an article published in the journal *Ação Direta*, the anarchist Edgard Leuenroth (1946) explored elements from his project for the transformation of Brazilian society. Based on the premise that World War II was the result of a "clash of ambitions and the exploitation of man by man" that shook the foundations on which the organization of all nations sat, the militant warned that another conflict of such magnitude would inevitably lead to the ruin of humanity¹. Given this scenario, Leuenroth stated that, for some individuals, immediate

improvements would be enough to keep the "building" standing; for others, only a complete transformation of the bases/structures could prevent a collapse. The anarchist assured that conferences and armistices would not be enough, as they were seen by him as provisional measures that, in the long run, would prove ineffective. On the other hand, the construction of anarchy could promote lasting peace among peoples:

The wattle and daub house ranch where we live threatens to collapse at the impulse of a stronger wind of the eastern floodplain. The pillars gnawed by termite require replacement, the drips from the roof claim for some bundles of straw, also needing to cover, with some handfuls of clay, the holes on the walls and to punch the earthen floor. We need to improve it so it can shelter us for some time while we take care of the transformation. The floorplan of the big house is already being finished so that its construction does not delay. It will be a large and beautiful sunny building, with large windows, through which will pass a lot of air and light. It will have spacious rooms, lined and paved, and a complete pantry. The furniture will be complemented with a radio, a television, and a refrigerator, and, in the next room, there would not be a lack of a bookcase. Let's finish the construction on time so that the house ranch does not fall on us (Leuenroth, 1946, p. 1, our translation).

After enumerating the benefits of anarchy, Leuenroth asserted that the sores and pains stemming from capitalist society would be abolished. To this end, the utopian anarchist project ("house plan") was announced as a way of building this new social order. Imagining, writing, designing its foundations, organization, and functioning would be, for the author, an urgent demand. If the system was bankrupt, ruined, there was no other way out but to transform it. Proposing new forms of life and coexistence among men in the post-war period was a concern not only for Edgar Leuenroth but also for other anarchists, such as Ênio Cardoso, who outlined a libertarian project for Latin America based on a society free of political, social, geographical, or economic boundaries (Cardoso, 1960). Despite these representations, part of the historiography that studied the libertarian acting in the post-World War II conferred little or no importance to these proposals (Silva, 2014). Soon, scholars ended up disregarding important aspects of libertarian practice, such as its universalist and transnational aspects (after all, it was a joint action activated by networks of militants of different nationalities).

Conceived as a contribution to the dossier "Latin America: you are here!", proposed by the VIRUS journal, this article addresses a political-cultural project formulated by Latin American anarchists in the 1950s. Their proposal, in general, aimed at the libertarian reconfiguration of the political, social, geographical, and economic borders of the continent. Understanding anarchism as an internationalist movement, we analyze, at first, the organization of meetings and conferences to strengthen a universalist movement capable of aggregating different peoples around the same goal: the building of the libertarian utopia. Next, we analyze a specific case, involving the proposition of a Latin American society held at the American Anarchist Conference of Montevideo (1957). This conference was attended by representatives of anarchism from different regions of the American continent and had as its main agenda the need of integrating their countries into a single "island", where political, social, geographical, or economic borders would be abolished in favor of the consolidation of a libertarian federalist society.

2 Ruining borders

The militant Edgar Rodrigues stated that, in the post-Second World War, the expansion of libertarian relations allowed the consolidation of Brazilian anarchism as a movement without borders, solidary, and critical about libertarian practices at the international level (Rodrigues, 1993). In the newspapers, we find several complaints against the persecutions and atrocities suffered by anarchists of different nationalities but we also find notes of solidarity offering support and words of encouragement, discussions, and debates about ideas from various localities, texts and publications with a libertarian intent, reflections about the need for national, continental and international integrations. The attempt to strengthen international relations between anarchist organizations intensified after 1945². Militants and authors from different parts of the world began to discuss the importance of creating ties and establishing a network of international solidarity. Such an initiative was a form of resistance and a mechanism for strengthening and disseminating the libertarian ideal, which was seen as the only way to promote anarchy³.

In 1945, anarchists from the French and Spanish movement suggested the need for an international meeting to propose integrated actions. In the following year, Bulgarian militants recommended the appointment of a commission to prepare an international congress. The committee's first circular called for suggestions on topics to be discussed at the meeting and a place for its realization. In addition, it envisaged the possibility of establishing an International Anarchist Federation. The summary of the responses received was published in a second circular, written in Spanish, French, and Italian. Germany, Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil,

Cuba, China, Ecuador, Spain, Italy, Mexico, Poland, Switzerland and Sweden are among the countries that have submitted comments.

Most of the participants welcomed the commission's initiative and pondered the creation of an international anarchist organization. Argentines, for example, mentioned the risk of the International Federation becoming authoritarian and exercising the right to represent the whole anarchism despite regional particularities. Thus, they proposed the creation of a committee of international relations, which would perform purely informative and inter-relational functions. The French stated that this organization, with adequate planning, would be important not only to strengthen libertarian relations in general but to efficiently assist anarchic rebellions in various locations. In addition, another suggestion was the creation of an organization responsible for the keeping, preservation, and circulation of libertarian files. This action was considered indispensable, as it would ensure libertarian intercommunication and the strengthening of contact networks⁴.

In January 1948, an article published in the French newspaper *Le libertaire* suggested that the world had just witnessed the end of a time of terror and the beginning of a golden era. Thus, the year 1948 was conceived as the limit of a secular turn, marked by the cessation of wars and horrors. Such a turnaround would be guaranteed by the international anarchist union, to be carried out by a meeting adverse to war and authoritarianism. This would be an advance in the construction of a harmonious world, united and founded on libertarian precepts (Le Libertaire, 1948, p. 1). In the issue published in June 1948, the Brazilian newspaper A Plebe dedicated to the survey of information, sourced from abroad, about the preparation of this international anarchist meeting. One of the articles, written by Souza Passos, dealt specifically with anarchism as a solution to all the problems faced by the world under the aegis of the capitalist regime: wars, hunger, immorality, corruption, inequality, hatred, envy, and disagreements between men and societies. For Passos, the global imbalance would only end with the establishment of a society composed of federated peoples and united by the feeling of solidarity and mutual support. The holding of an international anarchist meeting would, therefore, be an important step (Passos, 1948). Both articles highlight the expectations about the possibility of strengthening anarchist relations at the international level.

Between May 15 and 17, 1948, it was held, in Paris, the so-called "International Anarchist Conference", which examined the general situation of the world as well as the anarchist organizations and their relations around the world. The participants developed an international work program and designated an organization for its coordination, called *Commission Internationale des Relations Anarchistes* (C.R.I.A.). C.R.I.A. would have the following responsibilities: mediation between isolated libertarian groups to ensure solidarity; assembling of international archives to enable the circulation of anarchist publications; drafting of regular bulletins with information about libertarian integration initiatives, written in several languages. The conference manifest, launched shortly after its realization, mentioned the desire for international unification through solidarity and fraternity. In this sense, actions and initiatives aimed at strengthening the bonds between anarchists were encouraged and seen as a way of organizing a universal libertarian society. In the manifesto, anarchism was conceived as the only ideal capable of solving crises and avoiding a cycle of uninterrupted wars. Moreover, only this ideal could provide a society united in love and respect:

Bourgeois democracy is bankrupt. Private capitalism has shown its incapacity to resolve its own contradictions. State capitalism, under the total form of Bolshevik dictatorships, of misleading "Labour" [Party] nationalizations, or of the reactionary demagogues of fascism, has shown itself to be the pitiless degradation of all human values. Liberalism and totalitarianism chain us to an economy of war, where the whole of society serves the production of means of destruction. A reconciliation between the two blocks which overwhelm the world would bring no salvation ... None of the problems created by ruin, famine and social chaos will be resolved by the eventual combination of the Marshall [U.S.] and Molotov [USSR] plans [for post-war reconstruction]. Under the pretext of economic and political reconstruction, these plans are instruments of imperialism. None of the spiritual forces which pretend to lead humanity according to the dictates of States, Churches and Parties is today any longer capable of a useful role. All have floundered in the most brutal fanaticism. All the political, trade union and religious organizations embodied in authority have become merely the machines of slavery. (...) All that our generation has lived through is no other than an accumulation of evils, resulting from the very functioning of authoritarian society, from the crushing of the forces of liberty (International Anarchist Manifesto, 1948 apud Graham, 2009, p. 40-41).

It was announced that, with the expansion of international relations, aid, and mutual support between different countries, the world would be preparing to break with the modus operandi of the current society. The practice of solidarity was indicated as an exercise of conquest, as a form of revolution capable of reaching all

peoples. This revolution, anchored in anarchist principles, could tear humanity out of this cycle of destruction: "Anarchy, principle of organization without dogmas or frontiers, is the sole road to peace..." (International Anarchist Conference, 1948 apud Graham, 2009, p. 42). In other words, the only way to achieve universal fraternization.

Some countries conceived the organization of an international anarchist meeting as an incentive to improve the articulation of the local movement itself. For several reasons, such as the intensification of authoritarian and totalitarian regimes, the incidence of major wars, and local conflicts, the anarchist movement suffered unprecedented persecution in some countries. Participation in an international meeting would serve as a stimulus for the perpetuation of the libertarian struggle. In Brazil, for example, shortly after the 1948 international conference, a national congress was organized aiming at strengthening local and regional relations, as well as the dissemination and propaganda of the libertarian ideals. The statement below, made by anarchist and militant Edgard Rodrigues, assesses the scope of this congress:

The 1948 meeting did not merely prove that anarchism had not died or lost the organizational capacity of its militants, it also served to plan and approve its directions in Brazil, standardize propaganda and create the CRA (*Comissão de Relações Anarquistas*), whose activity would exceed the geographical borders of the Brazilian territory. It also served to exchange experiences and sociological culture, expand the exchange of propaganda with the movements of other countries and make room for the 1953's Congress of Rio de Janeiro. It also approved the formation of specific groups, local and municipal unions, deliberated against collaborationism, militarism, clericalism, and the fight in opposition to all dictatorships (Rodrigues, 1993, p. 29, our translation).

For Rodrigues, the national meeting strengthened the Brazilian anarchist movement and helped to expand international relations. The *Comissão de Relações Anarquistas* (Anarchist Relations Commission), created during the assembly, was responsible for narrowing ties between anarchists in the country and other parts of the world, such as French, Italian, Spanish, Argentines, Peruvians, Mexicans, Japanese, Swiss, British, Cubans, Americans, and Uruguayans. The CRA expedited the exchange of information, correspondence, circulars, bulletins, reports, and newspapers. As we shall see, attempts to strengthen anarchism as a universalist movement led to the proposal, in America, of configuring the continent as a single "island" without divisions of political, social, geographical, or economic borders.

3 The integration of latin america

Between April 14 and 21, 1957, the First American Anarchist Conference took place in Montevideo, with the presence of anarchist delegations from Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Cuba⁵. The conference was organized by the *Comissão Continental de Relações Anarquistas* (Continental Commission on Anarchist Relations), CCRA, which brought together "all anarchist groups from the American continent⁶" and aimed to study the economic, social, political, and cultural situation of America. The document describing this conference states that the study started from an essential goal of libertarian thought: the understanding of man as a free and historical being who acts in search of the satisfaction of his wishes, but always in line with the rights of others. The intention was to comprehend to what extent society allowed (or not) man to come true in its fullness.

The anarchists want freedom, peace, and solidarity among men. In the face of the harsh reality, we reaffirm our attitude by inviting men to build for themselves this peace and freedom, overcoming material factors, prejudices and dogmas, petty interests, and authoritarianism. To the suicidal intention of irrevocably dividing the world into two equally authoritarian and inhuman blocs, we oppose it with our anarchist, fraternal, and supportive attitude. Faced with the foolish race from which borns the war that the masters of power intend to put us, we announce our supreme decision not to kill or die for purposes other than the authentic values of freedom, brotherhood, and justice. Faced with the exploitation and colonization of some nations by others, we proclaim the right of peoples to rule their destiny. Faced with the existence of legal and illegal dictatorships, narrow and spiteful nationalisms, we expose our universal, and libertarian condition. Faced with private or state capitalism and faced with compulsive and unequal collectivism, we claim libertarian socialism, tailor-made for man, the product of his aspirations and preferences (Primeira Conferência Anarquista Americana. Montevideo, 1957, p. 8-9, our translation⁷).

It is evident that, in addition to the divisions and disagreements caused by men within capitalist societies, anarchists wanted the construction of a fraternal, solidary, and based on universal precepts. The document mentions major problems that affected the world after World War II, such as the spread of authoritarianism, imperialism, and nationalist sentiments, evils arising from injustices, hatreds, discords, and wars. These evils could only be fought through the perpetuation of freedom and solidarity. To prevent the State from continuing with its power of domination and the atrophy of man as a free and social being, it would be necessary to multiply the networks of free associations, strengthening social relations, and stimulating the creative capacities of people.

To prove that the libertarian precepts of social harmony were compatible with the natural order of any society (which should be free, egalitarian, solidary, and universal), the document highlights that the very constitution of the American continent would favor regional and federated integration of its geographical set. Therefore, it presents the proposal for a territory without borders, especially among the countries that were part of Latin America:

The American continent has characteristics that facilitate, in comparison to other parts of the world, the regional and federated integration of its geographical set. Common characteristics such as language, idiosyncrasy, historical origin, etc., and varied and complementary aspects, contribute to attenuate the differences imposed by distant geographical location. On the other hand, the needs of food supply, consumer goods, raw materials, etc., impose a complementation between the different productive activities. All conditions are grouped, and all needs justify the transformation of contemporary Latin America, which is nationally subdivided into a continent in which barriers have been removed. As anarchists who do not recognize homeland and nationality, we fight for the internationality of human societies, crossing the boundaries of local prejudices and authoritarianism. America will find a solution to many of its problems on the day that national despotic systems of government are replaced by an organization in which individuals, directly and freely, turn their attention to social problems, coordinated in a regional federative system. (Primeira Conferência Anarquista Americana. Montevideo, 1957, p. 22, our translation⁸).

The text continues to explain the libertarian perspective on the need for this integration of Latin America:

The militant action of anarchists will always be informed by the idea that we are all brothers without discrimination; that the different origins national, continental, social, religious, etc., lack meaning in the face of the indisputable reality of the oppressed masses across the planet. As Americans, we denounce that the subdivision of the people into exasperated nationalisms is a mere instrument of economic exploitation, political oppression, and cultural disintegration of the inhabitants of the continent. As anarchists, our international character and wherever we live and act, we will fight against existing states and against superstates whose formation is fostered. (Primeira Conferência Anarquista Americana. Montevideo, 1957, p. 23, our translation⁹).

Through this document, the anarchists justified the regional and federated integration of the American continent, besides mentioning the essential tasks for its success: conducting studies about the "American reality"; articulation of the continental libertarian press; regular circulation, in America, of published anarchist material; strengthening bonds between the different anarchist movements, at continental and global levels; encouraging the movement of militants by libertarian groups in American countries; creation of an international anarchist library/archive; activities of militant members in trade unions and other spaces of sociability (such as cultural centers); creation of libertarian communities for the practical experimentation of free, solidary, and fraternal coexistence; and encouragement of solidarity and fraternal practices among Americans.

About this conference, we find some notes in contemporary anarchist newspapers, as in *Ação Direta*, *Solidaridad Obrera*, and *Tierra y Libertad*. Among them, we stand out the note published in *Ação Direta*, which is a reference to a letter sent by the delegate who represented Brazil at the event, aimed at the editors and readers of the journal, in which the author reports his perceptions of the conference:

The conference was developed in such a deeply anarchist plan that, in everything, we reached unanimous agreements. (...) As you will see by the minutes that will be addressed to us directly, the fundamental agreement is to intensify relations and organization, projecting, as much as possible, our activities in the workers'

and cultural organizations, etc., providing the creation of communities (Ação Direta, 1957, p. 4, our translation).

The delegate stresses the character of the free agreement as the motto of the conference and anarchy. In a meeting or a society of free and equal men, the agreement and respect between the parties would be responsible for ensuring harmony. In this sense, stimulating the intensification of relations between militants from different countries and the organization of work and cultural activities would be crucial for harmonious coexistence in a libertarian society. Likewise, encouraging the creation of anarchist communities, such as the *Comunidad del Sur*¹⁰ in Montevideo, demonstrates that by the practice of solidarity, integration between men, respect for the other, harmonious coexistence, it would be possible to build a more just and humane world and a way of combating the authoritarian and exploitative systems in force in America and the world. In search of the construction of a society free from the horror of wars and conflicts stemming from imperialism and authoritarianism, post-World War II anarchists proclaimed that the building of libertarian utopia was not only possible but also necessary. The building of an "American libertarian island" was considered an initial step towards the eradication of social ills and for the construction of a universalist world based on libertarian precepts.

The French anarchist Perez Guzman, after defining the concept of utopia as an event pursued by individuals seeking a better world, said that the libertarian utopia would be a power capable of providing universal communion among all peoples.

The creative power of the ideal will break down the barriers erected by the difference of race and nationality and will perform the great work of all beings who come together in a close and supportive embrace; and then we will all live in "ANARCHY" (Guzman, 1961, p. 2, our translation).

Published in 1961 in the Mexican newspaper *Tierra y Libertad*, this article argued that peace, so desired in a world beset by the terror of wars, could only be achieved by eliminating political, ethnic, and social boundaries. Guzman's speech approaches the reflections of anarchist theorists and thinkers, who sought the practical realization of anarchy. After all, how can a society based on freedom, equality, and solidarity be constituted when division and conflict are the rules? How to loosen the line of conventions, borders, and relationships with others in an individualistic society? How to confront nationalisms, patriotisms, and, therefore, the imposition of limits capable of preventing the adherence to a common project?

4 Conclusions

Recognizing the singularities and differences between peoples, anarchists defended freedom, equal rights and duties, and solidarity as unifying principles of differences. Guided by respect, empathy, and recognition of the other as an equal, they insisted on building a harmonious, fraternal and peaceful society. We can therefore consider the "libertarian American island", proposed in the context of the *Primeira Conferência Anarquista Americana* (First American Anarchist Conference), as a crucial step in the utopian political-cultural project of building anarchy by Latin American anarchists. The metaphor of the island, in this case, does not refer to the cloister. Unlike the time when the world was being mapped, as in the time of Portuguese colonization, the anarchist island is no longer located overseas: it is here, among us, using the setting for a dystopia to be eradicated.

It is not a spatial metaphor, a shift to other stops free of capitalist corruption, but a temporal metaphor, which situates anarchy in the same scenario (a fluid and borderless island that constantly adapts to historical contingencies), projected in tomorrow (Felipe, 2019). Thus, anarchist projects sought to highlight the need for solidarity, the creation of flexible and dynamic conditions for the elaboration of a collectivity whose design, always done and undone, would allow a constant enlargement of the island, of libertarian existence. The understanding of these projects allows the researcher of the Latin American anarchist movement to unveil important political and cultural aspects related to the post-World War II context on the continent, marked by the horror of war and the growing strength of nationalisms, imperialism, and authoritarianism in force.

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1 It is important to emphasize that the problem of war has always been the object of discussion among anarchists at different times and places, and it is not an exclusivity of the period studied. In this sense, it seems pertinent to understand how this issue was addressed in the post-World War II and which meanings were attributed to it in the midst of the perspective of projection of anarchy (a universalist, harmonic, anti-authoritarian society based on the ethics of mutual agreement and respect).

2 It should be noted that, in the beginning of the 20th century, initiatives were made to integrate and strengthen anarchist relations worldwide. In 1907, in the city of Amsterdam, the First International Anarchist Congress took place. At the time, an international anarchist department was created in London, which operated until 1911. In 1927, during an international conference held at the initiative of a group of Russian anarchists exiled in France, called *Dielo Trouda*, it was proposed the creation of a new organization with the aim of articulating the anarchist movement at the international level. Russian, Chinese, French, Italian and Polish anarchists proposed the creation of an International Anarchist Federation. However, the conference was interrupted with the invasion of the police and the arrest of all its members (Corrêa, 2013).

3 It is noteworthy that, between the 1940s and 1960s, the anarchist movement at international level was marked by several initiatives organized by libertarian associations that had the participation of Latin American anarchists such as: the *Cruz Vermelha Anarquista* (1960); the *Internacional de Federações Anarquistas - IFA* (1968); the rearticulation of the *Internacional Sindicalista - IWA-AIT* (1951). (Corrêa, 2013).

4 For more information on the circulars mentioned, we mention the newspapers *Le Libertaire* (1948) and *Ação Direta* (1946).

5 Anarchists from the United States, Bolivia, Haiti, Mexico, Santo Domingo, Panama and Peru did not attend it, but sent proposals, projects and suggestions for topics to be discussed.

6 The CCRA was an extension of the *Comissão de Relações Internacionais Anarquistas* (CRIA), established in Europe in 1948. CRIA brought together anarchist groups from the following countries: Germany, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Korea, Cuba, Ecuador, Spain, United States, France, Guatemala, Netherlands, India, England, Israel, Italy, Yugoslavia, Japan, Mexico, Morocco, Panama, Peru, Portugal, Switzerland, Tunisia, Uruguay and Venezuela (Corrêa, 2013).

7 From the original in Spanish: "Los anarquistas deseamos la libertad, la paz y la solidaridad entre los hombres. Ante la dura realidad reafirmamos nuestra actitud al invitar a los hombres a construir por sí esa paz y esa libertad superando los factores materiales, los prejuicios y dogmas, los intereses mezquinos y los

autoritarismos que se les oponen. Ante el propósito suicida de dividir irreductiblemente al mundo en dos bloques igualmente autoritarios e inhumanos, oponemos nuestra actitud anarquista, fraternal y solidaria. Ante la insensata carrera nací a la guerra a que pretenden lanzamos los mentores del poder, anunciamos nuestra suprema decisión de no matar ni morir con propósitos ajenos a los auténticos valores de libertad, fraternidad y justicia. Ante la explotación y el coloniaje de unas naciones por otras, proclamamos el derecho de los pueblos a regir su destino. Ante la existencia: de dictaduras legales e ilegales, de nacionalismos estrechos y rencorosos, exponemos nuestra condición universal y libertaria. Ante el capitalismo privado o del estado, y ante el colectivismo compulsivo y desigual, reivindicamos el socialismo libertario, a la medida del hombre, producto de sus aspiraciones y preferencias”.

8 From the original in Spanish: *“El continente americano tiene características que facilitan con respecto a otras partes del mundo, la integración regional y federada de su conjunto geográfico. Rasgos comunes como el idioma, idiosincrasia, el origen histórico, etc., y aspectos variados y complementarios, contribuyen a atenuar las diferencias que impone la distante locación geográfica. Por otra parte, las necesidades en el suministro de alimentos, artículos de consumo, materias primas, etc., impone una complementación entre las distintas actividades productivas. Todas las condiciones están dadas y todas las necesidades justifican la transformación de la actual América Latina subdividida nacionalmente en un continente en el que las barreras hayan sido suprimidas. Como anarquistas, que no reconocemos una patria y una nacionalidad, bregamos por la internacionalidad de las sociedades humanas, ultrapasando las fronteras los prejuicios y los autoritarismos localistas. América encontrará solución a muchos de sus problemas el día en que los despóticos sistemas de gobierno nacionales sean sustituidos por una organización en la que los individuos concurren directa y libremente a la atención de los problemas sociales, coordinados en un sistema federativo regional”.*

9 From the original in Spanish: *“La acción militante de los anarquistas estará siempre informada por la idea de que todos somos hermanos sin discriminación; de que los distintos orígenes nacionales, continentales, sociales, religiosos, etc., carecen de significación ante la realidad indiscutible de masas oprimidas a lo largo y lo ancho del planeta. Como americanos, denunciamos que la subdivisión del pueblo en exasperados nacionalismos es un mero instrumento de la explotación económica, la opresión política y la desintegración cultural de los habitantes del continente. Como anarquistas, nuestro carácter internacional y cualquiera sea el lugar donde vivamos y actuemos, lucharemos contra los estados existentes y contra los superestados cuya formación se propicia”.*

10 Anarchist self-management community, founded in 1955 in the city of Montevideo.