

EXTRACTS from A HISTORICAL ENCYCLOPAEDIA of SPANISH ANARCHISM

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1. CARBÓ CARBÓ, Eusebio. Palamós 1883-Mexico 1958.

Coming from a family of federalists and anti-clericals, he was active in the Federalist Youth before going over to anarchism following his reading of Godwin, Proudhon, Kropotkin and Bakunin and observation of the world around him. A bit of a globe-trotter (even in his prison experience, seeing the inside of nearly sixty prisons from the age of 18 onwards) he lived for a long time in Valencia and travelled Europe and the Americas (he was especially familiar with Italy and knew many of the Italian anarchists, like Malatesta, Borghi and Fabbri, being much impressed by Malatesta). Early in the century (1905) he was close to the *Avenir* group and by the time the First World War came around he was an anarchist of some prestige. In 1915 he attended the congress in El Ferrol (representing *Solidaridad Obrera*), in 1918 he was at the Anarchist Conference in Barcelona, was present at the International Labour Congress in Geneva and the sixth congress of the F.N.A. in Valencia (where he was outstanding for his vehemence and hard line). His presence at the La Comedia congress in 1919 has been described as crucial: he drafted the anarchist manifesto, was on the working party on propaganda and opposed the line taken by Quintanilla. In the ensuing years he was a leading representative of the most anarchist tendency (and from 1921 stood out on account of his condemnation of the dictatorship of the proletariat). He plotted against Primo de Rivera and acted as go-between for the anarchists and syndicalists in Valencia, intervened in the controversy about anarchist organisation in Italy, and was also caught up in the polemic that pitted Peiró against Pestaña. In 1933 he opposed the FAI uprising; three

years later at the congress in Zaragoza he came under severe criticism for non-completion of his mission to Paris. Come the 1936 war, his ideological surefootedness went to pieces (a short time before that he had reaffirmed anarcho-syndicalist orthodoxy from the secretaryship of the IWA) and like many another he took up political posts (as a member of the economic council in Catalonia, plus posts with the Generalitat's propaganda commission and at the Education and Training Ministry). Once it had become apparent that the war was lost he left for France and thence on to Santo Domingo (1940), winding up in Mexico where he settled until his death. In Mexico he held the secretaryship of the CNT (1942) and resisted the García Oliver line from the ranks of the Nueva FAI; these were years when he was returning to his ideological roots (turning down the offer of a ministerial post in the Giral government-in-exile in 1945); later, as the prospects of returning to Spain faded, Carbó the journalist came to the fore. But his gifts as a journalist were always in the service of his beliefs. A great public speaker and a writer of excellence possessed of a punchy style, his output is strewn throughout countless publications: as a journalist, his writings may be found in *El Corsario*, *Regeneración*, *Acción Social Obrera*, *Estudios*, etc. In addition, he was an editor on *Solidaridad Obrera* (in 1930, in 1934-35) and director of the Valencia edition of *Solidaridad Obrera*, wrote for *Reivindicación*, *La Guerra social*, *Más Lejos* and *Cultura y Acción* .. as well as the leading CNT titles in Europe and the Americas. He used a number of noms de plume (Negresco, Mario Negro, Gustavo, Simplicio, Romano, Rodrigo..) and was the author of *El la línea recta. El naturismo y el problema social* (Barcelona 1930), *La bancarrota fraudulenta del marxismo* (Mexico 1941), *Reconstrucción de España, sus problemas económicos, políticos y morales* (Mexico 1949) and *Interviú con el gran revolucionario Enrique Malatesta* (1921, location not given).

2. CANÉ BARCELÓ, Pedro. Barcelona 1896-Mexico 1973.

Although born in the Barcelona district of Pueblo Nuevo, he lived from early on in Badalona where he worked in the glass industry; a staunch

friend of Peiró, he was secretary of the glassworkers' union and of the Badalona local federation for whose mouthpiece *La Colmena Obrera* he wrote articles. In 1919 he was living in Seville and two years after that he was in Villaviciosa, only to return to Badalona prior to the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, joining the CNT's revolutionary national committee and the underground anarchist groups opposed to the dictator; in May 1929 he fled to France only to return after a short while and was jailed. During the Republic he was a prominent representative of the moderate line (and signed the *Manifiesto of the Thirty*), not that this spared him the hatred of the employers (he was seriously injured in 1932); he was general secretary of the National Glass Industrial Federation and during the civil war he was mayor of Badalona (having been a member of the city's public safety committee a short while before) and held the under-secretaryship for industry in Peiró's ministry. In the post-war years he stuck to his circumstantialist line and collaboration with other antifascists; in exile in Mexico he backed the García Oliver platform and held an under-secretaryship in Leiva's republican government-in-exile.

3. CERVANTES DEL CASTILLO VALERO, Agustín. Llerena 1840-Badajoz 1874. Son of a Murcian lawyer, he studied law and philosophy successfully at Madrid University and took a doctorate in law in 1864. Strapped for cash, he would attend any debates that were going (this helped him broaden his knowledge); he was substitute teacher of law in Cáceres, an officer of the civil government in that province, teacher of Latin and Castilian in Córdoba and, from 1870 to 1874, teacher of law at the recently founded University of Córdoba. It was in Córdoba that he joined the International to the stupefaction of the conservatives who declared outright war on him following publication of his *Tres discursos socialistas sobre la propiedad y la herencia* (*Three Socialist Speeches against Property and Inheritance*) (Córdoba 1872), which venom obliged him to quit the city (1874) for the Instituto in Badajoz, in which city he died. A member of the Alliance from 1871, he became a go-between between the Alliance and the F.R.E. in the

south, doing very valuable work, especially on the organising of the 1872-1873 congress, which he attended as an active delegate.

4. ACRACIA

Title of a number of periodicals of libertarian content.

1. Monthly publication sub-titled *Revista sociológica*. Barcelona January 1886-June 1888, 30 issues. Initially 8 pages in size it grew to 16 (from No 6) and then to 32 (from No 19); No 5 also carried a 20 page supplement. Salvador Peris (and later Bienvenido Rius) looked after the administration, and the running and editing was in the hands of Farga Pellicer, Anselmo Lorenzo and Tàrrida del Màrmol. An article in the first issue spelled out its objective as "illustrating militant socialism". Its line was unmistakably anarchist and collectivist, not that pro-communist articles were not included too. It serialised important works such as *The Social Question in the Light of Science* (Tàrrida del Màrmol), *The Social Question* (Drury), *Capital* (Tàrrida), *The Individual* (by Lorenzo), *The Reaction in the Revolution* (Mella), *The Lies* (Nordau), *Scientific Bases of Anarchy* (Kropotkin), etc., as well as numerous articles on anarchy, the individual versus the State, the workers' party, collectivism and communism, the eight hour day, the death penalty, dynamite, the categorical imperative, capitalism in agriculture, bourgeois and worker science, the militant proletariat, the liquidation of society, the family, poverty, etc., over the signatures of Nieva, Lorenzo, Halliday, Alvarez, Canibell, Gomis, Mella, Cuadrado and others. A high quality review.
2. Mouthpiece of the Libertarian Youth in Asturias, published in Gijón, 1937.
3. Supplement to *Tierra y Libertad*, Barcelona, September 1908-1910. Run by Cardenal and Boix, it carried texts by Lorenzo, Lanza, Vallina and Kropotkin.
4. Newspaper run by H. Plaja, Reus, 1923, 5 issues.
5. Sociological review, Barcelona 1922-23.
6. Anarchist publication from Tarragona, run by H. Plaja, 1918, 28 issues.
7. Lérida 1933-34 and 1936-37. In its first phase it was run by F. Lorenzo

Páramo; in its second, (when publication was weekly or even daily) by Manuel Magro and it could count upon contributions from Alaiz, Peirats, Amador Franco, Lamolla and V. Rodriguez. It pushed a line opposed to the CNT's governmentalism at a time when the Confederation had a share in the government.

8. Organ of the Libertarian Youth of Lérida, 1981, 3 issues.

5. ACÍN, Ramón. Huesca 1887? - 1936, murdered by the fascists.

Bakuninist Aragonese anarchist, who studied at the Instituto in Huesca where he struck up an enduring friendship with Felipe Alaiz (who would later be his biographer); in his native city in 1915-1920 he was a member of an anti-reactionary group (Bel, Alaiz, Samblancat and Maurín) and around 1920 he secured a post as a sketch artist in Huesca, the city where he spent much of his life and where he gained considerable prestige as a forward-thinking person and lover of culture. A member of the CNT, he experienced banishment, imprisonment and exile, represented the unions of Upper Aragon at numerous plenums and congresses (being on the propaganda working party at the La Comedia congress) and his disciples included Encuenta, Viñuales and Ponzán. A friend of Galán, he did his best to prevent the uprising in Jaca, but failed and was thus indirectly obliged to flee to exile in France (December 1930-April 1931). He occupied a position of some stature in the world of culture: his pictures were exhibited at the Dalmau gallery in Barcelona, he sculpted excellent altarpieces and sculptures and had plans for a trades museum in Aragon.. Possessing the soul of an artist, he was fond of antiquities and crafts and used a lottery win to fund Buñuel's film *Las Hurdes*. He made significant contributions to the press; he published several reviews around the region, like *Mañana*, *Floreal*, *Revista de Aragón* and *Claridad* and his flowery aphorisms in honour of his hero Salvador Seguí (1923) were famous.

6. GOMIS MESTRE, Celso. Reus 1841-Barcelona 1915.

A resident of Madrid from a very early age, he studied to become a road

engineer and this took him all over the country. He was implicated in the federalist uprising of 1869 and was forced to go into exile. While in exile he made Bakunin's acquaintance and joined the Alliance in Geneva (January 1870). Returning to Madrid in March 1870 he was active in the efforts of the International in Madrid (chairing its first public meeting), holding the post of propaganda secretary and helping out greatly with the editing of *La Solidaridad*. In 1876 he moved to Barcelona and took an interest in matters of regional culture, folklore and sport; he also collaborated with significant libertarian reviews (like *Tramontana*, *El Productor*, *Acracia*..), particularly with a series of articles about emigration, especially in the 1880s. An advocate of organisation, in 1889 he deplored the fact that anarchists paid such little attention to it. In his later years he lost an arm (1909) and quit his profession to become literary editor of a Barcelona publishing house. Highly educated, he wrote much on a variety of topics and published numerous books in Castilian and Catalan (including school books). Author of *A las madres* (Sabadell 1877), *El catolicismo y la cuestión social* (Sabadell 1886).

7. CORDÓN AVELLÁN Salvador. Cabra 1886-Seville 1936.

Andalusian revolutionary and anarchist. As a very young boy in Almodóvar he came into contact with anarchism through the press; jailed briefly in 1905, at the age of twenty he emigrated to Argentina, a well-known anarchist by that point. In Argentina he married Isabel H. Pereira and together they carried out tremendous agitational and recruitment work. He returned to the Peninsula in 1914 to take charge of a workers' school in Castro del Río and embarked upon a very intense phase of journalistic and oral propaganda activity in Andalusia; in 1915 he launched the review, *Alas*, travelling the province of Córdoba on propaganda tours, sometimes on his own and sometimes with Sánchez Rosa and Rodríguez Romero; the following year, he did the same in Lower Andalusia. In 1917 he published the anarchist review *Los Nuestros* in Montejaque and Aznalcóllar; in 1918 we find him in Cabra leading a strike there and bringing his influence to

bear on the assembly that year; shortly after which he settled in Córdoba where his written and oral debates with socialists and federalists created something of a stir, whilst he did not forget to make periodical propaganda tours through the countryside organising and relaunching peasant unions, all of which resulted in his being brought to trial and spending time in jail (February 1919). In 1920 he was in Algeciras where he launched the newspaper *Prometeo*. These were years when he struck fear into the bosses who blamed him for any agitation that broke out in the south. An advocate of extremist tactics and subversion, he fell fleetingly under the spell of the Russian revolution (changing his name to Kordhonief). As the red years receded, he eased up on his work rate. He was published by all of the anarchist and syndicalist press in Spain and his prestige among the peasants and anarchists of Andalusia was unrivalled except for Sánchez Rosa. Author of: *Frente al Estado* (Seville 1919), *De mi bohemia revolucionaria* (Madrid 1921), *Pueblo en sombras* (Barcelona 1928) and *Retiros obreros. Real decreto de 11 de marzo de 1919 que ha de regular su implantación en España. Estudio crítico* (Madrid 1919).

8. CORTIELLA, Felipe. Barcelona 1871-1937.

Anarchist occupying a prominent place in Catalan literature. An anarchist militant and CNT fighter the chief focus of his literary and cultural effort was the theatre (he founded the *Agrupació Avenir* company) which he sought to place in the service of the common people. In Cortiella's view theatre has a duty to set out a libertarian project for society, so he rejected theatre as mere entertainment, which explains why so many of his characters embody the virtues of honesty, justice and integrity that he saw in anarchism. Thus, society should not turn a blind eye to society but indeed should have a didactic function to perform. He is mistakenly regarded by some as a Catalanist; Cortiella drew a precise distinction between language and culture on the one hand and political independence movements and creation of borders on the other; he was a dyed-in-the-wool internationalist. It is a fact, though, that some of the positions he espoused

caused surprise because of the zeal he displayed in championing the Catalan tongue (he refused the editorship of *Solidaridad Obrera* because the CNT would not accept his suggestion that it be printed in Catalan only). He contributed to the labour press (*La Revista Blanca*, *Solidaridad Obrera*, *Avenir*..) and a school of thought grew up around him (it included Mas Gomeri, Albert, Claudio and Bausà) and was the author of: *Els artistes de la vida* (1898), *La brava joventut* (an anti-Lerrouxist piece from 1933), *Dolora* (1903), *El Morenet* (1904), *El cantor de l'ideal* (1901), *El plor del alba*, *El teatro y el arte dramático*, *La vida que jo he vist*. These in addition to poetry (*Anarquines*, published in 1908) and translations in which his enthusiasm for Ibsen was evident.

9. CLARAMUNT, Teresa. Sabadell 1862- Barcelona 1931.

Celebrated Catalan anarchist who for years was the symbol of libertarian virtue. A textile worker, he acquired a certain prestige early on for her intellect, culture and courage. In 1884 she founded a women's anarchist group in Sabadell in tune with the ideas of Tàrrida del Màrmol and in the years that followed she was caught up in the most important developments affecting militant anarchism, together with the inevitable sequel of harassment and imprisonment; she was arrested in 1893 following the bombing of the Liceo and again in 1896 in relation to the *Cambios Nuevos* events, was deported and spent some years in France and England as a weaver. She returned to Barcelona in 1898 and got involved in the campaign against the Montjuich trials: shortly after that she played a crucial part in the launch of *El Productor* (1901) and was one of the people behind the unleashing of the big Barcelona strike of 1902, in which year she achieved prominence in a big propaganda tour through Andalusia. In succeeding years she took part in numerous meetings and propaganda tours, etc., proving at all times her great ability to draw and galvanise a crowd. With the workers' federation relaunched she settled in Zaragoza (1909) where she was to do a lot for Aragonese labour (being prominent in the 1911 strike). With the passing of the years, her home turned into a place

of pilgrimage for young anarchists (as witness the influence she had over the members of the Crisol-Solidarios group). In 1924 she returned to Barcelona but progressive paralysis prevented her from keeping up her activism, although she stuck by her ideas to the end. Her writings were carried in many of the newspapers and reviews of the day, such as *El Productor*, *El Rebelde*, *Tribuna Libre*, *El Productor literario*, *El porvenir del obrero*, *Fraternidad*, *La Alarma*, *El Proletario*, *Buena Semilla*, etc. She wrote: *La mujer. Consideraciones generales sobre su estado ante las prerrogativas del hombre* (Mahón, 1905). Her two main themes were championing equality of the sexes in socioeconomic terms and her opposition to politics. For a time too (during the 1920s) she fought shy of trade unionism in which she detected obvious reformist dangers.

10. GARCÍA VIÑAS, José. Málaga 1848-Melilla 1931.

As a medical student in Barcelona he belonged from the start to the Barcelona nucleus of the International established by Fanelli. He attended the labour congress in 1870 and belonged to Bakunin's Alliance. He was also present at the famous Córdoba congress (1872-73) and was Iberian internationalism's delegate to the international congresses in Geneva (1873) - at which he displayed great radicalism, insisting that the general strike must be an insurrectionary strike - in Berne (1876) and in Verviers (1877). Then again, he was a member of the Federal Council in 1875 and again in 1877-1880. In 1880 he withdrew from militant activity (but neither his contact with nor interest in the movement: he was a great friend of Kropotkin), apparently for two reasons: ideological differences with Fargas and Llunas (who advocated law-abiding tactics and collectivist principles) and disquiet at the lack of audience which he put down to his not being possessed of "horny hands". He was a very important figure in the 1870s (and was described as the dictator of the Federal Council and an autocratic anarchist), a friend of Bakunin and Kropotkin (the latter stayed in his home in Barcelona), ran very important reviews such as *La Federación* and *La Revista social*, and had many supporters among the workers (his medical

practice helped him here) and he was at all times a man of action and a battler (together with Brousse he seized control of Barcelona city hall for several days in June 1873 as part of the uprising by federalist republicans). An advocate of insurrectionary tactics and acting outside the law, he was more of an anarchist than a trade unionist, in that he detected a damaging tendency towards reformism in the latter. Having withdrawn from activity, he lived in Málaga and, after 1902, in Melilla, practising as a doctor.

11. GARCÍA VIVANCOS, Miguel. Mazarrón (Murcia) 1895-Córdoba 1972. His militant activity was centred on Barcelona and on his membership of the Los Solidarios group (alongside Durruti, Ascaso and García Oliver) from its establishment in 1922 and he participated in many of its operations. With the advent of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, he moved to Paris together with Durruti and Ascaso, but, due to certain misunderstandings and disagreements over touring the Americas, he returned to Barcelona in 1926 to work as a taxi-driver (a short time before, in 1924, he had been caught up in the Vera-Atarazanas operation). Throughout the Republic he was in touch with García Oliver, but did not, contrary to Oliver's claims, act as his driver during the civil war, and he appears to have shared the latter's views: he had a hand in all of the events of the time (the FAI revolts, the opposition to treintismo and reformism within the CNT..). After the civil war broke out he fought with the Los Aguiluchos column, was adjutant to Jover and later commanded several divisions on the republican side. In exile in France and Africa, he had a hand in the foundation of the García Oliver-ist POT and supported the case for regionals based on place of origin, as a result of which he was expelled from the CNT (Marseilles, 1945). A man who did a lot of jobs during his life-time (docker, driver, painter and decorator..) he earned himself a reputation as a naive painter following the end of the second world war, but never lost sight of his beliefs.

12. GIMÉNEZ ORIVE, Wenceslao. Born in Gijón 1921, killed in Barcelona 1950.

Known as Gimeno and as Wences. He was a leading member of the action groups operating within Francoist Spain. Having moved to Zaragoza as a child, he was arrested on several occasions prior to 1946, the year in which he seems to have contacted Zubizarreta and developed an interest in anarchism and the fight against Franco. In 1947 he represented Aragon at the CNT's national plenum of regionals in Madrid that July. He spent some time with the rural guerrillas until, disillusioned by its ineffectuality, he left for France (working as a fitter in Paris and Lyon). The following year he began an association with Facerías and joined the urban guerrilla campaign in Spain, initially with Facerías and then with a group of his own (Los Maños). Operated in the Barcelona comarca - and, fitfully, in other areas, as well as in Madrid in an attempt to assassinate Franco - coming and going from France. In December 1949 he entered Catalonia in an attempt to bring a halt to the disastrous wave of guerrillas perishing at police hands. With him went Rodolfo, Salgado, Plácido and Simón. In a brush with the police in Barcelona in January 1950, Wences was wounded and may well have taken his own life.

13. FRENTE LIBERTARIO.

Title borne by two libertarian newspapers.

1. Publication appearing out of Madrid between October 1936 and 1939, initially as the organ of the Confederal Militias, but from 30 November 1938 on, as the Organ of the Centre Region's Defence Committee. Daily from January 1937 (having previously been published two or three times a week): it was published by the Defence Committee of the Regional Confederation of Labour, Centre Region and was distributed free of charge on the battle-fronts. A few editions were also issued in other languages, especially Italian (the weekly *Bollettino per le miliziani combattenti al fronte di Madrid*).

2. Monthly. Paris July 1970-March 1977 (72 issues). Wound up as agreed at the Narbonne Conference (1976) after the CNT was relaunched inside Spain. Its publication had been prompted by the rejection on the part of

some CNT militants of the expulsions of prominent militants (such as Mera, Manent, etc.). Its director was Gómez Peláez. 38x38 cms. in format, with a print-run of between 2,000 and 4,500 copies with 6 to 12 pages per issue. The idea of launching it seems to have emanated from Mera and it was a remarkable success. It carried extensive reports from Spain, publishing plenty of anarchist and Confederation documents and news and boasted a series of pretty much fixed sections (window on the world, bibliographical notices, obituaries, in passing, 40 years ago, pot pourri, strikes, clandestine publications, etc.) and the list of its contributors is a lengthy one, including names like Bárcena, Borrás, Blanco, Quintana, V. García, García Pradas, Bermejo, Carpio, Mera, Olaya, Alberola, Arcos, Peiró, Cohn-Bendit, Mintz. etc. Articles by Peirats, Sender, Gálvez, Cortinas, Fontaura and Quintana were especially frequent. A very interesting review, the tradition was in part carried on by Confrontación.

14. GONZÁLEZ MORAGO, Tomás. Born in a village in Madrid, date unknown, died in prison in Granada in 1885.

Engraver by profession, he had a workshop in the Calle de Gracia in Madrid which was a meeting place. In 1868 he belonged to the Castelar-style individualist republican camp and enlisted with García López's battalion: he was a member of the choral society at the Fomento de las Artes, where he stood out for his intellect and his temperament, a blend of activity and laziness. Late in 1869 he spoke at a republican meeting, but after initial contacts with the incipient IWMA, it was through him that Cané, Lorenzo and others went over to the International and he was charged with making the preparations for the famous meeting at which Fanelli spelled out the new doctrines (24 January 1869). However, he was not present at the meeting himself due to an oversight. A member of the first propaganda commission of the Madrid core group, his efforts on behalf of the organisation were tremendous in the 1870s; he addressed Madrid rallies in 1870 and spoke at conferences in 1871 and proved to be an inspired ad-libber and a gifted public speaker both vehement and impassioned. He

attended the labour congress in 1870 - and was elected on to the Federal Council. He was a member of the Alliance in Geneva, corresponding with Bakunin from November 1869 onwards: travelling to Lisbon in 1871 with Lorenzo and Mora, he split off from them (in August) and stayed there (refusing election on to the Federal Council) and contacted Quental and Fontana, providing crucial assistance to them in launching the IWMA in Portugal. He attended the Zaragoza congress in 1872 and there launched a scathing attack on the authoritarianism of the IWMA statutes, making a firm stand against the ambitions of the marxists; elected by referendum to attend the congress in The Hague (1872), once there he opposed the manoeuvring against Bakunin and, shortly afterwards, attended the get-together in Saint-Imier (the accords of which he defended at the Córdoba congress). In the ensuing years there was no let-up in his activism: he was exceptionally prominent in resisting the republicans and marxists (squabbling with Fernando Garrido and launching *El Condenado*) and seems to have drafted the manifesto of March-April 1874 (along with Tomás) and attended the Verviers congress (1877) as a delegate. He contributed articles to *La Solidaridad* and edited *El Orden*, newspapers from which he challenged the Madrid Federation's deviation in the direction of marxism. Expelled from the Madrid Federation in December 1883 for immoral conduct against the organisation, to borrow the terminology employed to mean counterfeiting money (he was a type-setter with the official printers), which offence led to his being jailed (even now a very controversial episode, some maintaining that the Federation knew of his activities but committed the crime of failing to show solidarity). Less well known than other first-generation Internationalists he may nonetheless be regarded as the true architect of Bakuninism's success in the Iberian peninsula and of the defeat of marxism, much more so than Lorenzo, Lluñas and the rest.

15. GONZÁLEZ SANMARTÍN, Ramón. Granollers 1920-Barcelona 1948, killed in a brush with the police.

Known as *El Nano*, a member of the anti-Francoist action groups. A CNT member since 1933, he was arrested in connection with the events of

October 1934 and released the following year; later he committed himself to organising the Libertarian Youth and was on the first Granollers committee, representing it at the regional plenum in Badalona in May 1936. He joined the FAI and fought on the Aragon front (with Ginés Mayordomo's militia and with the Roja y Negra Column and subsequently with the Ascaso (28th) Division) until discharged for being a minor, whereupon he returned to organisational activity before re-enlisting after the collapse of the Aragonese front with the 26th Durruti Division (April 1938). Exile in France saw him held in the concentration camps (Vernet, Agde, Barcarés, Argéles and Saint-Cyprien) before enlisting with the Foreign Legion from which he was discharged in Morocco: returning to France as an ex-serviceman, he was arrested by the Nazis in Toulouse and sent to work in Sète, from where he escaped to join the maquis (acting as liaison between it and the CNT). When the German occupation ended, he became very active in the FIJL and eventually joined the combat groups making repeated incursions from France into Catalonia along with Facerías and García Casino (and, from time to time, with Los Maños); he was involved in the execution of the traitor Melis and was attracted to the MLR (in the summer of 1947). Killed during an incursion (13 June 1948).

16. FERRER FARRIOL, Juan. Igualada 1896- Paris 1978.

From a family where anarchists rubbed shoulders with Carlists. From the age of eleven he worked in the textile industry, picking up the trade of tanner and early on he joined the groups taking on the strike-breakers (1912). In the CNT (which he joined in 1911) he carried out important work in his native city (unionising women in 1913, taking part in the leather strike of 1915). In 1916 he backed the metalworkers' and bricklayers' strike in Barcelona (and got a month in prison for it) and the following year was implicated in the revolutionary happenings, as a result of which he was forced to flee (Martorell, Pallejà, etc.). living rough and working at numerous trades. In 1918 he was a member of the Barcelona Local Federation (representing the tanners) and attended the Sants congress

(where he came out in favour of the sindicatos únicos). Under the dictatorship, he was prominent in journalism in Igualada (together with Anselmo he published *Germinal* and *Sembrador*) and under the republic he tried (unsuccessfully) to mediate between the faístas and the treintistas. Following the outbreak of revolution in 1936 he served on the revolutionary committee in Igualada and on the Huesca front (supply section), was deputy mayor of the city and ran collectives (while also counsellor for agriculture in Igualada); later he went up to Barcelona as editor and manager of the daily *Catalunya* which he left to take up a post as *Solidaridad Obrera* correspondent on the front (1938), where he also ran *El Frente*. After the defeat he was interned in the camp in Argelés (where he was secretary of the Catalan CNT) and later in the one in Barcarés; later he worked in agriculture and sundry trades in the south of France. After the Nazis were defeated, he settled in the Pyrenees as part of the infrastructure of the CNT active service units in Spain; later he moved to Toulouse and Paris as director of the newspaper CNT (until 1954) and worked for a time as a factory watchman; in 1956 he switched back to journalism, running *Solidaridad Obrera* in Paris (1956-62) and its replacements (*Solidaridad*, *Boletín CNT*, *Boletín*) and from 1962 he took charge of *Le Combat Syndicaliste*. In the exile community in France he always sided with the apolitical, anti-governmental defenders of CNT orthodoxy. Author of: *Interpretació llibertaria del moviment obrer català* (Bordeaux 1946), *Conversaciones libertarias* (Paris 1965), *De l'Anoia al Sena sense presa* (Paris 1966) *Garbuix poètic* (Paris 1956), *Costa Amunt* (Paris 1975), *El intruso* (Toulouse, undated), *Congresos anarcosindicalistas en España* (Paris and Toulouse 1977), *Un rural en Barcelona* (Paris 1960). Also wrote for *Cénit*, *Historia Libertaria*, *Cultura Libertaria*, etc. and managed *Cénit* and *Umbral*. Used the noms de plume of Ramón Ollé and Joan del Pi.

17. ESTEVE, Pedro. Barcelona 1866-New York 1925.

Printer by trade, active in Barcelona's famous *Arte de Imprimir*, representing it at the Madrid congress of the *Pacto de Unión* (1891); by that time he was

an anarchist of some standing, linked ideologically with the decidedly anti-socialist group of Oller and Torrens. Around 1892 he left Barcelona bound for North America, after taking part in a propaganda tour through Spain (1891-2) with Malatesta. In 1893 he attended the International Anarchist Conference in Chicago, presenting Notes on the Spanish Situation. Over the ensuing years his prestige as a journalist and public speaker grew. By the turn of the century (1901) he was in Tampa, from where he was forced to flee the employers' backlash (following a tobacco-workers' strike) and settled in New York, thereafter the centre of his activity. In New York he was to become the driving force behind the renowned newspaper *Cultura Proletaria*. He wrote for, ran and edited numerous libertarian and company newspapers: *El Productor*, *Boletín de la sociedad de impresores*, *Mother Earth*, *El Despertar*, *Doctrina anarquista socialista*, etc. Esteve was a typical representative of the anarchist faction opposed to Malthusianism. Great friend of Mella. Author of: *A los anarquistas de España y Cuba*, *Memoria de la Conferencia Anarquista Internacional celebrada en Chicago en septiembre de 1893* (Paterson, 1900, previous editions in 1893 and 1899), *Reformismo, dictadura, federalismo* (1922), *I congressi socialisti internazionali* (1900), *Reflexiones sobre el movimiento obrero en México* (1911), *Socialismo anarquista. La ley. La violencia. El anarquismo. La revolución social* (Paterson 19020

18. EMANCIPACIÓN, La.

Title of a number of libertarian publications.

1. Weekly paper of the International and replacement for *La Solidaridad*. Madrid, 19 June 1871 to 12 April 1873. Publication ceased because of doctrinal disagreements. Initially championed the International but it switched emphasis from November 1871 (articles by Mora), culminating in its going over early the next year to marxism, which brought the wrath of the Bakuninists down upon it. Its initial masthead read "Socialist Newspaper Championing the International". Its editorial team was made up of Lorenzo, Mesa, Iglesias, Pagés, Lafargue, Pauly and Engels (in April 1872 Pagés took

over from Lorenzo was secretary to the editors) and it was run by Mesa. It comprised two pages divided up into several sections (events of the week, notices, serial and correspondence). Published the inaugural manifesto of the IWMA, the Communist Manifesto, articles on the family, the Paris Commune, etc., and other articles opposing republicanism. After it went over to the marxist faction it entered into a bitter squabble with *El Condenado* and *La Federación*.

2. Newspaper, *La Coruña*, 1901 (questionable existence).

3. Anarcho-collectivist newspaper from 1887 (?)

There are two other newspapers with the title of *Emancipación* rather than *La Emancipación*.

4. Monthly review, Madrid 1977-78, 6 issues. mid-way between the CNT, assemblyism and class autonomy.

5. Organ of the Local Federation of CNT unions, Sabadell, 1977, one issue.

19. SIERRA ALVÁREZ, Pedro. Oviedo 1888-Mexico 1969.

One of the best known of the Asturian anarchists representing the very moderate line associated with that region. Very friendly with Quintanilla and a disciple of Mella. Even when his activity essentially took the form of journalism and organisational efforts, he wound up in jail several times (half a year following the 1911 congress, and also in relation to the 1909 events in Barcelona, etc.). Attended the 1910 congress where he played a prominent role (serving on the working party on CNT regulations, and dealing with the internationalist theme. He argued the case for launching the CNT and clashed with Herreros over the role of intellectuals in the workers' movement) as well as the 1911 congress. In 1915 he represented the workers' associations of Gijón at the congress in El Ferrol, and the following year he attended the Asturian trade union congress. He was secretary of the Woodworkers' National Industrial Federation and as a journalist he wrote for *Tribuna Libre*, *Solidaridad Obrera de Gijón*, *Renovación*, *Acción Libertaria*, *CNT de Gijón*, etc. and managed *Solidaridad Obrera de Gijón*, *Solidaridad*, *Acción Libertaria*, *El Libertario*, *La Cuña*,

frequently in conjunction with Quintanilla, whom he also joined in holding meetings. He condemned anarchist Jacobinism, rejected the mythic status afforded social revolutionism and violence and combated the reformism of party political socialists. His life as a militant was bound up with the city of Gijón right up until he left to go into exile.

20. ESGLEAS JAUME, *Germinal*. Malgrat 1903-Toulouse 1981.

Spent his childhood years in Morocco. Worked in the textile and woodworking sectors. Joined the CNT as a young boy and by the age of 17 was secretary of the general trades union of Calella and experienced imprisonment. Made his name around 1923 (addressed a rally with García Oliver and was appointed to the secretariat of the Catalan CNT). However his popularity and influence stem from the civil war years and were consolidated during the years in exile in France which he came to be regarded as a symbol (albeit a very controversial one). In 1928-29 he was jailed following an underground plenum and later became a teacher at a glassworkers' union school in Mataró. At the 1931 congress he spoke up for political and ideological intransigence. (He was a faïsta in those days). After the civil war broke out he was to have been a CNT representative in the economic affairs department of the Generalitat (June 1937) but never took up office; in May 1938 he was a member of the Executive Committee set up by García Oliver as well as a member of the Catalan CAP. His exile in France began in the camp at Argelés and he later served time (three years) in jail in Notron, from where he was freed by the maquis in 1944. After the defeat of the Nazis, the figure of Esgleas came to the fore when he refused to yield representation of anarcho-syndicalism to the Juanel line (Juanel was appointed secretary) on the strength of his post as vice-secretary of the General Council of the MLE. This obstinacy reflected a factional struggle that smashed the CNT in 1943-45. Indeed, after the defeat of 1936-1939 (even though he is credited with vacillation at the beginning of his days in exile) Esgleas took the line that defeat had been due to departure from principles, whereupon he became a conspicuous representative of the

orthodox, anti-collaborationist line at a time of obvious tension, a line that triumphed at the Paris congress in 1945, especially when Esgleas was elected general secretary of the national committee. In succeeding years he frequently held positions of the highest rank: member of the Inter-Continental Commission in 1947 and 1948, secretary of the Inter-Continental Secretariat in 1952 and 1963, secretary of the IWA, member of Interior Defence, etc. In exile in France, his school of thought gave its name to the majority faction ("esgleismo"), a highly controversial line about which opinions are divided; some see it as breathing new life into the CNT and anarchism, others see it as do-nothing officialdom. Be that as it may, the fact is that Esgleas's view has been the predominant one among the CNT exiles for more than thirty years. Author of: *Sindicalismo: orientación y funcionamiento de los sindicatos y federaciones obreras* (Barcelona 1933), *Decíamos ayer. Verdades de todas horas*.

21. DEFENSORES DE LA INTERNACIONAL.

After the FRE was outlawed by Sagasta (1872) the Federal Council arranged for the setting up of hand-picked groups of militants charged with keeping the federation afloat: these groups were the Defensores de la Internacional (Defenders of the International). The leadership of these groups would be vested in the federal council and the groups were to be clandestine. This organisational set-up would attempt to draw any protest movements launched by republicans into the labour orbit and would also seek to influence workers by means of organising fund-raising, declaring strikes and fostering propaganda. They were to be set up in localities with an IWMA presence and to this end Francisco Mora and Anselmo Lorenzo travelled through the south and the Levante region, establishing contact with Alonso Marselau, Pino, Soriano, Salvochea and others.

The establishment of them has been a matter of great controversy because the Bakuninists of the Alliance suspected that behind them there was a marxist ploy to whittle away the anarchist presence (a reasonable enough interpretation given the powers claimed by the federal council which

allowed it to set up many more groups than Alliance nuclei), especially with Mora being to the fore and when Lorenzo at that time was torn between the anarchist line and the marxist one. Others, however, prefer to take a different view of things: as well as giving the slip to persecution, the aim was to bring about an amalgamation of the International and the Alliance.

22. ALAIZ DE PABLO, Felipe. Bellver de Cinca (Huesca) 1887-Paris 1959. Educated in Lérida and Huesca, between 1915 and 1920 he joined with Bel, Acín, Samblancat and Maurín in setting up a group in Upper Aragon to oppose the reactionaries. early on he showed an interest in literature and journalism and, together with Acín he published a number of Aragonese reviews (Floreal, Claridad, Aragón, Revista Aragonesa) and lived in bohemian circles in Madrid (where he struck up a friendship with Baroja and accompanied him on an election tour through Aragon). His haphazard temperament led to his abandoning a potentially brilliant career in journalism (he was an editor with Ortega y Gasset's *El Sol*) and throwing in his lot with the anarchist movement, which was more in tune with his adventurous nature. He was to acquire a considerable profile in anarchist circles as a CNT journalist between 1920 and 1950: he was director of *Los Galeotes*, *Hoy*, *La Revista nueva*, *Fructidor*, *Impulso*, CNT (in exile), *Tierra y Libertad* and *Solidaridad Obrera* (under the republic and during the civil war) and he was a contributor to a huge number of publications, including *La Revista Blanca*, *Solidaridad Obrera* (Paris), *Umbral*, *Ruta*, *Acracia*, *La Noche*, *Día Gráfico*, *Voluntad*, etc. A restless figure (he lived in Madrid, Barcelona, Tarragona, Zaragoza, etc.) he was also not exempt from ideological wavering (in 1942 he was to propose the establishment of a libertarian party, and in 1944 he supported the idea of running in municipal elections and within months he had joined the ranks of the orthodox), even though he was almost always numbered among the champions of purism, even on occasions when it was to his personal cost (thus he turned down the leadership of the French CNT because it

espoused a line with which he disagreed) and even led to his being jailed (he spent four years behind bars for his beliefs, courtesy of the Republic, having espoused the faïsta line against treintismo. Opinion as to his merit has varied; some hold him to have been a man who failed to live up to his potential, with only his journalism worthy of the reading; others contend that he is the acme of anarchist writing this century; it seems clear that his inconsistency prevented him from achieving literary work of merit (in fact he only ever wrote one book, *Quinet*) and it is hard to assess his journalistic output on account of its being dispersed (he wrote thousands upon thousands of articles). His style is marked by an emphasis upon irony, destructive criticism, his erudition, elegance and his sharp-eyed facility for bringing hidden facets to light. He translated Sinclair, Nettlau and Berneri and is the author of: *Cómo se hace un diario* (Barcelona 1933), *La expropiación invisible* (Barcelona 1933), *El problema de la tierra. Reforma agraria y expropiación social* (Barcelona 1935), *Azaña: combatiente en la paz, pacifista en la Guerra* (Toulouse, undated), *Hacia una federación de autonomías ibéricas* (Rennes 1945-48), *Indalecio Prieto, padrino de Negrín y campeón anticomunista* (Toulouse, undated), *Por una economía solidaria entre el campo y la ciudad* (Barcelona 1937), *Vida y muerte de Ramón Acín* (Barcelona 1937), *Tipos españoles* (Paris 1962, 1965), *Arte de escribir sin arte* (Toulouse 1945), *La nueva maldición del practicismo* (Toulouse, 1976), *La zarpa de Stalin sobre Europa* (Toulouse, undated), *Quinet* (Barcelona 1924), *Los aparecidos* (Barcelona 1933), *María se me fuga de la novela* (Barcelona 1932).

23. ALBARRACÍN, Severino. Libertarian teacher who died in Barcelona in 1878.

Experienced the heroic period of the First International and endured persecution for his work in charge of the FRE. Friendly with Bakunin, Kropotkin and Guillaume, his prestige and importance were great between 1872 and 1878; he attended the congresses in Zaragoza and Córdoba (at the latter he spoke in favour of the resolution calling for the establishment of

internationalist schools) and was elected at both to join the federal council. Following the events in Alcoy, he was persecuted, charged with clandestine propaganda and jailed. His freedom was secured through the good offices of Gil and Morago; shortly after that, he left the country (April 1874), living abroad until 1877 and liaising with the interior (he was appointed delegate to the Berne congress in 1876, which, in the end, he failed to attend). Having returned to Spain in 1877 he died of TB the following year.

24. LIBERTARIAN MOVEMENT GENERAL COUNCIL.

Established in Paris on 25 March 1939 as the supreme representative body of the CNT-FAI-FIJL in France, after the capture of Barcelona. Comprising 25 (secret) members, it was headed by Marianet (secretary), Esgleas (vice-secretary), Federica Montseny, Germinal de Sousa, V. Mas, Herrera, R. Alfonso, Horacio M. Prieto, Gallego Crespo, Iñigo, Aliaga, Xena, García Oliver, García Birlán, Miró, Isgleas and Rueda. At all times it led a very precarious existence, due to the untimely death of Marianet (1939) and the German occupation of France which led to dispersion, imprisonment or confinement of its members (with the exception of F. Montseny). Initially it kept in touch with the membership scattered through the concentration camps and its members served on the SERE and the JARE, arranging for militants to get out of France and affording them financial assistance. With the outbreak of the second world war, its activity ceased and the membership completely marginalised the the Council, so much so that, come the reconstruction of the confederation (June 1943 Plenum) it was concluded that it did not exist and indeed sanctions were imposed upon its members (who were disbarred from holding any office until such time as they gave an account of their stewardship). Just when everything to do with the Council seemed done and dusted, the issue came to the fore again in 1944-45: the October 1944 Plenum asked the National Committee to subpoena Esgleas (the serving secretary of the Council); after much toing and froing a compromise was worked out: those who had been sanctioned were rehabilitated and the supreme authority of the national committee of

the CNT-MLE was acknowledged. The matter was settled once and for all when Esgleas was elected to the secretaryship of the CNT (at the Paris congress in 1945) and the commission that was established (Teixidó, Aransáez, Zamorano, Gutiérrez) espoused the Esgleist line, whereby Esgleas would render an account of his stewardship.. to a congress inside Spain. The Council's very existence was severely criticised since its very establishment represented a complete trampling upon libertarian principles (the membership having had no hand in its election); it was part of the ideological degeneration triggered by collaborationism in the 1936-39 period. The controversy of 1944-45 about Esgleas has to be seen in the context of the factional squabbling (then at its highest point) between the orthodoxes and the collaborationists.

25. CINCO PUNTISMO.

This is the name given to the agreement signed in 1965 between representatives of Francoism and members of the CNT (the so-called Madrid group). It was scarcely a novel arrangement because (if we are looking for precedents) it can be linked to Falangist efforts during the years of the republic (when Falangism made a great fuss about its revolutionary message) to court the CNT; it can also be linked with the 1939-41 entreguismo of Clará, Fornells, Corbella and others (who were unanimously labelled traitors) that led to the Partido Laborista, and even with attempts by the Falangists' vertical unions in 1947 to come to an accommodation with Iñigo and Marco Nadal, attempts rejected by the latter (even though they were in prison). Curiously enough, , twenty years on, possibly doubtful of the prospects of the CNT and disillusioned and worn out by years of imprisonment and the increasing disenchantment in the Confederation, it was to be Iñigo and Marco Nadal who engaged in negotiations with the Falangist unions and gave rise to the Cincopuntismo episode. Even though Cincopuntismo can be dated to 1965, it seems certain that the contacts began even earlier. This is the only way of explaining a series of unusual things that occurred the previous year (Lorenzo Iñigo chaired meetings of

the Regional Committee of the Centre even though he had previously asked to be relieved of his post, the Madrid delegation failed to implement resolutions, and there was a request that the national committee transfer to Madrid, something previously always rejected). The Cincopuntismo process gathered pace with the forwarding of a - to say the least - suspect resolution to the forthcoming national plenum of regionals, the agenda for which was sent out in March 1965, but which never met because of the repression visited upon Barcelona (which affected the national committee), because of Catalonia's request that it be postponed and because of the delay for reorganisation in Aragon and Galicia.

Events gathered pace: in April, the Madrid group issued a first cincopuntista document and in June they spoke up on behalf of the national committee (taking over its functions in the wake of the repression), stating that a provisional agreement had been signed with the vertical unions; next, Royano travelled to Barcelona and to France to brief them on the agreement (he reported to the Montpellier plenum, but his timing was off; there was a frantic factional struggle in progress). On 4 November, a draft resolution on Spanish labour unionism was circulated and in December the pro-agreement faction summoned a national plenum of regionals which endorsed its conduct; a further text at the beginning of 1966 brought home to many people for the first time the gravity of what had been signed (cooperation between the classes, national co-existence..) and a goodly number of those initially involved spoke of treachery. The most damning condemnations came from France (from the Paris CNT, from Edo, Alberola..) and from the Asturian and Basque regionals as well as from the rank and file, but it is clear that Cincopuntismo had numerous supporters within and without Spain (the result of weariness in the membership) and that anything the exiles did would not have been enough, had opposition not arisen within the Falangist camp (particularly from Alonso Vega). The famous agreement was signed by Lorenzo Iñigo, Jaime Moranchó, Luis Orobón. Francisco Royano, Enrique Marco Nadal, Natividad Adalia, José Marín, Juan Ferrer Villamala, Manuel Fernández, Gregorio Gallego, José

Espín, Eduardo de Guzmán (on the CNT side) and by D. Martín, Lafont, Chozas, Lapiedra, Ginestal, Arroyo, Martín Villa, Fernández Sordo, Emilio Romero, García Bernal, Muñoz Alonso, and Lizcano (for the vertical unions). Furthermore, Diego Abad de Santillán, Villar, Prieto and Juan López were approached for their support (only the last-named gave his endorsement). The Royano document stated that, in the light of favourable evolution within the Franco regime, a CNT group had decided to open talks with Muñoz Alonso and that these had blossomed into negotiations between the CNT and the vertical trade unions, with support from Solís, that a five point agreement had been reached and a working party appointed (including Adalia, Iñigo, Carod, Orobón, Royano and Gallego for the CNT). And it had been agreed that heads of agreement be drafted regarding the social and political outlook of the trade union organisation, trade union, political and economic tactics and statutes.

The celebrated five points were as follows: 1. - A single trade union, with compulsory membership. 2.. - Self-government for workers within their organisations; independence of the government; autonomy of political organisation; differentiation from employers (with whom there might be liaison and coordinating bodies). 3. - Mutuality at work, shared with the employers; worker participation in every sphere. 4. - Right to strike as a last resort. 5. - A boost for cooperativism.

26. TORRES MAESO, Domingo. Valencia 1895-1980.

Docker involved in social struggles going back to 1913. Active in the trades societies connected with the Paso a la verdad group, he earned himself great notoriety in the port of Valencia (hence the massive influx of the transport sector into the CNT in 1916). He carried out very intensive organising work, pushing the sindicato único format as agreed at the congress of Sans (1918). Accused of involvement in the actions of the groups, he was jailed from 1919 until spring 1921; he had a miraculous escape from the ley de fugas and crossed into France; towards the end of the dictatorship, he was Valencia's representative on the 1928 national

plenum of regionals, where he made the acquaintance of Peiró and espoused the latter's outlook. Fought intensely to get rid of Primo de Rivera in 1930. There was no let-up in his activities with the advent of the republic; at the Conservatorio congress he spoke in favour of national industrial federations, tried to set up a transport union over the heads of the members of individual unions and sided with the Opposition Unions (being their leading light in Valencia) and even set up Valencia's Workers' Alliance (1934). He went into exile after the uprising in Asturias. After the reunification of the Confederation was completed, he threw himself into frantic propaganda campaigning throughout 1936 and when the fascist revolt came he joined the Valencia strike committee; later he represented the CNT on Valencia's Economic Council (November 1936) and held the post of mayor of Valencia up until the end of the war. Persuaded that participation in government was the thing to do, he spoke at the October 1936 rally celebrating the Confederation's presence and later, in June 1937, he addressed another rally that pressed for the CNT to resume its governmental duties. In exile after the war, he argued for collaborationism and was the foreign relations secretary on the national committee elected by the Toulouse national plenum of regionals in October 1944. He returned to Spain to die after thirty years in exile.

27. URALES, Federico. Alias of Juan Montseny Carret. Reus 1864-Salon (France) 1942.

Head of a family wielding great influence in Spanish anarchism (husband to Soledad Gustavo and father to Federica Montseny) through some very important reviews. A cooper and a student, he received his grounding in anarchism in 1887, was arrested for the first time in 1887, married in 1891 and settled in Reus as a teacher. Arrested in 1892 (over protests against the repression in Jerez) and again in 1896 (the Cambios Nuevos incident) in Montjuich, from where, after serving a year's imprisonment, he was deported to Liverpool. He made his way back illegally to Madrid and together with Lerroux he waged a brilliant campaign against the repression,

one that he carried on himself from the pages of La Revista Blanca (which he had launched in 1895). The following year saw the emergence of that review's Supplement, which, from 1900 onwards, bore the title of Tierra y Libertad. His popularity soared during this time (he was friendly with Sánchez Rosa, attended the 1901 congress, engaged Unamuno in a debate about Quixotism and religion ..) and was accused, without foundation, of lining his pockets (there was a campaign of criticism emanating from Camba, Azorín, Polo, Romeo and Nákens). After some time with a government newspaper (which he quit over its incompatibility with his friendship with Ferrer) he turned his hand to farming, but found himself caught up in a controversy with the builders of the Ciudad Lineal; this turned out badly for him and he was driven out of Madrid. He went to Barcelona where he would make a living from journalism and as a playwright, simultaneously making enemies of some trade unionists (he denounced syndicalism as a deviation) and shortly afterwards he relaunched La Revista Blanca (which the CNT had boycotted in 1918) and signed a Manifesto in favour of the Allies in the first world war. Years later (1925), he launched the equally famous La Novela Ideal genre and went on to publish numerous pamphlets. Already elderly by the time the Spanish revolution broke out, he went into exile in France after the defeat; he spent time in concentration camps in St Laurens, Montpellier and, finally, in Salon, where he died.

A champion of anarchism plain and simple (as early as 1887 he was understanding of violent anarchism and skeptical towards Tolstoyans), he hovered between spontaneism and organisation (for a time, in 1900, he severed his ties with the labour movement), only to end up an apologist for the existence of an FAI that was to anarchise the trade union. In educational matters, he espoused a nuanced version of Ferrer's precepts. Then again, he trusted to mass action and the general strike; he repudiated religion (it being founded upon terror) and believed in progress, whilst arguing for a socialist morality attuned to nature and based upon solidarity and equality. Revolution, by his reckoning, consisted of reverting to people's

original good qualities which had been corrupted by society; however, even though he had a clear preference for the peasant commune over the industrial city, he was not recommending a return to the past but that society should adapt to growth.

His written oeuvre is extensive. He wrote for countless publications, including *La Anarquía*, *El Corsario*, *La Idea Libre*, *Nueva Senda*, *El Productor*, *El Escándalo*, *El Luchador*, *El Porvenir del Obrero*, *La Bandera Roja*, *Fraternidad*, *El Eco del Rebelde*, etc.) He wrote many ideological and literary works: *El Último Quijote* (Barcelona, undated), *Honor, alma y vida* (Madrid 1899), *Ley de herencia* (Madrid 1900), *Los hijos del amor* (Valencia, undated), *Sembrando flores* (Barcelona 1906), *Renacer* (Barcelona, undated), *Mi Don Juan* (Barcelona, undated), *Los mártires* (Barcelona, undated), *Los grandes delincuentes* (1923), *Las preocupaciones de un despreocupado* (Reus, 1891, with Soledad Gustavo), *Dos cartas* (Reus, 1891, with S. Gustavo), *Ley de vida* (Reus 1893), *Una pelotera* (1909), *Sociología anarquista* (La Coruña 1893), *La abolición del dinero* (Asunción 1924), *Consideraciones sobre el hecho y la muerte de Pallás* (La Coruña 1893), *El proceso de un gran crimen* (La Coruña 1895), *La anarquía en el Ateneo de Madrid. Conferencia* (Madrid 1903), *El sindicalismo español. Su desorientación* (Barcelona 1923), *Consideraciones morales sobre el funcionamiento de una sociedad sin gobierno* (New York 1926), *La anarquía al alcance de todos* (Barcelona 1928), *El ideal y la revolución* (Barcelona 1932), *La religión y la cuestión social* (Buenos Aires 1896), *Los municipios libres* (Barcelona 1932), *Mi vida* (Barcelona 1929-30), *La evolución de la filosofía en España* (Barcelona 1929), *La barbarie gubernamental: España 1933* (Barcelona 1933), *Pedagogía social* (Barcelona 1933), *Por qué no somos comunistas* (Montevideo, undated), *Fanatismo contra amor*, *Flor deshojada*, *La conquista del pan*, *El aventurero desventurado*, etc.

28. VIADIU, José. Born in Igualada in the late 19th century, died in Mexico 1973.

Exemplary representative of anarcho-syndicalism. Son of a tanned goods

manufacturer, he moved to Barcelona while very young, led a bohemian lifestyle and became a man of the world. He began his political activism with the Radical Party from which he moved on to the CNT through contacts he had struck up with CNT members who frequented the Español cafe in Barcelona. In the years following the foundation of the CNT he began to come to attention: on the barricades in 1917, on the strike committee in August the same year, as secretary of the tanners' union in 1918, when deported to La Mola in 1919, attending the Sans congress and the Zaragoza conference (he served on the working party that broached the topic of a political CNT). Very friendly with Seguí and Peiró, he joined with the latter in signing the manifesto of the Republican Intelligentsia in 1930. During the republic he held aloof from controversy. Married to another famous militant, Libertad Ródenas, he left for exile in France after the civil war broke out (arriving in Bordeaux in December 1936), before moving on to America; in Santo Domingo he and Peirats established a collective, but he was taken ill and eked out a living on a subsidy from the SERE until he eventually settled in Mexico. A man of great erudition and an avid reader, he was a superb public speaker, lecturer and journalist, ran Solidaridad Obrera during its time in Valencia (1921) at the end of the war; while in exile he contributed to Solidaridad Obrera in Paris, ran the Mexican Solidaridad Obrera, established the review Estudios Sociales, and wrote for Cultura Proletaria, Frente Libertario, Umbral, etc., and ran Mexico's veteran Tierra y Libertad. Author of: Salvador Seguí, el Noi del Sucre (Valencia 1930), and Nuestro Noi del Sucre (included in Salvador Seguí, Paris 1960).

29. VILA CAPDEVILA, Ramón. Also known as Caraquemada or Pasos largos. Staunch CNT and anarchist militant born in Peguera (near Berga) 1908 and killed in a brush with the Civil Guard in Balsareny district 1963.

A CNT member from a very early age, he was actively involved in the uprising in Figols (1932), resulting in his being imprisoned in Manresa. He remained very active during the republic and with the outbreak of the civil war he served with the SIP (or Scouting Intelligence Service) and even

infiltrated the enemy's lines (Zaragoza). With the defeat of the republic he crossed into France where he passed through the inevitable concentration camps; escaping from the camp at Argelés in 1941, he embarked upon underground warfare in the ranks of the French resistance and distinguished himself as a saboteur. He had joined the earliest anti-Franco action groups, performing important work as a guide and courier. Arrested on one of his many trips through France he served two months in captivity in Perpignan, before being sent to work in the aluminium mines in Bédarieux, from which he escaped, joining the French resistance in Limoges: as a member of the Menessier network and the Haute Vienne maquis, he distinguished himself in reprisal and sabotage operations (using the nom de guerre of Capitaine Raymond). With the defeat of the Nazis, he turned his back on the quiet life of comfort that his outstanding service against the Germans might have afforded him; he returned to the frontal assault on Francoism in the Pyreneean comarcas, supporting the active service groups making for Barcelona (especially Sabaté's) and also operating on his own account for many a long year (very often alongside Massana) in the Berga comarca. Strong, vigorous and highly active, he was one of the most effective and enduring of the Confederation's guerrillas: with his death, the resistance to Franco effectively ceased.

30. VILLAR MINGO, Manuel. Pradoluengo (Burgos) 1904-Argentina 1972. Electrician by trade, he emigrated at an early age to the Argentine Republic and there joined the FORA. By 1926 he was an editor on La Protesta and he held that post until he was deported (to Chile and Uruguay) in 1930. He returned to Argentina by irregular means in 1932 and was again deported (a short time before, in 1929, he had attended the foundation congress of the ACAT and been appointed director of its mouthpiece, La Continental Obrera). In 1933 he turned up in Spain alongside Abad de Santillán (theirs was a lasting friendship) and in Barcelona he was the director of Solidaridad Obrera (up until December 1933) and wound up in jail (for his efforts to relaunch the paper); later he took over the helm again from 1934

to 1936 and from that position encouraged readers to vote in the 1936 elections (which brought friction with Peirats and Carbó) and he tried to effect a reconciliation between faístas and treintistas. During the war he served on the central supplies committee in Catalonia on behalf of the FAI and in 1939 he headed a mission to Mexico. At the end of the civil war he was arrested and released after a few months, only to be jailed again for anti-Francoist activities from 1941 to 1946: he had scarcely been freed when he took up the secretaryship of the underground CNT's national committee, at a time when the Confederation was, in spite of the repression, thriving and he was arrested in November 1947 and sentenced to a 25 year prison term. On emerging from prison in 1960 he left for Argentina, summoned there by Abad de Santillán, whom he helped in the compilation of encyclopaedias. In addition to his journalism, he ran CNT and Fragua Social. Author of: *Condiciones para la revolución en América* (1932), *España en la ruta a la libertad* (Buenos Aires 1962), *La insurrección anarquista del 8 de diciembre de 1934* (Barcelona 1934, with Santillán and Juanel), *El peligro comunista. Sus causas y su remedio* (Madrid, undated). Other books attributed to Villar (under his supposed nom de plume of Ignotus) were really by Solano Palacio, to wit: *El anarquismo en la insurrección de Asturias* (Valencia 1935), and *La represión de octubre. Documentos sobre la barbarie de nuestra civilización* (Valencia 1935), the latter being the same book under a different title.

31. ZUBIZARRETA ASPAS, Ignacio. Zaragoza (Azuará?) 1898-died in prison (possibly murdered) in Zaragoza in 1958 on the eve of his release date. Active as a militant in Zaragoza, he managed to escape to the loyalist zone when the civil war erupted in 1936 and joined the Ascaso Column, serving in its Remiro Battalion (a guerrilla unit) as a captain. When the war ended he experienced the concentration camps and labour companies in France, only to wind up by 1943 training anti-Franco guerrillas in Trompelang. Almost as soon as France had thrown off the Hitlerite yoke he publicly established the CNT in the county and made unprecedented efforts on behalf of the liberation of Spain. In April 1945 he crossed into Spain with

two purposes, to organise direct struggle against fascism there and to resurrect the CNT ideologically (the CNT in the interior espoused a collaborationist line) and he toured much of the country (Valencia, Zaragoza, Madrid and Catalonia) analysing the situation on the ground; he established his clandestine residence in Zaragoza (he was the MLE delegate for the Aragon region) and he tried to be a rallying point (establishing contact with Wenceslao Giménez); he even planned a raid on the Zaragoza Military Academy, which plan was foiled when he was arrested in August 1946. Sentenced to death, he died in prison.

32. SANTAMARIA CORTIGUERA, Roque. Born in Quintrana (Burgos), date unknown, died in Toulouse in April 1980. Whilst very young, during the republic, he moved to Madrid as a barber and joined the CNT and the FIJL; arrested in connection with a barbers' strike, he was committed to the reformatory in Alcalá (being under age at the time); later he would see the inside of the prison in Ocaña, from which he would emerge under the 1936 amnesty. He moved to Valencia, helping effectively to neutralise the rebels: his standing in the barbers' union grew (he became secretary of the Health Union) and he took up a post on the Valencia city council. When the fascists won in 1939 he made his way to Oran and was later incarcerated in the concentration camps of Cherchel and Morand (where he was in charge of coordination for the CNT) until the Allies arrived in November 1942, when he was elected secretary of the CNT's North African branch. In 1946 he travelled to the International Conference in Toulouse and made his home in that city, the CNT's headquarters in France, and there, with the passing of the years he became the militant that could be depended upon when it came to filling the positions of greatest responsibility; he was administrator of CNT in 1947, a member of the CI that same year (defence secretary and later general secretary), secretary of the FAI and of the Toulouse local federation in 1948-50.. His time of greatest prestige was reached in 1960 when he held the secretaryship of the SI at the time when the breakaway CNT was brought back into the fold (he signed the unification declaration

along with Ginés Alonso on 1 November 1960) and was reelected on the strength of this, but there is some controversy about his handling of the Interior Defence affair around 1963. After the reunification, he drifted away from his old allies (Esgleas), breaking with them in 1969, (when there were expulsions from the Bordeaux plenum) to align himself with the Frente Libertario group. When the CNT was rebuilt inside Spain he worked hard (attending the regional plenum of unions in Vitoria in 1978 and the Fifth Congress in 1979) but failed to win acceptance for the arguments of the Narbonne faction; when the CNT split came about in December 1979 he went with the breakaways (Valencia Congress). At the time of his death he was secretary of that faction of the exile community known as the Agrupaciones confederales. A militant of great merit, with particular strengths as a public speaker and polemicist and well versed in matters organisational.

33. GARCÍA OLIVER, Juan. Reus 1902-Mexico 1980.

One of the select group of the most legendary CNT members. A very popular man with loyal friends, but many detractors because of his seemingly vanguardist view of revolution and his revisionism during the civil war and in the post-war years; he was in any event a militant with great presence and readily faced up his responsibilities. From a working class family, by the age of 11 he was working in a wine store and later was an apprentice cook and waiter (the latter being his most regular occupation). By 1917 he was in Barcelona and by the following year in Montserrat too; in 1919 he joined the La Alianza waiters' association and sided with the anarchists (he helped set up the waiters' union and federate it to the CNT); at that time he was active with the Regeneración group (along with Rico, Bover, Romá, Pons and Alberich) representing it at the local federation (Bandera Negra) of anarchist groups; after serving prison time over a strike, he left for Reus on a CNT commission to unionise the workers in the area and met with great success, thanks to the backing of the action groups (1920); the following year he took charge of the

Tarragona provincial committee and by the end of the year was back in prison. Joining Los Solidarios he was to have a hand in numerous operations from 1922 on. In 1922 he attended the Zaragoza conference and experienced dire economic straits in Valencia and Barcelona comarca; in 1923 he represented Reus at the regional plenum of unions and together with Ascaso put paid to the Languía problem (a gunman in the hire of the bosses) in Manresa. He spent a year in prison and then moved to France (where he rejected overtures from Macià), living in Paris and earning a living as a French polisher, along with Miguel, Arroyo and Pérez Combina, and with Los Solidarios with whom he hatched a plan to assassinate Mussolini (abandoned when the Italians failed to come through) and one targeting Alfonso XIII. Later he lived in Belgium with Aurelio Fernández and returned to Spain in 1926, at which point he was arrested (in Navarre); he was to remain behind bars in Burgos until 1931. During the republic he was utterly opposed to treintismo, championed revolution at the Conservatorio congress and resisted the National Industrial Federation format, as well as assuming the secretaryship of the FAI; later, he was on the editorial staff of CNT (until it shut down in 1934). He was on the defence committees of Barcelona and Catalonia and was a theoretician and practitioner of the insurrectionary revolutionary gymnasium. He attended the 1936 congress where he argued the case for trade union unity and libertarian communism. Having played a crucial role in the defeat of fascism in Barcelona (July 1936), within days he was at a regional plenum urging that they "go for broke" (i.e. anarchist dictatorship), which suggestion was not accepted. On the other hand he was confirmed in his post on the militias committee, had a hand in the setting up of the People's War School and the school for militants and organised the Los Aguiluchos column with which he fought in Aragon (July-August 1936); later he was the Generalitat's defence minister, and the Republic's minister of Justice (November 1936) and, for a time, was in charge of public services in Catalonia (June 1937), a member of the Catalan CAP, creator (and a leading member) of the controversial Executive Committee of the CNT-FAI-FIJI in April 1938. With the collapse of Catalonia

he crossed into France (January 1939) where he would be a member of the MLE General Council, before moving to Sweden with the assistance of the SAC. He spent the 18 months that he lived in Sweden engaged in intense correspondence (especially with Jover, Vivancos and Doménech) and proposed the setting up of a political party (the POT), a scheme that was soon abandoned. Off he went to the Americas, via Russia and would live for years in Mexico (from January 1941 onwards). In Mexico he carried on with his CNT activities and (in the April 1942 motion) argued in favour of republican unity against Franco and this led to a split in the CNT in Mexico. He expressed interest in a place in the Giral government-in-exile, was reduced to dire economic straits and saw how the CNT was gradually dwindling away. With the reunification in the 1960s he returned to Europe and was a member of Interior Defence. After Franco died he stuck to his inflexible line and personality: he refused to collect his former minister's pension unless it was backdated. He never repented of his participation in government and argued the case for firm discipline and militarisation, putting the defeat in 1936-39 down to ideological scrupulosity. Author of: *El fascismo internacional y la Guerra antifascista española* (Barcelona 1937), *Mi gestión al frente del Ministerio de Justicia* (Valencia 1937), *El eco de los pasos* (Barcelona 1978), and wrote articles for CNT, *Tierra y Libertad*, *El Luchador*, etc.

34. HERREROS MIGUEL, Tomás. (?-1937)

One of the most sympathetic and controversial of pre-war anarchist personalities. An anarchist of the old school, he embraced the new theses of anarcho-syndicalism; he was self-educated, a public speaker of some note and a very cultivated man. It appears that he was born in La Rioja, even though he lived for many years in Barcelona and died there in 1937. The claims by some historians to the effect that he was a police informer can be disregarded, for his personal integrity was legendary (he helped to expose the Rulls and stood up to Lerrouxism, etc..) Active in the *Arte de Imprimir* in Barcelona, he achieved public notoriety following his clash with Lerroux

on a personal and ideological level (in 1906 he had been a typesetter on the Lerrouxist newspaper *El Progreso*), a confrontation that was hot and heavy from 1908 onwards (he served several months in prison on the basis of false evidence from Lerroux). The controversy helped to boost the apolitical organisation by distancing it from the Radical Party. Very active at the *Solidaridad Obrera* congress of 1908, he was to be a member of the council of the nascent organisation in 1908-09. In the ensuing years he stood out for the emphatic style with which he spelled out his trade union and workerist views (as at the rallies in Logroño and Barcelona in 1911 when he urged the workers to cut their ties with the socialists and republicans and join the struggle). A writer, gifted speaker and street activist, he was frequently jailed; in July 1909 for his exhortations of the strikers, for the *La Canadiense* strike, for his propaganda tour in 1918, etc. He attended the congress in El Ferrol in 1915, debated with the socialists in 1914, headed the Barcelona prisoners' committee in 1918 and seems to have been a crucial element at the anarchist conference of 1918, getting anarchists to enter the CNT en masse, etc. Such a high profile accounts for his having been harassed and even targeted for murder (Baldrich's gunmen stabbed him with a stiletto as he stood in front of his bookstand). As a journalist he was central to the anarchist press of the day: he was editor and manager of the original *Solidaridad Obrera*, director and administrator of *Tierra y Libertad* (he was a member of the group of the same name), etc. He argued that the manual worker had the edge over the brain worker (see his famous argument with Prat at the foundation congress of the CNT). Author of several pamphlets: *Alejandro Lerroux tal cual es*. *Historia de un infamia relatada por el mismo obrero que ha sido víctima de ella*. (Barcelona 1907), *La política y los obreros*. Conferencia (Logroño 1913), *El obrero moderno* (Logroño 1911).

35. NIDO, Enrique. Alias of Amadeo Lluán, Barcelona 1869-Argentina 1926. Catalan anarchist very closely connected with the Lorenzo, Miranda and Herreros libertarian families and, later, with Abad de Santillán. At the time

of the campaigns against Ferrer and his educational innovations, Nido wanted to go to Madrid to retaliate against those involved in the show trial against the Modern School (which testifies to the strength of his convictions). He helped to expose the Rull episode (in an article in *El Porvenir del obrero*, 1906), denouncing it from Marseilles, where he was living after leaving Barcelona (following his implication in the execution of a hangman). Later he emigrated to Argentina where he attempted the life of the Spanish consul by way of retaliation for the killing of Ferrer, an attempt in which he himself was wounded and which led to his receiving a five year sentence which he served in Rosario. On his release he set up a rationalist school which lasted until he died. In Argentina, together with Torralvo he published the review *Estudios*, wrote for *La Protesta* (it seems that publication of its *Suplemento* was his idea) and it appears that he began a history of the workers' movement (having access to most of Anselmo Lorenzo's archives). It is not known if it was ever finished. Author of: *La concepción filosófica del anarquismo* (Rosario 1921), *Páginas de afirmación* (Rosario 1922), *Informe general del movimiento anarquista en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires 1923), *Páginas dispersas* and also wrote forewords to works by Nettlau.

36. MORIONES BENZÚNEGUI, Vicente. Alias El Navarro. Born in Sangüesa 1911, died in 1970.

A militant very active in the underground struggle in the post-Franco years. A member of Ponzán's group, he was picked up by the Gestapo in Perpignan (1943) and deported to Buchenwald, from which he emerged in 1945, only to reenter Spain by clandestine means. The exposure of Melis as a traitor was his doing (1942). Captured inside Spain, he served 17 years in San Miguel de los Reyes prison, being released eventually following outside pressure. After his release he stayed in Spain, committed to the struggle. At the time of his sudden death in the street he was general secretary of the Basque CNT, a member of the trade union Alliance and of the Basque government's Defence Junta in the interior.

37. NEGRE, José. (?-1939?)

A Valencian who did sterling work in the early days of Solidaridad Obrera and the CNT. His date of birth is not known, but he died after the 1936 civil war (having been in the Argelés concentration camp for a time and certainly died there). A type-setter, journalist and an very active and capable public speaker, he was one of the organisers of the CNT foundation congress, the last secretary of the Solidaridad Obrera organisation and the first secretary of the CNT. At the 1910 congress he argued the case for a a new workers' organisation and served on the working party devising its regulations. In 1910 and 1911 he addressed rallies in Barcelona and Paris on the CNT's behalf and was jailed following the 1911 strike (on the basis of information given by Leroy, alleging that Negre was a member of some supposed revolutionary committee). After the reorganisation of the CNT, some historians have him taking up the CNT secretaryship again (although it seems more likely that it went to Andreu). During the First World War he was part of the Solidaridad Obrera team and was accused by Seguí of having pro-German sympathies (hence the bad blood between him and El Noi de Sucre) and dark dealings with the German embassy. He was deeply wounded by these charges, so much so that in August 1917 he withdrew from all labour activity. (In 1936, by then an old man, he volunteered his services to the CNT to use as it might deem fit). He attended the trade union congress in London and around 1914 he was in touch with Lorenzo, planning publication of a review. An extraordinarily combative man convinced of the labour cause (in August 1910 he turned up as vice-president of the recently constituted Railway Workers' Branch of the Catalan region even though he was not so employed, (the precise object being to avert any reprisals against the rail workers) and was frequently jailed (in connection with a propaganda tour in 1914, the La Canadiense strike, etc..) and served at least eight years behind bars. It is due to his efforts and to Herreros's efforts that the Solidaridad Obrero-CNT organisation distance itself from the Lerrouxists whom he engaged in controversy in 1908. He wrote for

Tierra y Libertad, Solidaridad Obrera, had letters published in El Progreso and El País, etc. Author of: Recuerdos de un viejo militante (Barcelona 1936) and ¿Qué es el colectivismo anarquista? (Barcelona 1937).

38. CIENCIA SOCIAL. Review of sociology, the arts and letters. Barcelona October 1895 to June 1896, 8 issues, plus a ninth that was confiscated by the police.

Anarchist monthly run by Anselmo Lorenzo. It was eventually banned by the authorities who, in the wake of the Cambios Nuevos events, arrested its type-setters and editors. A review of some quality which could count upon contributions from Dorado Montero, Unamuno (a frequent contributor), Mella, Tárrida del Mármol, Azorín, Vives, Verdes Montenegro, Gener, Brossa, Artigues, etc. It published texts by Bakunin, Kropotkin, About, Reclus, Hauptman, Haman, Brunellière, Grave and others.

39. CÓRDOBA, THIRD CONGRESS OF FRE IN, 1872-73. Scheduled for April 1873, it was brought forward after the holding of the congresses of The Hague and Saint-Imier and because of rumours of an uprising by the federal republicans. It was summoned by the 18 October circular issued by the Federal Council, but it was left to the internationalists in Córdoba (Cervantes, Navarro, Barrado, Suárez and González) to finalise the organisational details. The congress met in the Moratín theatre in Córdoba on 24 December and concluded its business on 2 January 1873. It was attended by 46 delegates plus the Federal Council (Albarracín, Tomás, Rosell, Asensi and Martí). From the Federal Council's report it transpired that the FRE had grown from 50 local federations, 41 general trades sections, 147 trades sections and 13 individual members, to 101 local federations, 332 trades sections, 66 general trades sections and 10 individual members. In addition it boasted 10 national trades unions. There was representation from Alcoy (G. Morago, Fontbuena, Montaba, Abad, Boti, Santonja), Arahal (Gómez), Aranjuez (Pérez), Arenys de Mar (Castro), Barcelona (Serrallonga, Oliveras, García Viñas, Fournier, Farga, Balasch,

Pedrola García, Pamías), Brihuega (Torres), Buñol (Rosell), Cádiz (Díaz Puerto), Carmona (Méndez, Claramunt), Ciudad Real (Pino), Cocentaina (Domínguez), Córdoba (Navarro), Chamartín (Martín), Enguera (Rivera), Gerona (Navarro), Granada (M. Rodríguez), Grao (Asensi), Igualada (Navarro), Jerez (Vázquez), Llagostera (Bochons), Madrid (Martín), Mahón (Pamías), Málaga (Guilina), Manzanares (Navarro), Medinasidonia (Castillo), Muro (Domínguez), Olot (Suárez), Palamós (Bochons), Palma de Mallorca (Tomás), Pamplona (Barrado), Puerto de Santamaría (Aguilar), Paradas (Pérez González), Reus (Jener), San Feliu (Bochons), San Martín de Provensals (Torrem, Curto), Sanlúcar (Sánchez, Fernández), Seville (Soto), Solana (Cervantes), Tarrasa (Asensi), Valencia (Montoro) and Valladolid (Yarza). 20, 252 out of the FRE's 29,000 members were represented.

The first session chaired by González Morago (who expounded upon the IWMA) was held on the night of 24 December; in succeeding sessions the congress hit its stride and ended with anarcho-Bakuninist these triumphant; which is why it is regarded as the workers' movement's first full-fledged anarchist congress. The more important accords were: 1. - The Federal Council was to be disbanded and its place taken by a Federal Commission that would be nothing more than a statistical and correspondence clearing-house. The commission was to comprise four secretaries (and those chosen would be Albarracín (internal affairs), Pino (book-keeper), Tomás (external affairs) and Fontbuena (treasurer)), plus five comarcal secretaries to be elected after the congress. (Deomarco, Villa, Seguí, Abad and Castillo were the five chosen). 2. - Ratification of the Saint-Imier Agreement and condemnation of the congress of The Hague (which, the congress concluded, had been a put-up job by the General Council in London and nothing more than a gathering, a farce whose resolutions conflicted with the IWMA's basic premises and aims, in that they bolstered the General Council's power and called for political parties). It was stressed that the light had shone through in Saint-Imier; federalism, solidarity, destruction of political authority, revolutionary action, replacement of the State by a free association of producer groups, the strike weapon .. (This implied a total

breakdown between marxists and anarchists and endowed the congress in Córdoba with an unmistakably anarchist flavour). 3. - The Madrid marxist group around La Emancipación was condemned (which was tantamount to bolstering the position of González Morago). 4. - On the matter of property, it was agreed during the Zaragoza congress that the marxists' resolution be rejected and the motions tabled by the Madrid and Barcelona groups were endorsed, but the view was also taken that the matter merited further examination. 5. - The way would be smoothed for those expelled to return to the fold. 6. - The work of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (a Bakuninist fief) was praised. 7. - The launching of an FRE mouthpiece was rejected, but at the same time approval was given to the publication of a correspondence and statistical Bulletin free of charge for all branches; this would steer clear of ideological matters but would favour solidarity work. 8. - The local federations were at liberty to forward subscriptions to the federal commission. 9. - Solidarity would be strengthened and practised. 10. Scientific usage of the strike weapon. 11. - The next congress would meet in Valladolid. 12. - The congress's accords would become valid if they were endorsed by a majority of the membership (within 50 days). 13. - Unions had to afford priority to reduction of working hours and pressing for equal pay rates. 14. - The importance of education was stressed. Internationalist schools were to be set up, with books and teachers supplied by the FRE. 15. - The FRE line was clearly defined: it was apolitical, federalist and collectivist and opposed to the State. 16. The federal commission would be based in Alcoy.

40. TÀRRIDA DEL MÀRMOL, Fernando. Havana 1861-London 1915.

Son of Catalan immigrants from Sitges, an engineer by profession and a teacher of mathematics. His prestige in libertarian circles relates to the Montjuich trials and the theory of anarchism plain and simple (sin adjetivos), of which he was the chief exponent and which was accepted by Nettlau, Mella and V. Clairac; however, even prior to the repression in Catalonia he was a well known figure, as the editor of Acracia, as the

Spanish representative at the Paris Conference in 1889, his attendance at the Barcelona congress on secular education in 1888, as a delegate to the Pacto congress in Madrid in 1891, where he crossed swords with the socialists, etc. Fleeing Spain at the end of the Montjuich trials, he waged a rabid campaign against the government terror, particularly from Paris and from London (thereafter his home), eliciting a great response. He also attended the trade union congress in London (with Negre) and acted as the spokesman of the Benevento group. A Kropotkinist and close friend of Lorenzo (the latter dedicated his book *El Proletariado Militante* to him), he was a man of intelligence, a plain man, with a particular interest in scientific matters and his ambition was to invest social issues with a rational, scientific basis (see the series he wrote for *Acracia*, and the science news section of *La Revista Blanca*). He also took an interest in criticism of the authorities, in anti-politics and education. He expounded his theory of anarchism plain and simple (*sin adjetivos*) at the 2nd Socialist Symposium in 1889, in several articles in *Le Revolté* and in some pamphlets: he took the line that there was an explanation for anarchism's decline in certain places and its flourishing in Spain, namely that in Spain internal squabbling and personality cults had been averted and that it had taken root in the workers' movement. It was Tárrida's ambition thereby to avoid the harsh and ruinous squabble between collectivists and communists (yet he butted into the argument between supporters of the Entente and of the Germans in the First World War and sided with the former). He wrote for numerous publications: *Acracia*, *La Revue blanche*, *L'Intransigeant*, *Daily Chronicle*, *La Révolte*, *El Corsario*, *Ciencia Social*, *El Productor*, *La Huelga General*, *El Porvenir del Obrero*, *La Protesta*, *Tierra y Libertad*, etc. Author of: *Anselmo Lorenzo. Estudio crítico-biográfico* (Barcelona, undated), *Les inquisiteurs d'Espagne* (Paris 1897), *Anarquía, ateísmo y colectivismo* (Reus 1885), *Problemas transcendentales* (Paris 1908), *Programa socialista libertario y la Constitución del mundo* (Paris 1908).

41. TOMÀS OLIVER, Francisco. Mallorca 1850-Madrid 1903.

Bricklayer who did crucial work during the 1870s to advance the International in Spain, especially in organisational terms. An example of proletarian militancy of an anti-marxist stamp, he was the founder of the International in the Balearics and director of both its newspapers (*El Obrero* and *La Revolución*). His activity came to prominence at the labour congress in 1870 which he attended and at which he championed anarchist theses; at the 1872 congress in Zaragoza he adopted a more moderate line on the social organisation of the workers (and his line carried the day) and he came away as an elected member of the federal council (representing the Este comarca); he was also at the congress in Córdoba and again appointed to the federal commission (as secretary for external affairs, and he took Ferrer's place when he stepped down). In the ensuing years he remained the axis of the FRE both in its underground as well as in its legal years (we know for certain that he was retained on the federal commission at the conferences in 1875-77, that he attended the Barcelona extra-ordinary conference in 1881 - representing Valencia - was reelected at the 1883 congress in Seville, was present at the congress of the Unión Manufacturera of Igualada in 1883 - at which he spoke out in favour of solidarity with the victims of reprisals in Jerez and was astoundingly competent.) Around 1884 he must have had problems with the Barcelona comrades and he moved to Madrid without abandoning his activity., because even though it is argued that he steered clear of social issues in 1885-86, he certainly attended the Pacto congress (in Madrid, 1891) and in 1900 the Madrid association of which he was a member (*El Porvenir del Obrero*) sponsored the holding of a congress in 1900; again, in 1901 we find Tomás among the delegates to the congress of the FSORE, or new FTRE, in Madrid. A man of great capability, he was a prominent representative of the collectivist line, opposed to both marxists and anarcho-communists (putting up quite a fight against the latter, especially at the congress in Seville in 1882, with help from Lluñas). Unlike other anarchists, he could see the need for an efficient bureaucracy and preferred a lawful federation over a clandestine one. He wrote for the labour press (*Revista Nueva*, *Bulletin du Jura*, etc.) and is

credited with authorship of the first history of Spanish anarchism, *Del nacimiento de las ideas anarcocolectivistas en España* (La Coruña 1893 and serialised in the press nine years earlier).

43. MERA SANZ, Cipriano. Tetuán de la Victorias (Madrid) 1897-Paris 1975. Bricklayer. His entry into the history of anarchism goes back to the dictatorship and the connection was strengthened during the republic; during both periods he was regularly jailed for his commitment to labour militancy. Under the republic he was already one of the staunchest pillars of the CNT of the Centre region (and the great strides made by the CNT in the region, especially among construction workers, is primarily due to him) and well regarded nationally (in 1933 he served on the national revolutionary committee charged with overseeing the uprising in Aragon, as a result of which he was to be jailed until May 1934). The outbreak of the fascist revolt found him in prison (for membership of the construction industry strike committee). Freed on 19 July, he hit the rebels like a white tornado; in the attack on Campamento, the capture of Alcalà, Guadalajara, Sigüenza and Cuenca; with the establishment of the CNT's Del Rosal column, he commanded the CNT battalion fighting in the Buitrago and Arenas de San Pedro areas (August), breaking through the cordon around Cebreros and reaching Robledo (October), at which point he argued for the necessity of guerrilla tactics. With the Francoists closing on Madrid he was took charge of the defences of the Puente de San Fernando district (January 1937), at which point experience of the war obliged him to lobby the CNT national committee to bring pressure to bear to have the columns militarised; after militarisation, he commanded the XIV Division which halted the Francoist advance at Pingarrón, played a part in the battle of Guadalajara and captured Guadalajara (the capture being the work of Mera rather than - as is mistakenly claimed- of El Campesino); later he fought in Alcolea and Brunete and from October 1937 on he was in charge of the IV Corps of the Army of the Centre, holding the rank of lieutenant colonel. In the final days of the conflict he resisted the Communists' plans for a coup and defeated

them in March 1939; whereupon, after discharging his troops, he left for Oran and began a calvary through North Africa (where he was jailed in Oran and Mezelquivir, the Morand concentration camp, from which he escaped into Morocco, settling in Casablanca while he waited to leave for America, but was arrested in March 1941 and, after another odyssey, was handed over to Franco in February 1942), resulting in his facing a death sentence in Spain (April 1943) before this was commuted to a thirty year prison term. In prison he contacted the CNT's secretary, Amil, and was visited by envoys from Generals Aranda and Beigbeder who lobbied for CNT assistance in overthrowing Franco. When he was released in 1946, the aforementioned generals kept in touch with Mera, but he finally dashed their hopes and in February 1947 he moved to France. In France he dedicated himself to trying to reunify the shattered CNT, but to no avail, and later he sided with the moderates who supported collaboration against Franco. After the unification in 1960, he was commissioned to chair the reconciliation rally in Paris that November and was awarded a place on Interior Defence on account of his prestige. In 1963 he was jailed for his Interior Defence and FIJL connections (these being the agencies most steadfastly supporting direct struggle against Franco); in 1965-66 he took a very hard line with the Cincopuntistas and after the stormy Bordeaux plenum at which his honour was impugned, a CNT faction broke away from the Intercontinental Secretariat; he belonged this faction, referred to as the Frente Libertario faction, right up until his death. A man of action, with an iron will, he did not succumb as some other exiles did, to the quest for power and always stated that he would go to his grave with his trowel in his hand. He wrote hardly anything other than a few articles in Frente Libertario in the 1960s and Mujeres Libres. Author of: Guerra, exilio y cárcel de un anarcosindicalista (Paris 1976).

43. DURRUTI DUMANGE, Buenaventura. Leon 1896-Madrid 1936.

Without question Spanish anarchism's most mythic figure of all time, even more so than Salvochea or Anselmo Lorenzo, and his tragic death on the

Madrid front in circumstances still unclear would seem to have been a contributory factor in this. He came from a family of fighters that had been ruined by its support for social demands. Following primary schooling he worked as a mechanic in a workshop from 1910 on; in April 1913 he took out membership of the UGT, the only union in the area and he worked on the installation of washing machinery in Asturias (in Matallana) and even then stood out for his spirit of solidarity. Shortly after that he joined the railways as a mechanic and was actively involved in the 1917 strike, resulting in his dismissal and, at the same time, in his expulsion from the UGT (as a leftwinger) and was forced to flee to Gijón together with el Toto, wanted for sabotage and as a deserter; in December he crossed into France, living in a number of places (Marseilles, Béziers, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Biarritz..). In January 1919 he reentered Spain, working in Mieres and took out CNT membership; later he carried out sabotage missions in the mines of Leon until he was arrested en route to Galicia. Recognised as deserter, he was sent to Morocco where he was found to be suffering from a hernia. He was hospitalised and escaped to France (in June). In the spring of 1920 he returned to the peninsula, contacting Buenacasa in San Sebastián (Buenacasa advised him to move to Barcelona). He worked in Renteria and helped effectively to bolster the CNT and struck up links with a series of hardline militants (Suberviela, Ruiz, Aldabaldetrecu, Marcelino del Campo), with whom he formed the Los Justicieros group which operated in Zaragoza and the Basque Country (including an abortive attempt on the life of Alfonso XIII in San Sebastián). Together with Campos and Suberviela, he left for Zaragoza and contacted Pina, Torres Escartín, and others and undertook to travel to Barcelona, Andalusia and Madrid with an eye to the formation of a peninsula-wide anarchist federation. Thereafter the group threw itself into high-flying ventures, while assuming a more solid formation: in 1922 hit linked up with Ascaso and moved to Barcelona (Ascaso, Durruti, Torres Escartín, Campos and Suberviela), going, by that time, under the name of the Crisol group which name was later (in October) changed to Los Solidarios and was bolstered by the addition of

further militants (particularly from the Barcelona woodworkers' union), with Durruti taking it upon himself to build up an arsenal; in anticipation of a coup d'état, they laid the groundwork for an insurrectionary strike (which was to be funded by the proceeds of a hold-up of the Banco de España in Gijón). A little later Durruti crossed into France with Ascaso (they were in Paris from December 1923) and together they were crucial to the launching of an anarchist publishing venture: Durruti took part in the catastrophic Vera de Bidasoa expedition and in the planning of an attempt upon the life of Alfonso XIII, before mounting a campaign through the Americas (December 1924) from Cuba down to Argentina, subsidising rationalist schools and cowing bosses by robbing them (for a time, in Argentina, they forgot about these illegal activities and were drawn into the controversy prevailing in the anarchist movement in the country). In June 1926, Durruti was arrested in France (with Jover and Ascaso) on charges of attempting the life of the king of Spain and after some months in prison was expelled from France and eventually settled in Belgium. He returned to Spain with his comrades after the fall of the monarchy and set about making preparations for the revolution; he attended the 1931 congress, gave countless rallies, and was up to his neck in every revolutionary venture of the time and was regularly jailed and banished; he was on the CNT revolutionary committee, represented the Catalan regional at the national plenum of regionals in May 1934, and attended the Zaragoza congress in 1936. His theoretical stance at that point may be summarised as follows: arm the people and no to vanguards. Once the rebels had been put down in Barcelona in July 1936 he quit the Militias Committee following disagreements with García Oliver and set off for the Aragon front at the head of a column named after him. He remained there until November 1936 at which point he left for Madrid with part of his column to assist in the defence of Madrid where he met his death on 20 November 1936. There was a massive turn-out of people for the removal of his body to Barcelona and at his funeral there. Strictly a man of action (the only thing he wrote was one article in *La Voz Confederal*), he was immensely popular and to this day remains a symbol of the virtues of

anarchists.

44. LA REVISTA SOCIAL. Periodical launched in Manresa (16 August 1872) at the instigation of the Unión Manufacturera. Later, publication was moved to Gracia and Barcelona (August 1873) where it remained until 1883 (its last edition being from 19 November 1883). For many years Francisco Abayá was secretary to the editorial team and he was succeeded by García Viñas (from 1876 to 1878, some say). It was the mouthpiece of the Spanish section of the IWMA and for that reason lifted texts from *La Révolte* and the *Jura Bulletin*. It was suspended for three months (February to May 1874) and it seems that from 1874 on it espoused a moderate line (which García Viñas attempted to shift) and adopted the sub-title of "Organ of the Unión Manufacturera of the Spanish Nation". 418 editions were published. According to Nettlau, in December 1880 García Viñas handed the review over to Serrano Oteiza who resurrected it in Madrid (as *Revista Social* rather than *La Revista Social*) from 11 June 1881 to 15 May 1884, for 154 editions in all. Under Serrano's guidance it argued the anarcho-collectivist and Proudhonist case, adopted the sub-title "Eco del Proletariado" and was largely the organ of the FTRE. After its time in Madrid it returned to Catalonia (to Sans) where a further 39 editions appeared. It carried contributions from Ricardo Mella and Francisco Tomás, published pamphlets of Bakunin's (*God and the State*) and reported on the congresses of the Spanish International. Other contributors included: Palacio, Orcal Arroyo, Espí, Vanoncí and García Viñas. Its print-run was in excess of 20,000 copies. Its disappearance was part of the fall-out from the *Mano Negra* events.

45. PUJOL GRÚA, José. Benisant (Tarragona) 1903-Porto Alegre (Brazil) 1966.

Joined the CNT as a young medical student. When the civil war broke out he was practising in La Roca and enlisted with the *Roja y Negra* column. By the end of the war he was major in the medical corps and spent time in concentration camps in France (Argelés, St Cyprien, Brams) where he was a

great help until he was denounced by Communists and taken to Gurs (March 1941) and, from May 1942, was drafted into a labour company; he managed to join acquaintances in Carcassonne and helped rebuild the CNT in the Aude department, only to be rearrested by the Germans and taken to Bordeaux (where he again played a central part in rebuilding the Confederation) and from there, now categorised as a saboteur, he was deported to Germany but managed to escape in Metz. After the Germans were defeated he lived in Paris, Bordeaux and Toulouse and was involved in the anti-Franco struggle in France and inside Spain, having close relations with the action groups (particularly with Facerías) operating in the comarca of Barcelona. With the reconstruction of the CNT he was elected secretary of the SIA (in June 1945), a post he resigned in July 1946 in order to penetrate Spain on organisational missions; arrested in Gerona, he was freed from prison in Barcelona in June 1947 with serious lung disease, not that this prevented him from treating a wounded guerrilla; identified by the police, he lived in hiding in Barcelona until a commando escorted him back to France. He stayed on in Toulouse and his home was a safe house for Facerías and other CNT and anarchist guerrillas. In the end, in January 1952 he left for Brazil, settling in Porto Alegre where he gained great prestige as a medical practitioner.

46. SERRANO OTEIZA, Juan. Madrid 1837-1886.

A fan-maker by trade, like his father before him, it is possible that he went on to become a jurist (though not a notary as some contend). Early on he turned to combative literature, got involved in subversive movements (being a member of the outlawed La Velada society and prominent in the riots in 1866), as a result of which he was forced into exile. He appears to have been in the federal republican camp (like so many others who later went over to anarchism) and was secretary of the Fomento de las Artes in 1865. A member of the International in Madrid from 1869, he turned into a fervent Bakuninist. His high profile in anarchism springs as much from his own priceless efforts as from the influence he wielded over his son-in-law,

Ricardo Mella. He was Madrid's representative at several congresses and especially to the fore at the 1882 congress as a champion of collectivism and the legal path against extremist Andalusian anarcho-communism. He was a prolific writer, especially of dramas, and was the guiding light of the *Revista Social* (the FTRE's real mouthpiece) which he ran from 1881 on; he also wrote for all the like-minded publications of the day (*El Condenado*, *El Orden* - which he launched with González Morago- *La Voz de la Juventud* - which he ran - etc.) Author of: *Pensativo* (Reus 1885), *Moral del progreso o la religión natural* (Sabadell 1888), *El pecado de Caín* (1876), *Almanaque para 1883*. *Biblioteca del proletariado* (Madrid 1882), *La Quinta*, *Dos Mujeres*, *Cuadros Sociales*, *Misérias de la Riqueza*, *Quien bien te quiera*. *Cupido sin Alas*, *El Poeta y el Mundo*, *Odios políticos*, *Historia de unas mujeres*.

47. EL CONDENADO. Title borne by several anarchist periodicals.

1. - Libertarian newspaper, Madrid, February 1872- March 1873. Founded by González Morago. Initially sub-titled "Socialist Newspaper", from July onwards this changed to "Collectivist Newspaper". Defended the International. It appeared weekly and its emergence had to do with the conversion of *La Emancipación* into the platform of the Madrid marxists, whom it steadfastly opposed. It comprised 4 pages and 36 issues reached the streets (in addition to a supplement); in a second version, (February 1873 to 9 January 1874) it seems to have published 31 issues. It stuck by the Alliance programme and was governed by the principles of atheism, anarchism, anti-authoritarianism, collectivism and anti-capitalism. Prominent among its contributors were Serrano Oteiza, Morago, Estévanez, Manuel Muñoz, Busquiel and José Pellicer and it carried texts by Bakunin. A periodical of crucial importance in its day, it was the chief challenger of the marxist line of argument.

2. - Anarchist newspaper. Barcelona 1886. The first workers' daily (ran for 27 days).

3. - Anarchist paper. Alcoy 1890-1893.

48. BARCELONA, FIRST FTRE CONGRESS IN, 1881.

The FTRE, replacing the FRE, was launched at the Barcelona congress (23-26 September 1881) attended by around 150 delegates (somewhere from 136 to 146, according to historians) representing 162 labour societies. It met on the premises of the Sans cooperative society on 23 September and its proceedings were opened in Barcelona's Circo theatre the next day. Its decisions were: 1. - To condemn regionalism and Pi y Margall-ism. 2. - To resist all political parties, worker or bourgeois, as a step in the direction of doing away with all privilege. 3. - To stress the character of the FTRE as a purely economic organisation working towards realisation of a free federation of free associations of free producers. 4. - To underline the value of inalienable individual rights not susceptible to legislative regulation and to affirm that rights of suffrage, freedom of the press and of association and municipal autonomy are meaningless unless matched by collectivisation of property.

In addition it was agreed that the Andalusian comarca be split into two and that a Manifest be made public wherein the condemnation of political parties would be hammered home. Even though the more law-abiding, less anarchist character of the nascent FTRE has been remarked upon, there was little sign of it at this congress, where only 8 votes were cast against emphatically anarchist arguments and where there was insistence upon distancing from political parties.

49. ASCASO ABADÍA, Francisco. Almudévar (Huesca) 1901-Barcelona 1936.

Member of a CNT family, he was initiated early into social struggles in Zaragoza, taking part in numerous disputes between 1917 and 1920 (in 1919, as a member of the Voluntad group, he was jailed for inciting troops to mutiny). In 1920 he was jailed on charges of having killed a Zaragoza journalist and was released following great pressure brought to bear with an eye to the 1922 Conference. He came into contact with Durruti, Suberviela, Campos and Torres Escartín (Crisol group) and left for

Barcelona; in Barcelona he worked as a waiter and joined Los Solidarios of which he was to be a leading member. He also headed the anarchist liaison committee. He was a participant in the operations against Soldevila, Martínez Anido and Languía (1923) and was jailed again; escaping from prison with the aid of Buenacasa (June), he crossed into France with Durruti via Barcelona, his mission being to set up a revolutionary sub-committee and a support publishing house. After 1922 his life runs parallel with Durruti's. They were inseparable friends; he lived in Paris working in the lead industry, was involved in the disastrous Vera de Bidasoa incursion (1924), travelled the Americas from Cuba to Argentina, on an excursion punctuated by expropriations and social and ideological struggles, helped prepare an attempt on the life of Alfonso XIII in Paris and suffered the consequences (imprisonment, expulsion, clandestine travels, stays in Belgium and Berlin, etc.) With the advent of the republic he went home and threw himself into fevered activity, turning away from the expropriation policy and turning instead to countless rallies, gatherings and demonstrations.. He was involved in the uprisings in Figols and Zaragoza, in clashes with the treintistas, was secretary of the Catalan CNT (in which office his performance came in for criticism from the Asturians) in 1934, was an editor of Solidaridad Obrera in 1934-35, attended the Zaragoza congress in 1936, all of its punctuated by repeated escapes, banishments and imprisonment. When the fascist uprising got underway in Barcelona he was in the van of the resistance (in charge of coordination and communications) and was killed by a stray shot from the Atarazanas barracks (20 July 1936). His death deprived the revolution of a lightly made-up, restless, cool-headed, sharp-witted, calculating and extremely audacious figure. His few writings hint at a mistrust of far-seeing vanguards and suggest that his supposed anarcho-bolshevism had more to do with circumstance than beliefs.

50. BARRET ÀLVAREZ DE TOLEDO, Rafael. Santander 1876-Arcachon (France) 1910.

One of the greatest thinkers and writers produced by Iberian anarchism. Of aristocratic descent, he lived for a time in Bilbao and Paris up until 1900 when he moved to Madrid to complete his studies as an engineer and where he frequented high society circles until his money ran out (at that time he was fast friends with Maeztu and Valle Inclán). In 1903 he left Spain following an incident with the Duque de Arión and emigrated to the Americas. In 1904 he was in Buenos Aires where his criticisms in the press caused him problems and forced him to move on to Asunción, at which point his ideological shift in the direction of anarchism began. In Paraguay he worked on the railways, taught classes and ventured into journalism and literature, as well as adapting wholly to the Paraguayan way of life. He married and, together with Bertotto, he launched the review *Germinal*; at around this time he became a crusader for the oppressed, which brought the wrath of the government down on his head (an attempt was made to kill him at a rally on 1 May 1907). The following year he was jailed, a difficult time during which he contracted lung disease and was deported to Brazil. Later he lived in Montevideo and Corrientes. In 1910 he returned to Europe, meaning to recuperate from his illness, but to no avail, for after passing through Barcelona and Paris he died in Arcachon in France.

He wrote for many newspapers in the River Plate region: *La Razón*, *Caras y Caretas*, *La Tarde*, *Los Sucesos*, *El Diario Español* and for *Le Figaro* in Paris. After his death his literary oeuvre was collected (only *Moralidades Actuales* had seen publication in his lifetime) and it boiled down to journalism.

Author of: *El Terror Argentino* (Asunción 1910), *Diálogos, conversaciones, epifonemas* (Montevideo 1912), *Moralidades Actuales* (1910), *Lo que son los yerbales*, *Mirando Vivir*, *El dolor de los paraguayos* (Montevideo 1912), *Páginas Dispersas* (Montevideo 1923), *Cartas inéditas* (Montevideo 1967), *Obras Completas* (Buenos Aires 1943), works which, in the opinion of many, make him the founder of Paraguayan literature and which have earned the praises of people with no connection with anarchism (Roa Bastos, Rodó, Vaz, Donoso, Blanco Fombona). He championed an anarchism that was level-headed and restrained and analysed reality, he was not so

much a propagandist of anarchism as a creator, a committed intellectual with original views and concepts of anarchism (an anarchist being someone who believes in the possibility of life without the authority principle) and has been praised by Nettlau, Fontaura and Baciú. Barret was a man of considerable cultivation: he wrote in three languages and was a recognised writer on art and music; his writings embrace every issue (nationality, social oppression, sex, women, etc.), all dealt with in short, incisive articles redolent of the sense of regeneration associated with the '98 generation. His incontrovertible quality makes it hard to credit that in Spain Barret should be so little known even in anarchist circles.

51. CATALÁ TINEO, Sigfrido. Valencia 1906-1978.

Son of a bronze smelter of anarchist leanings (the founder in Valencia of a Ferrerian school, an exile and CNT militant), we find him enrolled with the CNT hides union at a very early age and working even as an adolescent in the printshop of Solidaridad Obrera (during its days in Valencia). An advocate of moderation and more of a syndicalist than an anarchist, he joined the Opposition Unions, representing them at the plenum of the Valencian CNT which put the finishing touches to reunification with the CNT (February 1936). He was secretary of the Valencia CNT and during the civil war held prominent office (as director-general of trade in Juan López's ministry) and was to the forefront of the CNT's amplified economic plenum (Valencia 1938). In the years after the civil war he remained behind in Spain, actively struggling against Francoism; he was one of the founders of the ANFD (and headed its committee) and he also acted as secretary of the CNT national committee up until his arrest in December 1944; after trial he was sentenced to death, a sentence later commuted and he served many years in San Miguel de los Reyes. After he was released he espoused a very syndicalist line akin to the Juan López line, which brought him a lot of criticism.

52. FARGA PELLICER, Rafael. Barcelona 1840-1890.

One of the strongest and most attractive personalities of the old International. He studied for a career as a master-builder and learned type-setting (in which field he proved truly inspired and an enduring influence), enjoyed music and was a librarian for a time. In his early twenties he had links with federal republicanism and did important work at the Barcelona Federal Centre of Workers' Societies, serving on the Central Directorate and on the Catalan workers' Ateneo. After he converted to anarchism, this work was of enormous assistance in winning Catalan labour over the incipient IWMA. He met Fanelli in Barcelona (attending the meeting out of which the Barcelona section emerged) and he embraced the principles of the IWMA and of the Alliance (in January 1870 he backed the federalists, but by August had turned into a determined supporter of the Bakuninist Alliance), so that in 1870, together with Sentiñón he represented the Federal Council at the congress in Basle, where he met Bakunin and became his close friend. At a meeting in Reus in January 1870, he spelled out apolitical and collectivist principles and from the columns of *La Federación* brought influence to bear to have the Spanish workers' congress held in Barcelona; he attended that congress (1870) and fought there successfully to tip the balance in favour of anarchism and internationalism (it was he that drafted the message of affiliation to the IWMA and signed the manifesto to Portuguese workers). He enjoyed great standing in the eyes of internationalists (and was several times elected by universal suffrage to represent the Spanish section at congresses); at the congress in The Hague (1872) he fended off attacks directed at Bakunin and shortly after that attended the Saint-Imier gathering (the massive gathering that articulated the Bakuninist line of Spanish labour) where he made the acquaintance of Malatesta and was chosen as the Spanish correspondent for the *Bulletin* which it was agreed would be issued. Later at the anti-authoritarian congress in Geneva (1873) he tabled a scheme for organising along trades lines (endorsed at the congress on Córdoba) and at the Brussels congress in 1874 he stressed the anarchist line and signed the appeal issued to the workers of the world. When the repression began in Spain he stuck to his

beliefs; in 1874 he met with Lorenzo and García Viñas to bolster the Alliance, and was on the federal council in 1875-77 and again in 1879; it also seems certain that he was one of those who prepared the relaunching of the FTRE in 1881 (he served on the federal commission in 1881-83). From 1886 to 1888 he published the renowned review *Acracia*. A man wholeheartedly committed to militant anarchism, he kept up correspondence with Bakunin, De Paepe, Fanelli, Malon, Brousse and Guillaume, was the mainstay of the internationalist press in Barcelona and Kropotkin stayed in his home when visiting Spain. Author of: *Garibaldi*, *Historia liberal del siglo XIX*, and *Prolegómenos a la composición tipográfica*. It has to be added that he contributed as a journalist to *Natura* and that it was at his instigation that *El Productor* was launched.

53. GÁLVEZ, Pedro Luis. Málaga 1882-Madrid 1940, shot by the fascists. Son of a Carlist general, he studied at the seminary in Málaga (from which he ran away) and followed the family to Madrid. In the capital, he enrolled in the school of Fine Arts, from which he was soon expelled due to non-compliance with the school rules; he tried his hand at the theatre but his father quickly put paid to that. In 1901 he set off on foot for Paris where he led a bohemian existence in poverty; he returned to Spain and it was while in Irún (1905) that he fell in with anti-monarchist circles and toured Andalusia peddling the federal republican line and launching swingeing attacks on monarchy; arrested in Cádiz, he was sentenced to 14 years for insulting the king and the army. Incarcerated in Ocaña, he led a riot as a result of which he was chained to the walls of his cell; it was at about this time that he started to write; he produced *Existencias Tormentadas* and several short stories (like *En la Cárcel*), one of which (*El Ciego de la Flauta*) won him a competition, made him popular and led to his being pardoned. On his release reviews and newspapers competed for his the favours of this ex-jailbird, but his lack of interest in any steady job ensured that he was always short of money. He achieved prominence as a correspondent from the war in Morocco (with a chilling book, *Por los que Lloran: apuntes de la*

Guerra del Rif, Madrid 1910) and became renowned as an incorrigible bohemian. On a whim he took himself off to Albania (1914) after a time in Berlin (where he earned a living as a painter), only to return to the peninsula after a short time and found a newspaper in Madrid, *En la Puerta del Sol* (1916) which never got beyond its first edition due to police harassment; he eked out a living as a literary "hack", selling handwritten poetry and writing to order. Later he moved to Barcelona and made contact with the anarchists: at the same time his life was acquiring some stability (he was a correspondent for *El Pueblo*, 1920) and in the years that followed he delved deeper into anarchism (writing for libertarian publications and publishers, writing sonnets targeting politicians) as is evident in *El Demonio de San Miguel* (1926). In 1929 he started his *Obras Completas* (poesías de Negro y azul) and drew closer to militant anarchists. During the republic, his life took a more uneventful turn and when the civil war broke out he enlisted with the CNT; even when it was plain that defeat was imminent he refused to leave Madrid (confident that he would not face reprisals), but was arrested and jailed and finished off by a firing squad.

A sharp prose-writer and a poet of some merit, he had some reputation in his day (writing in first class newspapers like *El Liberal*, *La Esfera*, *Nuevo Mundo*). He is a typical example of the turn of the century cultural world, half way between bohemia, artistic avant-gardism and social protest. Unlike other literati who opted to abjure their ideas of emancipation, Gálvez's beliefs became more pronounced. Author of: *La Chica del Tapicero*, *Las Hembras de la Vistillas*, *Sonetos de la Guerra* (Valencia 1938) and *¡Buitres!* (Barcelona 1923).

54. FERRER GUARDIA, Francisco Juan Ramón. Alella 1859-1909 (shot in the ditch in Santa Eulalia , Barcelona on 13 October 1909).

Initially the recipient of clerical education which was partly countered by his attending the classes of a secular, liberal teacher in Teià. At the age of 13 he worked in the family vineyards and the following year his father sent - virtually banished - him to Provencals as clerk in the service of an

employer who, oddly enough, initiated him to republicanism and freemasonry. He became an admirer of Pi y Margall, becoming anti-clerical and an enthusiast of the First Spanish Republic. In 1879 he worked on the railways as a ticket-collector, studied French and English and proved to be a zealous supporter of Rojas Zorrilla. In 1880 he married Teresa Sanmartí (a troubled marriage) and in 1884 he set up a lending library for railway workers and joined the masons; he fled to Sallent (following a general strike) and in 1886 decamped to Paris following involvement in the Villacampa uprising. In France he remained closely connected with Rojas Zorrilla until, after the latter's death, he quit the ranks of the federalists. He knew hard times financially and tried to make a living at several trades (in the wine and hotel businesses, giving Spanish classes and speculating on the stock market); eventually he came into contact with the Meuniers and, separating from his wife (who had inflicted grievous injury on him in 1894) he took up with Leopoldina Bonnard and together they all travelled the Mediterranean (Barcelona included). When J.E. Meunier died, he inherited a large fortune with which he embarked upon his educational and revolutionary ventures (earlier, in 1892, he had attended the world freethinkers' congress in Madrid and in 1895-97 had travelled to Australia to visit family and had also attended the international socialist congress in London). Disappointed by the republicans he drifted into libertarian ranks while in Paris (mixing with Robin, Malato, Grave and Lorenzo..) and his best known and most prestigious ventures were to be in association with anarchists. In 1901 he arrived in Barcelona ready to launch his celebrated Modern School which was to open on 8 September that year, with Odón and Ramón y Cajal on the board; the school was to prove a considerable success as an alternative to Catholic and State schooling; his moment of glory came in April 1906 (with a demonstration in support of secular education) but one month later the manoeuvres to curtail his activity began: he was implicated in Mateo Morral's outrage and spent a year in prison (until June 1907). On his release he travelled Europe, toured Andalusia, got involved in high-profile activity (launching the review *L'École renouvelée* in

Paris and Brussels: establishing the International League for Rational Infant Education and campaigning for the release of the Alcalá del Valle prisoners) and became convinced that only the anarchists could be counted upon. He reopened his publishing concern, though not his school, subsidised the labour press and was soon facing accusations that he had instigated and orchestrated the *Semana Trágica*, was placed under arrest, tried and executed amid a scandal of worldwide ramifications. He died shouting: "Long live the Modern School!" Author of: *L'espagnol pratique* (Paris 1895), *Páginas para la historia* (Barcelona 1910), *La Escuela Moderna, póstuma explicación y alcance de la enseñanza racionalista* (Barcelona 1912), *Envidia. Cuento ateo* (London 1900), *Ferrer y la huelga general* (Barcelona 1910), wrote forewords to several books and for his unpublished *Diario de mis pensamientos* (c. 1901-1908) and *Los Principios de la moral científica*. In addition, he wrote articles for *Humanidad Nueva*, *El Productor*, *La Revista Blanca*, etc., and played a crucial part in the launching of the *Boletín de la Escuela Moderna*, *La Huelga General* and *Solidaridad Obrera*. Ferrer was a man who believed in the potential of the general strike as a weapon of revolution, but it was to the field of education that he owes his prestige. The pedagogy that he practised connected directly with the anarchist tradition of Godwin, Bakunin and Kropotkin, as well as with the principles of the Committee for Libertarian Education (1896) of Malato, Reclus, Grave and Tolstoy, to wit, a rounded, rationalist, mixed sex, libertarian schooling with the addition of borrowings from Spencer, Rousseau, Robin and others. The Modern School was to become the legendary model of the anarchist pedagogy that would be governed by anti-authoritarianism, co-education of the sexes and classes, anti-Statism, comprehensive training, egalitarianism, idealism and rationalism-scientism-secularism: it was to depart from the neutrality advocated by Mella and, although cognizant that schooling serves the interests of the State and Capital, would not challenge it but would rather seek to work a transformation of it along natural lines, whilst steering clear of undervaluing the teacher to the advantage of the pupil; it was to be a school for

critical minds and a nursery for rebels.

55. FTRE (Federación de Trabajadores de la Región Española - Spanish Regional Workers' Federation).

Launched at a congress held in Barcelona (23-26 September 1881), following the prior winding up of the FRE in February of the same year. After its foundation congress, it experienced rapid growth, as noted at its second congress (in Seville, September 1882), having swollen to 49,561 members, mostly Andalusians and Catalans, organised into 10 comarcas, 209 local federations and 632 sections and held 8 union congresses (congresses of shoemakers, manufacturing workers, food workers, hatters, printers, blacksmiths, peasants and building workers in Valencia, Barcelona, Reus, Igualada, Seville and Madrid), plus 10 comarcal congresses. This expansion was brought to an end by internecine strife (due to the presence of competing factions, constitutionalists, insurrectionists, syndicalists, revolutionaries, collectivists and communists); these frictions were evident at the congress in Seville when a minority, southern Andalusians, split off and held a radical anarcho-communist congress of their own in Cádiz (December 1882), with follow-up congresses in Seville and Cádiz (1883-84). There was another factor in the decline: the police crackdown in the wake of the Mano Negra episode, a crackdown condemned only very timidly by the FTRE (in March 1883 a declaration from the FTRE Federal Council made up of Pellicer, Canibel, Tomás and Llunas, protested at the repression, whilst at the same time distancing itself from those implicated in the Mano Negra). By the time of its third congress (Valencia, October 1885), the FTRE was falling apart and plainly breaking up, a process contained only by its flourishing press. By 1885, federation activity had all but ceased and the extra-ordinary congress in Barcelona (1884) had resolved nothing, any more than the so-called "cosmopolitan" congress (Barcelona 1885) or the comarcal congresses summoned in Alcoy, Barcelona, Madrid and Zaragoza in the summer of 1885 did. A mere 17 delegates showed up for the FTRE's fourth congress (Madrid 1887). Finally, the FTRE was wound up when, at

the request of the Catalans, a congress met in Valencia (September 1888) to register the demise of the FTRE and, in its place, launch the OARE (Spanish Regional Anarchist Organisation), which was conceived as buttressing the anarchist element, in that it rejected any who would not dogmatically embrace anarchist arguments (the OARE gave up on meeting in congresses). Then again, in Barcelona the Pacto de Unión was launched in 1888. The FTRE failed to marry the various interests present within it and in terms of profile it cannot stand comparison with the FRE, nor with the CNT. Whether the FTRE clearly adhered to the FRE line is a matter of some controversy: from its trajectory (Mano Negra, Los Desheredados, the OARE..) we may deduce that it aspired to impose a more legalistic, reformist policy, something in which the Llunas-Tomás-Farga faction had already been successful within the FRE. All of the internal squabbling boiled down to a duel between revolutionaries (which group included insurrectionists, anarcho-communists and radicals) and the moderates-reformists (namely, the constitutionalists, collectivists and syndicalists) , a duel already played out inside the FRE. Where the FTRE did succeed was in ditching the republican socialists (and, given the initial connection with the International - remember that many internationalists had their origins in the federal republican camp - this was no easy undertaking) who were resoundingly defeated at the 1881 congress by 110 votes to 8.

56. GUSTAVO, Soledad. Alias of Teresa Mañé. Villanueva y Geltrú 1865-Perpignan 1939.

Secular schoolmistress with her own school. After marriage to Federico Urales in 1891 she became a member of an important militant anarchist family. Mother of Federica Montseny. Her fame derives essentially from the fact that from 1898 to 1905 she was co-director with Urales of La Revista Blanca and was subsequently involved in many of the family's ventures. Her work was confined to journalism: she wrote lots and lots of articles in the family's reviews and others of the libertarian persuasion: Revista Blanca (its Almanaque and Suplementos included), El Corsario, El Productor, El

Cosmopolita, El Trabajo, etc. She was on the editorial panel of Tierra y Libertad and translated Louise Michel, Labriola and De La Hire.. Her primary concerns were education and feminism. Author of: La sociedad futura (Madrid 1899), El amor libre (Montevideo 1904), A las proletarias (Buenos Aires 1896), Sindicalismo y anarquismo. Política y Sociología (Barcelona 1933), and, in partnership with Urales: Las preocupaciones de los despreocupados (Reus 1891), and Dos cartas (Reus 1891). She is also credited with authorship of Las diosas de la vida (Barcelona 1904) but this seems to be a translation of Labriola.

57. LA HUELGA GENERAL. Title borne by several libertarian papers.

1. Newspaper founded and financed by Francisco Ferrer Guardia. Barcelona 15 November 1901 to 1903. Sub-titled "Libertarian Newspaper", it was run by Ignacio Claría. Anselmo Lorenzo and López Montenegro were assiduous contributors. 21 issues were published (one every ten days) and it appears that Batllon printed it surreptitiously on Catholic presses. It mirrors the enthusiastic reception of the general strike tactic as a means of bringing about the revolution. In view of its subversive nature it was much persecuted and Claría was tried and imprisoned more than once. It carried articles by Ferrer, Reclus, Tárrida del Mármol, Robin, Cornelissen, Grave, Hamon, Malato, Nieuwenhuis, Pert, Paraf-Javal and Tailhade. In addition to the newspaper there was also a sort of publishing imprint: the Biblioteca of the same name which published pamphlets by Lorenzo, Pert, Robin, Reclus, etc.

2. Madrid 1906. Anarchist publication. At least five issues. Contributions by Mella.

58. LEVAL, Gaston. One of the many aliases (others included Silvio Agreste, José Benito, Felipe Montblanc, Josep Venutti..) used by Pierre Piller, an anarchist who was born and died in Paris in 1895-1978 and who was closely associated with Spanish libertarians.

Son of a fighter with the Paris Commune, he came to Spain in 1915 after an

unhappy childhood, having refused to fight in the First World War (he was an anti-militarist) and became a very active anarchist who earned a livelihood from a wide spectrum of trades in Zaragoza and Barcelona. By 1920 he was fast friends with Serge and with Costa Iscar, was writing for the libertarian press and serving inevitable stretches in jail (in Valencia and Barcelona); a good indicator of his standing by then is the fact that he represented the Barcelona anarchist groups at the foundation congress of the Profintern and at the congress of the Third International in Moscow (his visit was a telling one, upon which he reported to the Zaragoza conference in 1922) . On his return from Russia he toured the entire Iberian peninsula, initially making a living as a photographer and later as a teacher in La Coruña. In 1924 he moved to Argentina where he did a lot of writing: he returned to the peninsula, an influential anarchist theorist, as Uriburu's repression in Argentina worsened. With the outbreak of the civil war in 1936 he declined the offer of posts with the Generalitat and central government and by 1937 sensed the defeat that was coming. He spent eight months touring the collectives so as to be able to place on record the constructive endeavours of the revolution. When the defeat finally came, he returned to France only to be jailed, but he escaped shortly afterwards (1940); he was to live a clandestine existence until 1949 and spend another two years in Belgium: amnestied in 1951 (for his desertion in 1914) he involved himself in anarchism in France and experienced a revival with the publication of his review *Cahiers de l'humanisme libertaire* (1955-1976) and the events of May 1968 in France, remaining at all times in touch with Spanish libertarian circles.

During the 1920s he was prominent as an inflexible pure anarchist, but with the passage of time he delved deeper: eventually advocating a constructive anarchism with the emphasis on the economic and he argued the case for industrial federations rather than communes.. not that this was any obstacle to his being a fervent Bakuninist with a profound knowledge of Kropotkin's ideas. He was the author of a large number of writings: and wrote for countless reviews and newspapers including

Liberación, Tierra y Libertad, Acción Libertaria, CNT, Solidaridad Obrera, La Guerra Social, Le Liberaire, Despertad, Cultura Libertaria, Estudios, Fragua Social, Ruta, Frente Libertario, etc.

Author of: El Prófufo (1933), A través de su destino, Los anarquistas rusos en prisión, L'Enfance en Croix (1961), Precisiones sobre el anarquismo (1937), El mundo hacia el abismo (Valencia 1934), Conceptos económicos en el comunismo libertario (Buenos Aires 1935), Né Franco, Né Stalin. La collettività anarchica spagnola nella lotta contra Franco e la reazione staliniana (Milan 1955), Social Reconstruction in Spain (London 1938), Poetas y literatos franceses, Contra la Guerra, La falacia del marxismo (1967), Manifeste socialiste libertaire (Neuilly 1951), Socialistes libertaires, pourquoi (Paris 1956), Problemas económicos de la revolución española (Santa Fé, 1932), Problèmes contemporains (Paris 1964, in partnership with Bouyé-Riera), Pratique du socialisme libertaire (Neuilly 1959), La pensée constructive de Bakounine (1976), Estructura y funcionamiento de la sociedad comunista libertaria (Barcelona 1936), Génèse et réalité historique de l'État, Le chemin du socialisme (Bièvres 1958), Le communisme. L'État contre le communisme (1950), Éléments d'éthique moderne (Paris 1961), L'Espagne libertaire (Paris 1971), L'Humanisme libertaire (Paris 1967), L'Indispensable révolution (Paris 1948), Civilisation libertaire, Nuestro programa de reconstrucción (Barcelona 1937), Recursos alimenticios de la España antifascista (Barcelona 1937).

59. LIMOGES, INTER-CONTINENTAL CONGRESS OF THE LOCAL FEDERATIONS OF THE CNT IN EXILE, 1960.

Held in Limoges (France) from 13 to 20 August 1960, over 19 sessions.

Opened by greetings from the secretary of the Inter-continental Secretariat, the congress immediately got down to business by appointing commissions to look after accounts, scrutiny and credentials. 75 local federations (with a membership of 3,836) were represented by 115 delegates; also represented indirectly were 99 local federations (with 1,182 members). This according to the figures from the commission responsible, which, as the proceedings

developed announced the arrival of further delegations which, with subsequent amendments, took the number of local federations represented to over 182, (5,676 members) and 12 observers. At the request of one of the delegations the principles, tactics and aims of the CNT were ratified to mark its fiftieth anniversary.

Discussion of the report on the stewardship of the Inter-continental Secretariat, as well as the one from the delegate attached to the IWA (along with the problems arising out of the leadership of the CNT and of Cénit) ate up much of the proceedings (and it was only during the seventh sitting that they got to grips with the agenda, and even then there were lengthy references to the previous business); outstanding in these discussions were the statements from the secretary of the IS (Santamaría) to the effect that there was virtually no organised CNT within Spain, as well as the contributions from Peirats (formerly in charge of CNT) and invocation of IWA issues (the matter of the SAC). With the seventh sitting the congress got down to brass tacks, the much anticipated Item No 6 on the agenda - Review of the situation of the Confederation and policy to be adopted (under the two headings of 1. doctrinal and organisational recovery and 2. recruitment and revival of membership), which covered the matter of reunification of the two existing CNTs (the IS's one and the Sub-Committee's one). The proceedings were very laborious, with plenty of motions proposed and working parties and contributions relating to minimum conditions (it was evident that not everybody wanted reunification), with particularly outstanding contributions from the delegations from Toulouse, Perpignan, St Henri, Combs, Seysses, Carcas, Bordeaux, Dijon and Istres, which led to the formation of a working party that drafted a text satisfactory to the majority. The motion was carried, after a long preamble ratifying the CNT's pre-civil war policy line condemning its flirtation with government and the breakaway organisation was invited to disband itself and rejoin the CNT-in-Exile, forswearing their agreements and commitments; the same invitation was issued to all who had withdrawn from all activity; furthermore, it was stated that, in order for this healing

process to proceed, it was the view of congress that the comrades belonging to the breakaway faction to rejoin the local federation in their place of residence one by one or in a body, after which they would enjoy the same prerogatives, rights and duties as any other CNT member; and, in order to avert potential conflict in some local federations, it was added that, in order to expedite things, each locality, nucleus or country would have a free hand in settling its affairs. Later the resolution spelled out the necessity of union for the purposes of facilitating unity among anti-Francoists and the active struggle inside Spain and also in terms of the psychological impact that it would make: finally, there was an explanation of how the decision might be implemented. This decision made possible the reunification of the CNT which had split in 1945. The rest of the business was of secondary significance: 1. - A call for circumstantial alliance with the UGT on specific matters (the fight against Francoism). 2. - There was an appeal for people to take out SIA membership. 3. - The matter of the Aymare colony, ways of boosting it and helping it out. 4. - Escalation of propaganda activity, affinity groups, the fight against Francoism...

With the reunification motion agreed, the congress was content, which explains why, when Santamaría was taken to task by one delegate (after Santamaría had shown undue reluctance to accept reelection) and was invited by him to take himself off, lots of delegations followed the secretary when he did leave the hall at the end of the seventeenth sitting. The officers elected were Roque Santamaría (general secretary), Pintado (coordinating secretary), Olaya (responsibility for Culture and Propaganda), Celma (delegate attached to the IWA) and Montseny (in charge of CNT).

60. LÓPEZ CALLE, Bernabé. Montejaque 1899- killed in the vicinity of Medinasidonia, 1949.

A member of an illustrious CNT and anarchist family (his brothers José, Pedro and Antonio were well-known militants), he joined the Civil Guard upon completion of his military service and was posted to the province of

Málaga. The outbreak of the civil war found him in Antequera and he took on the rebels: he commanded a column which later turned into a battalion (the José López) and later took over the 61st Mixed Brigade (which was disbanded when it declined to dance to the Communists' tune). He fought in Málaga, Almería and Teruel; the end of the war found him in the Centre where he was arrested and sentenced to death. Released in 1944, he took to the mountains. In the ensuing years he organised guerrillas and was soon the most famous southern guerrilla (with support from the CNT which had successfully recovered in Andalusia), with many contacts and support bases in the plains. For five years he held the Francoists at bay throughout the whole of lower Andalusia. He mounted guerrilla activity, bringing to it strategy, efficiency, mobility and coordination and mustering many fighters; he even formed a guerrillas' ANFD in 1946 which was then extended into a guerrillas' National Junta (Southern Sector), which culminated in February 1949 when several bands of guerrillas amalgamated into the Agrupación Fermín Galán of which he was appointed the commander. His influence was great and after quitting the highlands around Ronda he moved to Cádiz, dividing the territory up into theatres (Ubrique-Jérez, Montejaque, Alcalá de los Gazules and Gaucín) and ranging as far afield as Algeciras and Punta Paloma. The death knell for the guerrillas came on the last day of 1949 when Bernabé, surrounded in the heights of La Atalaya, was wounded and took his own life. He used a number of aliases such as Bernabé, Comandante Abril, Fernando.

61. LÓPEZ MONTENEGRO, José. Determined anarchist propagandist who died in Barcelona in 1903 (some say 1908).

A member of the army administration corps (he was an officer) he resigned because of his republican leanings and his refusal to swear a pledge of loyalty to Amadeo I. His presence in revolutionary labour circles dates from 1870 when he turned up in Zaragoza as a driving force for trade unionism. (His part in the development of workers' consciousness in Zaragoza is universally regarded as crucial). The following year he was arguing the case

for anarchism as the latest scientific advance and in 1872 he had a hand in the organising of the Zaragoza congress. Active in the cantonalist venture in Cartagena, he then fled to France and lived in poverty in Paris until 1884. Returning to Spain, he settled in Catalonia, working as a teacher in Sabadell and later in Sallent (where he founded the city's public library and got into some difficulty when accused of illegal propaganda), from where he used to strike out into the surrounding countryside for propaganda purposes (holding rallies in Manresa in 1891 against religion and in commemoration of the Chicago martyrs - together with Malatesta, in the latter instance) and on organisational business (he attended the Madrid congress of the Pacto in 1891). His time in Sabadell was marked by publication of the famous review *Los Desheredados* (1884 to 1886). He was living in Sallent when he was indicted in the Montjuich trials (1896) and shortly after that he quit Spain for the Americas, via London, returning years later to die in Barcelona, though not before he had seen the inside of prison again, in *El Pelayo*, as a result of the Barcelona strike of 1901. A man of great solidarity and a friend of the humble he endured persecution and misery for his ideological steadfastness; a journalist, but likewise a fighter and street agitator (as witness his strike campaigns in Madrid and Barcelona in 1900-01) he was also an organiser (representing the Spanish section of the IWMA at the Paris congress while in Exile); he is the very model of the proletarianised militant of his day, hoping to spread learning through the propagation of science and revolution by means of the general strike. A great public speaker and a fine writer, he had an especial interest in anti-clericalism, the general strike, organisation and revolutionary effectiveness and science. He wrote for *La Idea Libre*, *El Porvenir del Obrero*, *La Anarquía*, *El Productor*, *La Nueva Idea*, *La Revista Blanca*, *La Protesta*, etc., and was editor or director of *El Proletariado*, *La Luz* and *Los Desheredados*. Author of: *La huelga general* (Barcelona 1902), *El Botón de Fuego* (Barcelona 1902), *Manifiesto del 1º de mayo* (Asunción, undated), *La Naturaleza. Poema. Nociones de geología y zoología para trabajadores* (Barcelona 1902), and *Catecismo democrático federal* (Barcelona 1882).

62. LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ, Juan. CNT militant born in Bullas (Murcia) in 1900, died in Madrid 1972.

In 1928 he was a member of the Solidaridad group. Closer to syndicalism than to anarchism, he had a hand in every one of the moves designed to whittle away the CNT's anarchist content to the advantage of the syndicalist element: he was one of the treintistas, led the Opposition Unions during the republic, was secretary of the FSL after Pestaña's departure, advocated collaboration in government during the civil war and in exile and wound up advocating an ideology-free syndicalism and embracing the worst aspects of Cincopuntismo.

His popularity spread after he signed the treintista manifesto and he was to become one of the treintista leaders: after he was expelled from the CNT he led the treintistas in Huelva and, shortly after that, headed the FSL, but he did not follow Pestaña into the Syndicalist Party. Quite the opposite, He was scathingly critical of this initiative from the columns of Sindicalismo (which he ran in Valencia in 1934). After the failure of the Alianza Obrera he encouraged the Oppositionists to return to the CNT fold; after amalgamation was finalised at the 1936 congress, he held important posts on the CNT's behalf during the civil war: he was minister of Trade (November 1936), a member of the Defence Council towards the end of the war, represented the CNT on the Popular Executive Committee in Valencia, was general secretary of the national committee of the Libertarian Movement set up in March 1939. In exile, he settled in London where he published *Material de Discusión* (Milford Haven 1945) and clung to the collaborationist line: he called for a political CNT and later jettisoned anarcho-syndicalism in favour of an all-powerful syndicalism (syndicates were to supplant the political parties and govern in their place) which styled itself permanentista (the reach of the syndicates would extend into everything) and which found no takers.. All of which explains why, in 1946, he went for Luque's anarcho-monarchism and why in 1965 he looked kindly upon the Cincopuntista arguments (in fact he swallowed only the simplest

of them: he returned to Spain and accepted a paid position with the transport union of the Francoist syndicates). His writings appeared in *Sindicalismo*, *Comunidad Ibérica*, *Solidaridad Obrera*, *Peninsular*, *Fragua Social*, etc. Author of: *Concepto del federalismo en la Guerra y en la revolución* (Barcelona 1937), *La unidad de la CNT y su trayectoria* (Valencia 1936) and *El sindicato y la colectividad* (Valencia 1938) *Una Misión sin Importancia*. *Memorias de un Sindicalista* (Madrid 1972).

63. RODRÍGUEZ VÁZQUEZ, Mariano. Known as Marianet. Barcelona 1909-Ferté (France) 1939, died by drowning.

An orphan, he spent much of his childhood in the Durán home and subsequently tried his hand at several trades before, coming into contact with the CNT, he committed himself to that labour organisation and its construction union. He made his name in the strikes in the construction industry and was imprisoned in 1931: while in jail (serving 15 months) he began to dabble in writing and improved upon his meagre education. Under the republic he held office on the Junta of his union alongside Manuel Muñoz (who taught him a lot and who introduced him to anarchism) and he carried out various tasks (saboteur and union bureaucrat); he was in the action groups which attacked the Atarazanas barracks in 1933 and involved in the faïsta uprising; later he was secretary of the Barcelona local federation of the CNT and director (not to say virtually the sole editor of the clandestine *La Voz Confederal*); arrested and tortured, he escaped falling victim to the ley de fugas by a miracle. Jailed again in 1935 (for several months), he had scarcely been freed when he began his dizzying rise to the highest organisational positions in the Confederation: he was a member of the prisoners' aid committee, editor of *Solidaridad Obrera*, secretary of the Catalan CNT, a position he still held when the civil war erupted and which required him to attend countless meetings of the CNT, FAI and FIJL. When Horacio Martínez Prieto stepped down as CNT general secretary in November 1936, Marianet took over the secretaryship and moved to Madrid and thence to Valencia (following the government); in May 1937 he called

for moderation and became an unconditional supporter of Negrín (for which he was roundly criticised). After the defeat of the republic he crossed into France, headed the General Council of the Libertarian Movement and died in an accidental drowning a short time later.

His performance during the civil war was, to say the least, damaging, displaying a naivete bordering on stupidity and he was always in the hands of Martínez Prieto and Negrín: he was forever entering into pacts with the Stalinist UGT, holding pro-government rallies, backed Prieto's case for negotiations with Franco as early as 1938, attended the IWMA congress with Prieto to justify collaborationism .. He represents a dismal example of the lengths a man may go to when his (assuredly ill-digested) beliefs are set aside and he lapses into revisionism and politicking, for which he is, in any case, not equipped. In any event, he was not equal to what the circumstances required of him. However the CNT and anarchist membership have not been hard on Marianet, either on account of his untimely death (which kept him out of the post-war squabbles) or because it did not take him seriously and regards him as a puppet whose strings were pulled by Martínez Prieto and García Oliver.

64. LA FEDERACIÓN. Newspaper, Barcelona 1 August 1869 to 3 January 1874. 229 editions published, four of them bearing the title EL TRABAJO (due to a government suspension order). Its demise had something to do with Pavía's military coup. Run by Farga Pellicer, it was initially a champion of the federal republic and later of Bakuninism. It emerged as the "Organ of the Federal Labour Societies' Centre" of which Farga was secretary and which, on affiliating to the 1870 congress espoused the theses of the International (from 24 July 1870 it was sub-titled "Organ of the Barcelona Federation of the IWMA"). Sentiñón, Solanilla and Hugas succeeded one another as administrators and the editorial work was largely in the hands of García Viñas. Contributors included Carreras, Nieva, Alerini, Sentiñón, Roca Galés, De Paepe, Becker, Detrié, Bergeret, Zoologem.. and it carried texts by Proudhon and Bakunin, IWMA manifestoes, attacked Garrido, was critical of

patriotism, defended the Paris Commune and dealt with collectivism and communism.. It was the first and best Internationalist newspaper of its day.

65. LOS DESHEREDADOS.

1. - A radical group that broke away from the FTRE at the second congress in Seville (September 1882) where its members clashed with the Federal Council and were opposed by Llunas in particular. They subscribed to anarcho-communist - or at least revamped collectivist - theses, especially one of its most famous representatives (Miguel Rubio). Its presence was confined to southern Andalusia (Málaga, Cádiz and Seville) and it advocated use of violent methods to accelerate the social revolution. They distrusted the legalistic methods of the federal council, the Catalans and Serrano Oteiza. Their views were shored up by those of the Arcos and Jérez groups which insisted that they were abiding by the accords of the London anarchist congress of 1881 (underground press, violent struggle..) The breakaways, headed by Rubio and Pedrote met in Cádiz at the end of the year in a so-called congress which agreed to stick by the extremism of the 1879-1880 period (Some researchers contend that this gathering was the first held by the recently constituted comarca of Southern Andalusia, at which they were well represented). Later they came together for two congresses (Seville 1883 and Cádiz 1884), known as the Los Desheredados and the Revolutionary congresses respectively (the FTRE federal council dubbed the latter the "troublemakers" congress). At these they devised statutes of their own limiting the authority of the federal council, favouring freedom of discussion and requiring greater practical commitment. The breakaways went into rapid decline, given that the Mano Negra persecution was essentially directed at them: however, even in 1885 a labour manifesto deplored the gulf between federalists, communists and Desheredados as had been evident at the 1885 Barcelona congress.

The split by Los Desheredados actually confirmed the FTRE's fragile unity and showed that there was a current opposed to circumstantial alliances and very keen on insurrectionist policy, one that was very strong in

Andalusia, and in respect of which the FTRE had failed to take into consideration the desperate circumstances of a segment of the peasant proletariat.

2. - Libertarian newspaper, Sabadell 6 May 1882 until suspended in November 1886. 235 editions published. It became plainly anarchist after August 1884 (when it was run by López Montenegro) and it carried the subtitle "Organ of All Lovers of Truth and Goodness" and "Newspaper championing the Spanish Workers' Federation". Lots of anticlerical and social articles. It carried texts in Catalan and among its contributors were Navarro Murillo, Nakens, Orfeo, Tochis, A. García, Federico Oliver, Lorenzo and Claramunt; in addition, pages from Kropotkin were carried as inserts. It resurfaced in 1890 and published 8 issues.

66. ZAFÓN BAYO, Juan. Barcelona 1911-1977.

CNT member from the age of 18. In the pre-civil war era he founded the Chemical and Advertising unions in Barcelona. Fought on the Aragon front with the Ortiz Column and was director of its mouthpiece, Combate. He was the delegate in charge of Information and Propaganda on the Council of Aragon up until the autumn of 1937, at which point he rejoined the by then regularised column. After the defeat of the republic he crossed into France, served in labour companies and fought in the French resistance from 1942 on in the Ponzán group. (he was a confidant of Ponzán) and was in touch with the anti-Franco action groups. After the Germans were driven out, he moved to Mexico where he remained until his belated return to Spain. Author of: El consejo revolucionario de Aragón (Barcelona 1977), La revolución española nace del espíritu del pueblo (Paris 1945) and La España de mañana (Mexico 1967).

67. BUENACASA, Manuel. Caspe 1886-Bourg-les-Valence (France) 1964.

Anarchist and CNT member of great prestige and a distinguished and great organiser. The quick-witted boy was sent to the Villanueva seminary (in Seville) in 1900, which he left five years later as a convinced atheist. In

1906 he was in Zaragoza as a carpenter and was secretary of the workers' society and within a few months he spent six months in prison (the first of countless prison terms). By 1910 he was in charge of the newspaper *Cultura y Acción*; that year, he married, but on his wedding day was forced to flee to France (while in London he met Malatesta); he returned under the amnesty in 1914 but escaped to France again in 1915 (where he met Lenin and Zinoviev in Paris) where he was to serve on the international anarchist liaison committee. Returning to Spain in 1918, he represented the CNT at the FNA congress in Valencia, attended the Sans congress, served on the Catalan regional committee and took up the national secretaryship of the CNT, carrying out a propaganda tour of Levante and Andalusia and winding up in prison. Shortly after that he undertook to organise the 1919 congress; in 1921 he was the director of *Cultura y Acción*; in 1925 he helped out with *El Productor* (Blanes), marrying his journalistic activities with a life of intense activity (in 1923-24, he joined with Macià in an uprising against the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, in 1923 he planned Ascaso's prison break-out.. and was secretary of the CNT in Aragon at the time). In 1926 he went into exile, returning after two years, only to flee to France again in 1929 (and was later deported from that country). With the collapse of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, he was involved in the CNT's recovery, but held no positions of responsibility. During the civil war he fought in Aragon and was director of the School for Militants. In 1939 he left for France, was interned in French concentration camps and imprisoned in Mornat, emerging in a much weakened condition. In 1943 he was living in Valence, working with anti-Nazis and helping to rebuild the CNT; his last venture of any significance seems to have been to organise the Paris congress in 1945. He remained a CNT member up to his death.

His lengthy exile accounts for his being acquainted with many persons of note, anarchists and otherwise (people like Voline, Makhno, Unamuno, Queipo de Llano, Faure., Nettlau, Ryner, Blasco Ibáñez, Gandhi..) Described as a rather romantic easy going type, insightful and above all the greatest organiser anarchism ever had (the 1919, 1931, 1936 and 1945 congresses

and the 1922 conference were all organised by him). His constant travelling and activity were no obstacle to his carrying out sterling work on anarchist publications: he directed *Cultura y Acción* and *Solidaridad Obrera* (of Gijón) and contributed to countless other newspapers and wrote books and pamphlets galore: *La política y los obreros* (Zaragoza 1910), *Contra la Guerra* (Barcelona 1915), *La Rusia Roja* (Pueblo Nuevo 1918), *¿Qué es el sindicato único?* (San Sebastián 1919), *Verdades como puños* (Logroño 1920), *Autonomía y federalismo* (San Sebastián 1922), *El terrorismo blanco* (Zaragoza 1922), *Un hombre de honor* (Barcelona 1923), *Rosa* (Barcelona 1924), *Problemas fundamentales* (Béziers 1925), *La CNT, los Treinta y la FAI* (Barcelona 1933), *Almas gemelas* (Lyon 1936), *Manual del militante* (Barcelona 1937), *Más Lejos* (Barcelona 1938), *Perspectivas del movimiento obrero español* (Mexico 1946), *Tragedia española* (unpublished), *El movimiento obrero español* (Barcelona 1928), *El movimiento obrero español. Figuras ejemplares que conocí* (Paris 1966), His book, *El movimiento obrero español 1886-1926*, has acquired the status of a classic, in spite of errors it contains; it consists of two parts, the first being subdivided into a) an overview of Spanish anarchism, region by region (giving the details of prestigious militants from the various regions) and b) a history of anarchism in Spain from the FRE on. The second part is less interesting.

68. LÓPEZ ARANGO, Emilio. Cudillero (Asturias) 1893- Buenos Aires 1929. One of a band of anarchists who emigrated to Argentina where they became an effective influence within the FORA and *La Protesta* and made an indirect impact on Spain. Very closely connected with Santillán and Torralvo (with whom he published *La Campana*), he championed an uncompromising anarchism hostile to communism and reformism, for which purpose he called for a trade union presence (the *trabazón*) embodied by the CNT and the FORA. His prestige derives from his intense work as editor of *La Protesta* (and its *Suplementos*); his policy was not always well understood and he had opponents who ousted him from the paper for a

time (whereupon he returned to his trade as a baker; he was editor of the bakers' union Bulletin). When the ACAT (American Continental Workers' Association) was set up, he handled its international relations. He was murdered in a factional squabble. Author of: *Ideario* (Buenos Aires 1942), *El anarquismo en el movimiento obrero* (Barcelona 1925, with Diego Abad de Santillán).

69. CARBALLEIRA LACUNZA, Raúl. Suárez (Argentina) 1917-Barcelona 1948. Known as El Argentino.

An anarchist through and through, a poet and lover who roamed Argentina as a sentimental libertarian. When the civil war in Spain broke out, he was in Uruguay from where he made his way to Barcelona. Arriving in Spain in February 1937, he served on the Aragon front and was assigned to propaganda work months later on behalf of the FIJL. After the defeat of the republic he passed through the French concentration camps (St Cyprien, Argelès, Barcarés, Brams) and worked in the hotel trade in Toulouse..

Unlike many others he adapted to exiled libertarian circles (especially the libertarian youth) and remained closely connected with anti-Francoists.

Together with Alaiz and Amador Franco, he edited *Impulso* (which took an anti-collaborationist line) and helped rebuild the FIJL, joining its first national committee (1945) as liaison secretary, which post he resigned in March 1946 in order to join the frontal attack on Franco: he crossed into Spain with Amador Franco, helping to launch *Ruta* in Barcelona and, together with M. Fernández, touring Levante, Andalusia and Madrid with an eye to reorganising the FIJL in the interior: later he stayed behind in Barcelona as the delegate from the exile community, reorganising the Libertarian Youth in Barcelona following a police crackdown in December 1946 before returning to France. He enlisted in the fight inside Spain late in 1947, after representing Spain at the congress of the Italian FAI, and soon found himself in difficulties: he miraculously escaped from a police cordon but, finding himself isolated in Montjuich, he committed suicide on 26 June 1948. Carballeira was one of the most prominent FIJL members in the

1940s, and, like most of the rest he died in the Barcelona comarca.

70. FACERÍAS, José Luis. Barcelona 1920-1957.

Joined the CNT (woodworkers' Union) at an early age and the FIJL, enlisted with the Durruti Column and later with other units on the Aragon front. When the civil war ended he suffered the discomforts of defeat on concentration camps and labour battalions (in Zaragoza, Vitoria, Extremadura and Barcelona), even then keeping in touch with the underground CNT. Released at the end of 1945, he joined the CNT Graphics Union in 1946 and was prominent in the district defence groups (serving as secretary for defence with the Catalan Libertarian Youth from the end of 1945) and took up the secretaryship of the MLR; at about this time he was also active in prisoners' aid efforts and was involved in the attempt to assassinate Quintela. In October 1946 he attended the Toulouse congress and on his return to Barcelona mounted a series of robberies that he repeated over the succeeding years on regular commuting between France and Barcelona comarca along with other members of the action groups (García Casino, Sanmartín, Giménez, Marín..) In 1949, together with Sabaté, he mounted a ferocious campaign in Barcelona (bombings, incendiaries and attacks), timed to coincide with a visit by Franco. From 1950 on, relations with other libertarian bodies worsened and he was on the verge of packing it in and emigrating to the Americas, but in the end he returned to the interior with Saborit. Saborit was killed and Facerías came in for violent criticism that forced him to distance himself from organised CNT circles. Following another incursion in 1951, when both the police and the guerrillas sustained heavy losses, he moved to Italy (1952), embarking upon a new phase of activity using the alias of Alberto di Luigi: intensive propaganda work, taking part in the controversy over the GAAP, trying to set up an Italian Libertarian Youth organisation, setting up action groups, organising summer camps, trying to inject some political content into Sardinian banditry.. Wearying of the hard slog in Italy, he moved to France and contacted Sabaté (1956), but they fell out and he returned to Italy

where he ended the year with a flurry of spectacular hold-ups: around this time his friend Pujol arranged for him to move to the Americas, which should have signalled the end of his career as an activist, and, almost as a farewell gesture, Facerías organised an expedition to Barcelona to execute the turncoat Pardillo.. This was to be his last trip: he was gunned down by police in August.

A very controversial figure in libertarian circles (the CNT in exile never acknowledged him as one of its dead) because of the ready recourse he had to unconventional weapons and also because of the large number of comrades who lost their lives accompanying him on his raids.

71. LEIVA, José Expósito. Ubeda 1918-Caracas 1978.

Member of the Libertarian Youth, he began to make a name for himself during the 1936 war (as FIJL secretary for propaganda in February 1938); when the war ended he was sentenced to death but eventually freed in September 1943, at which point he went underground, where he was to hold positions of great responsibility; he was a member of the national committee of the CNT and ANFD from October 1944 to September 1945, and headed the ninth CNT national committee after Catalá was captured at the end of 1944. In the latter part of 1945 he moved to France to take up the portfolio for Agriculture in the Giral republican government-in-exile, causing great scandal to those opposed to collaboration in exile. In the years that followed he pushed a collaborationist and reformist line (signing a document in 1946 calling for a plebiscite to determine Spain's system of government; in 1948 he came out in favour of a Libertarian Party). Later his star declined rapidly, with the occasional sparkling moment (in 1961 he published an unashamedly political article which eventually placed him outside the pale of the CNT which had just reunified and was utterly opposed to political ventures). His last years were spent in the Americas as a professional correspondent for press agencies. Author of: *En nombre de Dios de España y de Franco* (Buenos Aires 1948).

72. LORENZO ASPERILLA, Anselmo. Toledo 1841-Barcelona 1914.

Left his native city at an early age for Madrid; in 1852 he was working in a locksmith's but by 1855 he was an apprentice compositor and taking an interest in the activities of Pi y Margall (especially in 1860).

A member of the Fomento de las Artes from 1863, he attended night classes there and, two years later, heard the Proudhonist lectures by Serrano Oteiza. He greeted the 1868 revolution with delight and the following year was in Fanelli's audience, at which point he severed his contacts with English protestant clerics and committed himself to championing the principles of the recently-established International. A founder member of the International's Madrid section, he attended the first labour congress (Barcelona 1870) and was elected by it to serve on the federal council it established. He had a hand in all of the Madrid section's activities and in 1871 travelled to Lisbon with Mora and González Morago (founding the Portuguese section); on his return from Lisbon the Valencia Conference chose him as its delegate to the London gathering of the IWMA; from which he returned disappointed. He served on the FRE's second federal council and when the FRE was banned by Sagasta, he was to the fore in keeping it alive clandestinely (he toured Andalusia setting up the Defensores de la Internacional). Lafargue's presence in Madrid made an impact: Mesa and Mora were won over to marxism and Lorenzo partly so, resulting in Lorenzo's being looked at askance and criticised, so he resigned his posts and moved north (to Vitoria, Bilbao) and thence to France (in 1873 he was in Montpellier, Bordeaux and Marseilles). In June 1874 he arrived in Barcelona to a warm welcome from Farga Pellicer, Llunas and García Viñas, which encouraged him to resume his activity on behalf of the International, until certain misunderstandings arose: in 1881 Lorenzo was expelled from the FRE and chose to hold aloof until 1885-86. When he resumed his activity, we find him attending the Reus symposium and on the editorial team of *Acracia*. In the years that followed he was a regular contributor to the labour and anarchist press, and he published numerous pamphlets and set up a newspaper (*Ciencia Social*, 1895). Arrested in 1896 (in connection

with the Cambios Nuevos episode) he was banished (after seven months in prison); he served his banishment in Paris (as proof-reader for a publishing house) and knew Malato, Grave and Ferrer. When Ferrer embarked upon his educational and publishing ventures, Lorenzo was an essential piece of the jigsaw as his translator and editor (of *La Huelga General*), as well as of the nascent *Solidaridad Obrera* (newspaper and federation alike). The arrest of Ferrer led to Lorenzo's being detained and he was banished to Alcañiz (1909-11). His final years, when he had become anarchism's patriarch, were spent writing and lecturing. He wrote for countless newspapers including *La Solidaridad*, *Solidaridad Obrera*, *El Productor*, *La Revista Blanca*, *Tierra y Libertad*, *El Porvenir del Obrero*, *Natura*, *La Idea Libre*, *Los Desheredados*, *El Corsario*, *El Protesta*, *La Anarquía*, *Tiempos Nuevos*, *El Trabajo*, etc., as well as helping with the compilation of Farga's work on Garibaldi. Author of: *Acracia o república* (Sabadell 1886), *Fuera política* (Sabadell 1886), *El Proletariado Militante* (Barcelona 1903, 1903), *Justo Vives* (Barcelona 1893), *El Estado* (Barcelona 1895), *Las Olimpiadas de la Paz* (Madrid 1900), *El Hombre y la Sociedad* (Barcelona 1902), *Criterio Libertario* (Barcelona 1903), *Vía Libre* (Barcelona 1905), *Biografía de P. Kropotkin* (Barcelona 1905), *Incapacidad Progresiva de la Burguesía* (Mahón 1905, credited to Lorenzo), *El Obrero Moderno* (Barcelona 1905), *El Proletariado y la Humanidad* (Barcelona 1914) *El Pueblo* (Valencia 1900), *El Proletariado en Marcha* (New York 1911), *El Poseedor Romano* (Barcelona 1910), *El Banquete de la Vida* (Barcelona 1905), *El Derecho a la Evolución* (Buenos Aires 1928), *El Proletariado Emancipador* (Barcelona 1911), *El Patrimonio Universal* (Mahón 1905), *Rémora Societaria* (Sabadell 1905), *Generalidades Sociales* (Barcelona 1916), *Vida Anarquista* (Barcelona 1912), *Hacia la Emancipación* (Mahón 1913), *Anarquía Triunfante* (1871, credited), *Contra la Ignorancia* (1913), *La Ganancia* (Mahón 1904), *Solidaridad* (Barcelona 1909), *El Trabajo de Mujeres y Niños* (Madrid 1900), *Evolución Proletaria* (Barcelona 1914), *La Revolución es la Paz*, *Capacidad Revolucionaria del Proletariado*, *La Procreación Humana* (all three for the Second Certamen in Barcelona in 1890), *El Sindicalismo*, *El Derecho a la Salud*, *A la Masa*

Popular and Ferrer Guardia Anarquista. In addition he translated Reclus, Malato, Kropotkin, Grave, Pouget Blonch and others.

73. LLUNAS PUJOLS, José. Reus (c. 1855)-Barcelona 1905.

Trained as a compositor, studied music and singing and enjoyed gymnastics (and on occasion earned a living that way) and was widely read. He joined the International early on and was a member of the Alliance group in Catalonia (the Manresa pledge), was a great friend of Pellicer and helped revive the Alliance in 1874. In 1872 he was the *El Condenado* correspondent and was an office-holder in the composers' section. In 1872-73, he was external affairs secretary of the Local Federation and fought as a militiaman to defend Caldas from the Carlists. For a time he gave up type-setting work in order to set up a soap factory (around 1879 in Villanueva y Geltrú) and he even rented a theatre; later he returned to the trade and worked for *La Academia*. The composers' delegate on the local federation, he represented the latter at comarcal and regional congresses; he was also a delegate to the 1881 congress and the one in 1882 and at the latter displayed considerable oratorical gifts against Rubio's radicals, making a successful case for collectivism and coming away as an elected member of the federal commission. In subsequent years, he figured in the Barcelona socialist soirée in 1886, and in the debate in the Ateneo in Barcelona in 1887, etc. He was very active as a publicist and propagandist, especially through the columns of *La Tramontana*, a newspaper which provided his livelihood and also earned him some time in prison; his great fondness for sport later brought him into the sports press, in which area he was a pioneer (*Los Deportes*, *Barcelona Sport*); he wrote for many anarchist reviews (like *El Productor*, *Acracia*, *El Condenado*..) and was the director of the *Teatro Social* (1896). A writer in Spanish and Catalan in a range of genres (drama, poetry, sociology) he was the author of: *La Ley y la Clase Obrera*. *Guía Práctica para el Ejercicio de los Derechos de Reunión, Asociación, Imprenta*. *Los Partidos Socialistas Españoles* (Barcelona 1892), *Objeto, Fin y Medios de la FTRE* (Barcelona 1882), *A Organizarnos*. *Deber*

de los Trabajadores en el Presente Momento (Barcelona 1890), Bases Científicas en que se funda el Colectivismo (Barcelona 1890), Al Ariete Socialista Internacional (Barcelona 1887), Organización y Aspiraciones de la FTRE (Reus 1885), La Revolució (Barcelona 1881), Questions Socials (1891), Estudios Filosóficos Sociales. La Familia. Apuntes de Estadística Universal. ¿Qué es la Anarquía? La Cuestión Política (1882).

74. MADRID, 4th FTRE CONGRESS IN 1874 .

Held clandestinely in Madrid, relocated from Valladolid, from 21 to 27 June, with limited attendance (47 or 48 local federations, depending on the source). Mirrored the decline of the Federation which had been outlawed. Among its accords we might mention: 1. - The decision to reduce the size of the Federal Commission. 2. - Endorsement of the resolutions of the 1873 Geneva congress , at which Farga Pellicer, García Viñas and others attended. 3.- Acknowledgment of a duty to retaliate, until such time as the denial of workers' rights ceased. 4. - Solidarity was declared with revolutionary acts which, like the incidents in Alcoy, had been mounted by Internationalists. 5. - Articles 9 and 15 of the FTRE statutes were revised and redrafted to emphasise autonomy of the individual, section and local federation and strip delegates of powers. 6. Recourse to partial strikes was to be cut down and the focus removed to an international revolutionary course of action. Finally, it seems that Francisco Tomás was elected general secretary and Madrid chosen as the seat of the federal commission.

75. NOJA RUIZ, Higinio. Nerva (Huelva) 1896-Valencia 1972.

Tireless militant whose activity essentially took place in and around Valencia. His first job was in the copper mines Huelva and early on he turned to anarchism, steadfastly spreading this belief from village to village: by the age of 21 he was already enjoying a good reputation in anarchist and CNT circles. Having educated himself from miner into teacher and educationist, he eventually acquired considerable expertise in economics. A redoubtable public speaker, he frequently debated against socialists (as in

Herrera) and, on the famous 1918 tour (along with Cabello and Alonso) he helped spread anarchism through the sierras around Córdoba, and he displayed his mastery of the public platform again in Barcelona in 1937. In the late 1920s he moved from Andalusia to Valencia which is where he would be active from then on, with growing prestige: from 1910 to 1934 he worked as a rationalist teacher in Alginet and then moved into the capital of Levante where he became an important contributor to the review Estudios and made contact with Cívera (which may well be the source of the great interest he displayed during that time in economic and trade union affairs). And he was a prominent militant as a faísta too: his presence at the foundation conference of the FAI in Valencia in 1927 has been noted, as it was at the 1933 plenum where he was assigned to working party drafting a resolution on the concept of libertarian communism. During the civil war, he served on the Valencia economic council (on the basis of the reputation he had earned in the previous years with his contributions to Estudios and his controversies with Puente). In his journalistic capacity, he ran Vía Libre (Huelva 1918), and as a literary and socially-conscious writer, he enjoyed some repute (even in his time in Andalusia, he had, together with C. Díaz and Aquilino Medina published pamphlets in the Biblioteca Renovación Proletaria de Pueblonuevo del Terrible series). Author of: La Revolución Actual Española. Labor Constructiva en el Campo (Valencia 1937), Hacia una Nueva Organización Social (Valencia 1933, an anthology of articles from Estudios), La Libertad y la Nueva Construcción Española (Valencia 1932), La Obra Constructiva de la Revolución (Barcelona 1937), Los Consejos de Economía Confederal (Valencia, no date), La Revolución Española. Hacia una Sociedad de Trabajadores Libres (Valencia, no date), El Problema Agrario en España (Barcelona 1933), Por la Enseñanza. Conferencia (Barcelona 1915?), La Palanca de Arquímedes (Seville 1923), Comunismo (Córdoba 1925), Los Galeotes del Amor (1927), Los Sombríos (1933), La que Supo Vivir su Amor (1928), Como el Caballo de Atila (1931), Un Puente sobre el Abismo (Barcelona 1931) (these last five titles represent novels in which the protagonists espouse libertarian ideals) and El Sendero

Luminoso y Sangriento (Valencia 1932, essays). He also contributed towards the collective work España: Su Lucha y Sus Ideales (Buenos Aires 1937). He argued the case for the biological necessity for social change such as he thought libertarian communism offered and was optimistic about the chances of its becoming a reality. Also credited with authorship of El Arte en la Revolución (Barcelona 1937).

76. EL OBRERO. Title of several libertarian periodicals.

1. - Anarchist newspaper, Palma de Mallorca, November 1869 to January 1871. Founded by Francisco Tomás. Sub-titled: "Organ of those who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow". It appeared as the mouthpiece of the bricklayers' society; after 21 January 1870 it became the organ of the IWMA-affiliated Balearic federation of workers' societies. Prominent in the polemic with Fernando Garrido. Its contributors included the Balearic-based internationalists Jol, Vives, Fornes, Orell, Alemany and Payeras.

2. - Barcelona, monthly, from 4 September 1864 to June 1866. Director, Antonio Gusart: contributions from Cartaña, Espinal, Roig, Bergés, Cabús, Freixa and Ferrer. Not anarchist, but cooperativist and federalist, but it championed workers' interests, was in favour of federation and solidarity and, in its latter years, took a very positive stand on the IWMA. In addition, Gusart and Cartaña attended Fanelli's Barcelona meeting in 1868.

3. - El Ferrol, 1890-92. Contributions by Abascal. A minimum of 116 issues.

4. - Badajoz, 1899-1902. Anarchist. A minimum of 86 issues.

5. - Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 1901-04. At least 136 issues.

77. OROBÓN FERNÁNDEZ, Valeriano. Cistérniga (Valladolid) 1901-Madrid 1936.

A CNT member in Valladolid from the age of 14, he represented the Valladolid workers' movement at the 1919 congress. During the Primo de Rivera dictatorship he was in Asturias from where he was expelled, which led him to make a clandestine crossing into France (1924). He lived in Berlin for most of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, helping Rocker with the

IWA and liaising with Nettelau and writing a lot for the anarchist press; in 1927 he spent some time in London and was also in Vienna with Nettelau. He returned to the peninsula with the advent of the republic and settled in Madrid, throwing himself into intense proselytisation among intellectuals (some of whom, such as Guzmán, García Pradas and Cánovas Cervantes, were to remain with the CNT). In 1933, he took part in a huge rally in Barcelona with Durruti, calling for abstention in the elections. By this time he was the main torch-bearer for a revolutionary Alliance with the UGT and leftwingers (on the basis of a common platform uniting Communists, socialists and anarchists), especially after a famous article (dated 29 January 1934) entitled: "Thoughts on Unity", and this stance attracted a lot of support in Asturias and in Castile. Furthermore, he argued for a third way between the faísta and the treintista lines. He was secretary of the IWA (1933) and was imprisoned from April 1934 until March 1936, which merely added to his lung complaints. He died shortly after his release, on 28 June. He wrote for CNT and La Tierra, translated the works of Figner and others and in Paris had managed the International Bookshop funded by Los Solidarios; he was outstanding in debate (cf. his debate with Pérez Solís). Author of: *La CNT y la revolución* (Madrid 1932).

78. PALLAROLS, Esteban. Known as Riera. Manlleu 1900- shot dead, Barcelona 1946. (Abel Paz has it that Pallarols was born in Vich at the beginning of the 20th century and that he was shot in Barcelona on 8 July 1943.)

Worked on the railroads until sacked following a strike (possibly the one in 1917). Active in the Libertarian Youth prior to the civil war. Under the Primo de Rivera dictatorship he moved to Santiago de Cuba where he joined Fidel Miró and Jaime Baella in setting up an anarchist group which fled into the hills following persecution by the dictator Machado (1928-1929). Returning to Spain with the republic he worked as a delivery man in Torrelló (1933) and then moved to Manlleu, from where he escaped, hotly pursued by the Stalinists in May 1937, before joining the FIJL Peninsular Committee and

then helping out on the collectives in Liria (where he was much appreciated). In the months following defeat in the war he did sterling work as head of the first clandestine national committee of the CNT (29 March 1939), mainly assisting the victimised, securing the release of prisoners and reorganising the CNT. When the entire national committee was arrested between December 1939 and March 1940, Pallarols was tortured and, brought to trial, was sentenced to 18 years; retried in Gerona he was sentenced to death, which sentence was carried out in March 1946 (some say February 1943). He was a naturist anarchist, a vegetarian with Tolstoyan beliefs, an individualist, avid reader, somewhat distant, skeptical and given to sarcasm, but given the very special circumstances in which he operated, he was more than able to act upon a highly developed sense of solidarity.

79. PAREJA, Manuel. Known as El Roset. Vélez Rubio 1910-Barcelona 1947. A commissar with the 104th Brigade during the civil war, once the war ended he joined the anti-Francoist fighting groups which infiltrated from France and had a preference for operating in Barcelona. In 1945 he accompanied Sabaté into Spain and at gunpoint they freed a gang of prisoners; that same year he was arrested in Barcelona, but, not being identified, he was soon released. In 1947, after joining the MLR, he stepped up his activities; in July he (together with Adrover and Sanmartín) was part of the commando that executed the traitor Melis, an operation in which Pareja too lost his life (12 July 1947).

80. PIERA, Simón. Barcelona 1892-1979.

At the age of two he followed his father into exile. Later he was to live in Santa María de Barberá and Sabadell, working hard at ill-paid jobs from the age of six onwards. In 1901, the family moved into Barcelona where he tried his hands at various jobs (glass-blowing, fishing) until he settled on his final trade, brick-laying, at which he worked in Badalona and Barcelona (it was at the Ateneo in Badalona that he received his ideological

grounding). In 1908 he was sent to prison after a strike and the following year he was involved in the Tragic Week, leading to his fleeing to France. On his return to Barcelona (November) he attended the foundation congress of the CNT as an observer and in 1911 he made the acquaintance of Seguí 1911 and they became fast friends; also in 1911 he was forced into exile after a strike. His prestige grew around 1916 and he turned up on the strike committees of the construction strike, the 1917 strike (with Seguí and Pestaña) and the La Canadiense strike (as well as figuring in the concluding rally). In 1917 he argued for the necessity of a trade union congress and lobbied on behalf of sindicatos únicos; hence his active presence at the so-called Sans congress (1918) and the gusto with which he committed himself organising the union in his industry in Barcelona. (By 1 September 1918 it was up and running with himself as its president). In 1919 we find him at the Amsterdam trade union congress and at meetings in favour of the mixed labour commission in Barcelona. At the La Comedia congress he signed the anarchist declaration and opposed joining the Third International. Come the years of the pistoleros, he was working in Comarruga, and, under harassment, he moved and gave meetings in the Basque Country. In 1922 he toured the peninsula (inquiring into mistreatment of trade unionists) and his life was attempted in Sans. After Seguí was murdered, he moved to Valencia and later, under the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, to France (he was in Béziers and Paris from 1924 to 1926). Returning to Spain, he began to drift into politics; he chaired the federalist policy committee in Sabadell and sided with the treintistas, but drew the line at Pestaña's establishment of the Syndicalist Party. During the civil war and during the republic prior to that, he played no role of any note inside the CNT and appears to have been a member of the Esquerra Republicana party at the time. After the defeat of the republic, he went into exile (25 January 1939), first in France and later in Santo Domingo and eventually in Venezuela where he settled until he returned to Barcelona in the 1970s.

81. PUIG ELÍAS, Juan. Barcelona 1898 (some say Sallent 1895)-Porto Alegre

(Brazil) 1972.

Trained as a teacher in Barcelona. An adept of rationalist education in the tradition of Ferrer. In 1932 he was president of the teachers' branch of the liberal professions union in Barcelona. Teacher and director with the Natura school up until the outbreak of the civil war, when he resigned the directorship to take up certain posts on behalf of the CNT: on Barcelona city council (and on its cultural commission), chaired the CENU council (and as such was in charge of educational planning in Catalonia) and in April 1938 he was under-secretary of Public Education in Blanco's ministry. While in exile in France he was secretary of the MLE national committee (1945), as well as its cultural secretary (1947) and he argued in favour of the CNT's presence in the JEL. Moved to Brazil in 1952. Author of: *El Hombre, el Medio, la Sociedad* (1970).

82. SALVOCHEA ÁLVAREZ, Fermín. Cádiz 1842-1907.

Son of a wealthy family of businessmen, his childhood was a happy one. at the age of 15 he was sent to England to learn the language and widen his business education. He lived for five years in London and Liverpool, years that were decisive in the forging of his ideas; he drank in Paine's universalism, Bredlow's atheism and Owen's communism, and all three stood him in good stead thereafter. He returned to the bay of Cádiz in 1864, prepared to impose a federal republic; he soon gained notoriety (with his scheme for the release of political prisoners in 1866), a notoriety magnified by his participation in the 1868 revolution (he was a confidant of the conspirators and a go-between for Prim) when he was a member of the commune in Cádiz and second in command of a battalion of volunteers which he used to defend the city until forced to surrender on 11 December. Months after that he was elected a deputy, unbeknownst to the government, and then benefited from the amnesty (in February). He returned to his agitation in Andalusia on behalf of the federalists and backed the 1869 revolt; he fought in Alcalá de los Gazules and commanded bands of volunteers, but, when defeated, escaped via Gibraltar to Paris (leading an

anti-Bonapartist demonstration there on 12 January 1870) and thence to London. He returned following the 1871 amnesty, a popular figure with the masses; he was made mayor of Cádiz, a post he resigned in 1873 to take up arms (in the cantonalist revolt), defending the city against the British navy and Pavía until, after the city had fallen, he surrendered and a court martial in Seville sentenced him to life imprisonment in prisons in Africa. It was at this point that Salvochea's anarchist period began (in fact he had been connected with anarchism since 1871, in which year he had joined the International, and in 1873 he had been in touch with Lorenzo concerning the establishment of the Defenders of the International and in 1873 had set up the first Andalusian anarchist group). The years he served in prison in Gomera and Ceuta had afforded him a thorough knowledge of the anarchist teaching and he had recognised the shortcomings of federal republicanism. He was offered an amnesty but turned it down unless it was applicable to all (this was after eight years behind bars), escaping to Gibraltar and then to Lisbon and Oran, eventually settling in Tangiers in 1886. His return to Spain conformed his enormous popularity; he threw himself into frantically spreading the anarchist message (peddling the communist line), to which end he launched a famous newspaper *El Socialismo*, which was greatly harassed by the authorities and resulted in his being jailed time and time again. He was in prison at the time of events in Jérez in 1892, not that that was any obstacle to his being regarded as a ring-leader in them and sentenced to twelve years in prison, which he served in Valladolid (in punishing conditions) and in Burgos: released in 1899, by which his sight was much impaired, he settled in Madrid where he eked out a living on meagre commission from wine sales and writing for a number of newspapers. During his years in Madrid the centre of his activities was the Casino Federal and the Freethinkers' Society and, on occasion, the editing of *La Revista Blanca*: outstanding moments were his attendance at the funeral of Pi y Margall (1900), at the staging of Galdós's *Electra*, and he seems to have had some part in the preparations for the congress in 1900: at around the same time he was translating and publishing pamphlets (an

activity that forced him to flee to Tangiers shortly before he died). When he was near to death he moved back to Cádiz and died there, to a great outcry from the crowds, vast numbers of whom accompanied his remains to the grave with anarchist cries on 28 September.

He was not much for writing and preferred to study, yet his punchy, highly incisive articles are scattered through the anarchist and republican press: *El Corsario*, *El Porvenir del Obrero*, *Acción Libertaria*, *La Anarquía*, *La Voz del Obrero del Mar*, *La Alarma*, *Bandera Social*, *El Productor*, *La Idea Libre*, *El Trabajo*, *El Pueblo*, *El Progreso*, *Tierra y Libertad*, *El Herald*, *El País*..

Author of one pamphlet: *La Contribución de Sangre. Al Esclavo* (Madrid 1900) and translations from Milton, Peter Kropotkin and Flammarion.

He knew lots of anarchists and was friendly with Nicolás Estévanez, Urales and Sánchez Rosas (his disciple in prison). Tall, gaunt, with a tremendously attractive personality and an activist of the stature of Bakunin with an incredible sense of solidarity and punctilious in acting out his beliefs which took him from the comforts of the mayoralty of Cádiz and republicanism to anarchism, a fictionalised version of him appears in the works of Blasco Ibáñez and Valle Inclán, and he inspired popular tango tunes in Cádiz, appeared on stamps during the second republic and was admired by a host of anarchists and revolutionaries, some of whom (Urales, Vallina, Rocker, Sánchez Rosas, etc.) told the story of his life.

83. ZARAGOZA, 2nd FRE CONGRESS IN, 1872.

Held clandestinely and three days ahead of the scheduled date, over 10 lengthy sessions between 4 and 8 April. 44 delegates (7 of them from the federal council) attended representing 31 local federations and 25,000 members. It concluded with a public rally opened by González Morago and which led to an immediate ban by the authorities, for which reason it had to be carried over into the premises of the workers; federation and a protest note was drafted listing those attending the congress: Tomás, González Morago, Soriano, Iglesias, Mesa, Lorenzo, F. Mora, Pauly, Pagés, Calleja, Montoro, Pamies, Tarragó, Seguí, Perramón, Palmarola, Albagés, Soler,

Batseli, Lafargue, Valls, Prats, Espigulé, Bruguera, Bragulat, Méndez, Muñoz, Pino, Pontons, Fort, Castro, Rodríguez, García, Trullà, Vela, Fuster, Solanes, Escofet, Martínez and Arberg. The federations represented were: Aguilar, El Arahal, Badalona, Barcelona, Bilbao, Brihuega, Cádiz, Carmona, Constantina, Gracia, Jérez, León, Lérida, Madrid, Málaga, Manresa, Mataró, Olot, Oviedo, Palma, Reus, San Sebastián, Sans, Seville, Tarragona, Valencia, Valladolid, Villacarlo and Zaragoza. The federal council's report was defended by Mora who underlined the expansion of the FRE (to 101 local federations, 284 trades unions, 69 general trades unions, 8 unions and 13 individual members). The resolutions passed were: 1. - To step up the establishment of trades unions as the surest guarantee of success in strikes. 2. - To hold the next congress in Córdoba. 3. - To recommend the organisation of society along the lines set out at the Valencia Conference. 4. - To endorse the decisions of the Belgian congress the previous December. 5. - To work towards equal rights for women and to integrate them into the workers' movement through employment, that being the only route to their liberation. 6. - (At the suggestion of T, Soriano) An integral education scheme. 7. - The federal council's seat would be in Valencia and Montoro, Tomás, Lorenzo and Mora were elected on to it (Mora declined and was replaced by Albarracín). The Valencia local federation was charged with supplying the remaining members of the council and it put forward Rosell, Torres, Asensí, Martí and Martínez.

In addition, a reading was given to three propositions on property (drafted by Castro and Lorenzo, by Lafargue and by the Barcelona delegates), but it was agreed that any final decision should be put off until the following congress; also put forward was a proper definition of the term "worker". One important part of the congress was the debate on the differences of opinion within the Madrid section (the confrontations between Bakuninists and Marxists), but no definitive solution was advanced (after eight hours of debate with plenty of accusations flying back and forth) since the conciliation which had been achieved (with all sides agreeing to retract their accusations and expulsions not being proceeded with) was, as would

shortly be seen, merely apparent.

The Zaragoza congress amounted to an offensive by the supporters of marxism who, even though they had a federal council well disposed towards them (and made up of their number) and which abused its powers (by tabling a motion on every single item on the agenda), and in spite of claiming credit for the expansion of the Federation, and even though they could count on the presence of Lafargue, and though several of the most outstanding anti-authoritarians were not on hand - in spite of all this, they failed and merely managed to postpone their complete rout until the Córdoba congress (1872-73).

85. RUBIO, Miguel.

Seville Internationalist, a shoemaker, philosopher and virtually the oracle of Seville's revolutionary youth. Pioneered the defence of anarcho-communism against collectivism in Spain and put the case for it at the Seville congress in 1882 when he clashed angrily with Llunas and Francisco Tomás, whom he accused of being blind to the needs of the peasantry; at that congress - he was the delegate from Montejaque - he called for propaganda by action against exploitation, as well as for the right to retaliate. When his case was voted down, he, together with a group of supporters (Gogo, Pedrote..) got together in Seville (January 1883) and in Cádiz (1884); by the time of the latter get-together, he was no longer a member of the International (having been expelled in February 1883). His association with the International dates from very early on: Lorenzo, a friend of his, made contact with him in Seville in 1872, and even though he was expelled, Rubio carried on with his activities throughout the 1880s and was thus able to see his policies - later espoused by Deza and Hugas - triumphant. In 1890 he popped up again in Seville (addressing a labour meeting) and at another meeting in 1891 in Córdoba together with Mella and wrote for Tribuna Libre (1891 and 1893). The last report of him places him in prison in Seville, from where, in 1901, he send greetings to the strikers in Barcelona.

85. SÁNCHEZ ROSA, José. Eminent Andalusian anarchist born in Grazalema 1864-died July 1936.

A member of a very impoverished family he worked in the fields from a very early age and by night he helped repair shoes. He did not have much schooling but by the age of 13 or 14 he was to be found reading anarchist texts to his work mates and a short time after that he was arrested following a meeting. He quickly acquired popularity (as early as 1891, he attended the Madrid congress of Pacto). In 1892 he found himself in prison on charges of complicity in events in Jérez and was sentenced to death (commuted to life imprisonment); he was released in 1901 after ten years behind bars which he had used to improve himself considerably (a disciple of Reclus taught him French and sociology and Salvochea was to be a crucial influence upon him in many respects) and he threw himself vigorously into broadening his knowledge. He was involved in the nationwide propaganda tour of 1902 with Bonafulla and Claramunt (a tour that he was to repeat in succeeding years); he was involved in educating workers' children in schools that he opened in Tangiers and the Gibraltar area. By 1903 he was tremendously popular, but a little after that a wave of repression forced him to flee to Aznalcóllar. In 1910 he moved to Seville where he worked and taught in a school in Triana. In the teenage years of the century his activism was stepped up; continual tours, especially of Andalusia, setting up and bolstering hundreds of workers' and peasants' organisations, and carrying out tremendous propaganda work through his famous Biblioteca del Obrero (Worker's Library). And in 1912-13, he joined with Queraltó in a legendary tour of the whole of Spain, and in 1915 he attended the El Ferrol congress on behalf Seville's workers' societies. At the height of the "red" years he published several newspaper (El Productor, La Anarquía) and clashed bitterly with the Andalusian CNT's regional committee (headed by Rosado and others), resulting in his being expelled, which created a great scandal in many Andalusian and Catalan anarchist trade unions, (his expulsion was an episode in the struggle between syndicalists and anarchists, Sánchez Rosa having been expelled as an

anarchist), and this so wounded him that he wasted no time in establishing an unmistakably anarchist congress that set up a brand new Andalusian CNT (1919-1921). After he had been deported for some months in 1923, he opened a school in Seville and toured Córdoba and Levante while working on the preparations for a congress to be held in Madrid and, together with Urales, he attempted to revive *La Revista Blanca*. In the ensuing years he eased up on his activities. Author of: *El Abogado del Obrero, El Burgués y El Anarquista, El Capitalista y El Trabajador* (Seville 1919), *El Obrero Sindicalista y Su Patrón* (Seville 1911), *En el Campo. El Guarda y El Obrero, Entre Amiguitas: Azucena, Dalia y Camelia, La Idea Anarquista* (La Línea 1903), *Las Dos Fuerzas, Reacción y Progreso, Nuevo Rumbo, La Aritmética del Obrero, Bienvenida, Discordancias del Bronce* (Seville 1919) .. writings that went into countless editions up until 1939. In addition, he helped out with Buenacasa's history and wrote a foreword for Leone's *El Sindicalismo* (1919).

86. PRAT, José. Date of birth unknown-died Barcelona 17 July 1932. Initially a pure anarchist, around 1909 he embraced syndicalist innovations and took part in ideological wrangles with socialists and Lerrouxists (especially between 1908 and 1911, from the pages of *Tierra y Libertad* and *El Obrero Moderno*). In 1896 he had fled to Vigo (to Mella's home) to escape repression in Barcelona; in 1897-88 he lived in Buenos Aires where he was very influential in imposing "organisation" upon the prevailing anarcho-syndicalism (his contributions to the libertarian socialist symposium of *La Plata*, 1898, were famous). The winding-up of the review *Natura* meant that he was marginalised, since he refused to write for the anarchist press which, in his view, was of very shabby quality. A great friend of Herros, Lorenzo and above all Mella, he practically retired from journalistic activity after Mella's death. He seems to have rejected Ferrer's suggestion that he head the Modern School (of which he was the administrator). His main themes were analysis of social classes, opposition to reformism, apoliticism and syndicalism; he was also the first person to spot the

totalitarian turn taken by the Russian revolution. He was tremendously active in the anarchist press, because, in addition to directing *Natura* and working as editor on *La Aurora Social*, he had articles published in *El Porvenir del Obrero*, *La Justicia Obrera*, *Fraternidad*, *El Productor*, *El Rebelde*, *Acracia*, *El Corsario*, *La Idea*, *Tierra y Libertad*, *La Anarquía*, *La Voz del Pueblo*, *La Protesta Humana*, *La Revista Blanca*, *Solidaridad Obrera* (in Barcelona and Gijón), *Acción Libertaria*, *La Protesta*.. He translated Grave, Hamon, Merlino, Kropotkin, Faure, Leone, Fabbri and Jacquinet. Author of: *La Política Juzgada por los Políticos* (Barcelona 1909), *La Burguesía en el Proletariado* (Valencia 1909), *Orientaciones* (Barcelona 1916), *¿Competencia o Solidaridad?* (Barcelona 1905), *La Barbarie Gubernamental en España* (Barcelona 1909, with Mella), *Ser o no Ser* (Barcelona 1905), *En Pro del Trabajo* (Barcelona 1906), *Crónicas Demoledoras* (Valencia 1907), *El Absurdo Político* (Tarragona 1923), *Libertad y Comunismo* (1924?), *Sindicalismo y Socialismo. Sindicalismo y Anarquismo* (La Coruña 1909), *La Sociedad Burguesa* (1932), *A las Mujeres. Conferencia* (Barcelona 1903), *Nuestras Ignorancias* (Villanueva y Geltrú 1904), *Una Polémica* (with Marsillach) (Barcelona 1909), *Una Polémica y sus Perjuicios* (Barcelona 1904), *Herejías* (republished, Rennes 1946), and the foreword to Mella's *Ideario* (1925).

87. EL PORVENIR DEL OBRERO.

1. - Anarchist newspaper, Mahón. At least 413 issues published between 1899 and 1914. It seems to have been wound up as a result of the frictions generated by the paper's pro-Entente stance. It had an extensive, quality list of contributors that included: Urales, Mella, Sévérine, Azorín, Marquina, Sárraga, Nordau, Lorenzo, Pahissa, Mas Gomeri, Zamacois, Tárrida del Mármol, Camba, Salvochea, Pi, López Montenegro, Claramunt, Prat, Zola, Vallina, Malatesta, Unamuno, Blasco Ibáñez, Reclus, Gori..

2. - It seems that there was another anarchist paper of the same name in Barcelona 1894, a monthly.

88. CONGRESSES of the anti-authoritarian labour movement since Fanelli's visit to Spain.

1. - FRE (Federación de la Regional Española - Spanish Regional Federation)

- Barcelona June 1870 (foundation congress)
- Valencia September 1871 (Conference)
- Zaragoza April 1872 (second congress)
- Córdoba December 1871-January 1873 (third congress)
- Madrid June 1874 (clandestine)
- Comarcal conferences from 1875 on
- Barcelona 1881 (extra-ordinary conference)

2. FTRE (Federación de Trabajadores de la Región Española - Spanish Regional Workers' Federation)

- Barcelona 1881 (foundation congress)
- Seville 1882 (second congress)
- Valencia 1883 (third congress)
- Barcelona 1884 (extra-ordinary congress)
- Comarcal congresses
- Barcelona 1885 (cosmopolitan anarchist congress)
- Madrid 1887 (fourth congress)
- Valencia 1888 (the congress which set up the OARE to replace the FTRE)

3. Pacto de Unión y Solidaridad (Compact of Unity and Solidarity)

- Barcelona 1888 (foundation of the Pacto)
- Madrid 1891 (extended congress)

4. FSORE, or new FTRE

- Madrid 1900 (first congress, resurrecting the Federation and also known as the Federación Regional de Sociedades de Resistencia)
- Madrid 1901 (second congress)
- Madrid 1903 (third congress)
- Seville 1904 (fourth congress)
- Madrid 1905 (fifth congress)

5. SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA (Worker Solidarity)

- Barcelona 1904 (establishment of the Barcelona local federation) Local

Union of Worker Societies.

- Barcelona 1908 (worker congress of Catalonia)
 - Barcelona 1909 (national congress)
 - Barcelona 1910 (second national congress, launching of the CNT)
6. CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo - National Confederation of Labour)
- Barcelona 1910 (foundation congress, second congress of Solidaridad Obrera)
 - Barcelona 1911 (first congress)
 - Madrid 1919 (second congress, so-called La Comedia congress)
 - Madrid 1931 (third congress, so-called Conservatorio congress)
 - Zaragoza 1936 (fourth congress)
 - Madrid 1979 (fifth congress). Those at odds with this congress broke away and held a separate congress in Valencia in 1980.

In 1883 (Seville) and 1884 (Cádiz), breakaways from the FTRE (known as Los Desheredados - the Disinherited) held landmark meetings-congresses. The title of congress has also been awarded to the anarchist meeting in El Ferrol (1915), and the plenum of the Catalan unions in Sans (1918). Moreover the CNT-in-Exile (1939-1975) held several meetings in France, eight of which have been awarded the title of congresses Paris (1945), Toulouse (1947), Toulouse (1948), Limoges (1960), Limoges (1961), Toulouse (1963), Montpellier (1965) and Marseilles (1975). (However, when the CNT was resurrected in Spain in 1976, those congresses were not taken into the reckoning at all.)

89. MARTÍ IBÁÑEZ, Félix. Barcelona 1913-United States 1974. (Some sources have him born in Barcelona)

Son of a Catalan educationist, he qualified as a doctor in Madrid.

Specialising in psychiatry, he practised in Barcelona. Even in the days when he was not specifically an anarchist, we find him associated with anarchist and CNT magazines and ventures: he stood out for his publicist and

educational efforts in the realms of sexology and neurology (as in, say, his celebrated 'Ask the Doctor' column in Estudios). He gave numerous talks in ateneos and promoted the launching of the 11 Club. During the civil war he placed himself at the disposal of the CNT and acted on its behalf as under-secretary for Health in the central government and director-general for Health with the Generalitat government, as well as travelling to the world youth congress in New York. When the civil war was over he emigrated to the United States and began a new phase in his life, scoring great success in the realm of history of medicine and delivering lectures around the world. He attended history of medicine congresses in Amsterdam, Paris, Stockholm, Nice and Zurich: he gave scientific talks all over the world and there was an outstanding tour of South America (1946). In 1950 he launched a medical publishing house in New York and seven years later he launched the review MD (which included a Spanish-language version from 1962 on), which expanded to take in Canada too in 1966. In 1956 he took over in charge of the New York Medical College history of Medicine department. He became an honorary member of numerous historical, literary and medical societies in Europe and the Americas. His written output in Spanish and in English was very considerable, whether scientific or literary in nature. He contributed to *Tiempos Nuevos* (1937), *Cosmopolitan*, *Ruta*, *Estudios*, *Town and Country*, *Esquire*, *Gentry*, *Art and Architecture*, *Encyclopedia Americana*.. and wrote many books and pamphlets, including: *Mensajes a la Juventud Revolucionaria* (Valencia 1938), *Niños De España* (New York 1938), *Tres Mensajes a las Mujeres* (Barcelona 1937), *Psicoanálisis de la Revolución Social Española* (Barcelona 1937), *Grandezas y Miserias de la Revolución Española* (Barcelona 1937), *La Reforma Eugénica del Aborto* (Barcelona 1937), *Meditación de Mar* (Barcelona 1937), *Mensaje a México* (Barcelona 1937), *Diez Meses de Sanidad y Asistencia Social* (Barcelona 1937), *El Sentido de la Vida* (Barcelona 1937), *Ensayos sobre el Amor* (Barcelona 1937), *España* (New York 1937), *Obra* (Barcelona 1937), *Los Buscadores de Sueños* (1953, Spanish edition in Madrid 1964) *Mi Yo Rebelde*, *Aventura*, *Historia de la*

Psicología y Fisiología Místicas de la India, El Arte Médico de la Celestina, Gesta, Higiene Sexual, El Pensamiento Médico en la Historia, Los Milagros Curativos en la Historia de la Medicina, Surco, Una Espada de Toledo, All the Wonders We Seek, The Crystal Arrow, Travel, Art, Love and the History of Medicine, Waltz, Journey Around Myself, Men, Molds and History, Centaur, Ariel, A Prelude to Medical History, The Epic of Medicine, The Pageant of Medicine, Henry E. Sigerist.

90. ROSADO LÓPEZ, Antonio. Morón de la Frontera 1889-Barcelona 1978. Born into a poor family he was working as a shepherd from the age of nine. Around 1912 he joined the PSOE, but contacts with López Galera and the anarchist press brought him (1915) to revolutionary syndicalism; he organised a few unions around the comarca and in 1916 he formed the Alba social anarchist group through which he was to take a hand in anarchist activities (he was to serve as general secretary of the Andalusian federation of anarchist groups in 19129) and was to engage Sánchez Rosa in heated arguments (Rosado giving the priority to syndicalism over anarchism). Shortly after that, he was arrested for insulting the armed forces and sentenced to two years, which he did not serve. Instead he went on the run before finally fleeing to the Canaries (1922) and Argentina. He returned from the land of the River Plate in 1924 and was jailed in Cádiz: he was released under the amnesty of January 1926 and resisted the dictatorship. Under the republic, he was a big influence in the unions in Morón which, on account of his poor health, agreed to make him a paid union organiser: he toured the comarca organising CNT unions (in Olvera, Alcalá, Algodonales, Grazalema, Arriate and Montejaque). A member of the Andalusian regional CNT committee in 1932, he was jailed the following year; he attended the Zaragoza congress (drafting the proposition on the agrarian issue). The outbreak of civil war caught him unprepared in Cantillana, but he made it to Madrid and thence on to Málaga where he took charge of everything having to do with agrarian economy and he was prominent at the FAI plenum in Almería; during the civil war he lived in

Almería, Alcoy, Játiva, Baza and Úbeda, taking charge of the establishment of the regional peasant federation (as general secretary) and tried to give it a marxist flavour (leading to clashes with Zimmerman). When the civil war ended, he roamed through the countryside before being arrested in El Arahal; he was released and the following year he gave up all activity, confining himself to working in Barcelona after he moved there. Articles of his appeared in España Nueva, Juventud Rebelde, El Tribuno and El Productor. Author of: Los Campesinos de la CNT y el Colectivismo Agrario. Tierra y Libertad. Memorias de un campesino anarcosindicalista (Barcelona 1979)

91. GARCÍA CASINO, Celedonio. Barcelona 1922-killed in an ambush near the Catalan border with France in August 1949.

One of the many young members of the Libertarian Youth who, after the end of the civil war, kept the war against Francoism a live issue. The end of the civil war found him being jailed for Libertarian Youth membership: freed in November 1945, he made for France, having been entrusted by the Libertarian Youth with arms procurement and attending the FIJL congress (March 1946). Joining Facerías's group, he made frequent crossings of the border between 1947 and 1949 on expropriation missions and to attack the forces of repression. An advocate of violence against Francoism, he embraced the tenets of the MLR but failed to get the national plenum of regionals in Spain (July 1947), which he attended on behalf of the Libertarian Youth, to accept the proposed policy of struggle. He was cut down by the Civil Guard on one of his many border crossings.

92. FRANCO CAZORLA, Diego. Better known as Amador Franco. Barcelona 1920-San Sebastián 1947, murdered by the Francoists.

From a poor family living in the La Torrassa neighbourhood, he learned the trade of carpentry and attended night classes at a rationalist ateneo. A member of the Libertarian Youth from the age of 13, he fought on the barricades in Barcelona in July 1936 and helped storm the Pedralbes

barracks. Later he marched off to Aragon with the Roja y Negra Column, in which he was entrusted with propaganda tasks. A great public speaker, he wrote for Acracia of Lérida and was an editor with Frente y Retaguardia in Barbastro. Throughout the civil war he was very much connected with the anti-collaborationist faction of the Libertarian Youth; in May 1937 he attended the Libertarian Youth congress in Barcelona and was regional cultural and propaganda secretary and in 1938 he was the Catalan regional committee's delegate to the FIJL peninsular congress in Valencia. When the war was over he ended up in a French concentration camp in Gurs and was active in the French underground, helping to rebuild the MLE (attending the plenum in Muret and the congress in 1945, he made strenuous efforts to win acceptance for the anti-collaborationist line). Committed from early on to anti-Franco struggle in the interior, he repeatedly crossed the border on organisational and propaganda missions; in 1946 he crossed over with Carballeira to help relaunch the Libertarian Youth and their newspaper, Ruta, and in July the same year was arrested along with López in Irún and executed in the prison in Ondarreta. He belonged to the anti-collaborationist, pure libertarian faction that espoused direct struggle against Franco, like much of that generation of Libertarian Youth members.

93. FANELLI RIBERA, Giuseppe. Neapolitan, 1828-1877.

Revolutionary who fought in Garibaldi's ranks; he was involved in the business of the Roman republic (1848-49), was one of the Marsala One Thousand (1860), and a companion of Garibaldi; he joined in the Polish uprising (1862-63) and fought against the Austrians (1866). Shortly afterwards he went over to federalist revolutionary socialism and distanced himself from Mazzini, after contacting Bakunin in Geneva; he attended the League congress (Berne 1868) and had a hand in the foundation of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy. He left Geneva on 8 October 1868 to make his way to Barcelona via Genoa, as the envoy of the Bakuninists. In Barcelona he met up with Rey and Reclus and made the acquaintances of Orense and Garrido; he travelled on to Valencia with this group and then

Fanelli went on to Madrid (November). In the capital he linked up with some members of the Fomento de las Artes (through González Morago) and met up in Rubau Donadeu's home with a group of them (Lorenzo, Borrel, Mora and others) for his famous talk on 24 January 1869, which date has gone down as the birth date of the International in Spain; in February 1869 he left for Barcelona where he met up with Pellicer, Farga and others whom he helped to establish the IWMA's Barcelona section as well as the Alliance section. This trip to Spain was costly to him in terms of financial costs as well as in terms of the problems arising from it (he was accused of exploiting Reclus's republican friends to spread anarchism) by which he was much affected and in the end he distanced himself from militant Bakuninism after that.

94. TRIBUNA LIBRE. Title of several libertarian newspapers.

1. - Organ of the Asturian anarchist groups. A fortnightly, it published 9 issues, from 10 April 1909 on. It appeared in Gijón under the editorship of Quintanilla, Marchago and Sierra; with contributions from Mella, Claramunt, Bonafulla and Lagardelle. Issue No 9 never went on sale because of the events of July 1909.

2. - Seville 1891-92. Anarcho-communist newspaper. Three issues. Edited by Miguel Rubio.

3. - Gijón 1903. Contributions from P. Sierra.

95. Los SOLIDARIOS. Enormously famous anarchist group set up in Barcelona in 1922.

In fact, Los Solidarios was a new name for the preexisting Crisol group (itself connected to the Los Justicieros group) formed in Zaragoza, the main protagonists of which moved to Barcelona where their numbers were stiffened by other militants residing in Catalonia. In August 1922, Durruti, Ascaso, Suberviela, Torres Escartín and Campos met in Barcelona and made contact with some CNT militants, particularly from the woodworkers' union, until the Los Solidarios group finally took shape in October: F. Ascaso,

Durruti, Torres Escartín, A. Miguel, Suberviela, Brau, Manuel Campos, García Oliver, Aurelio Fernández, Ricardo Sanz, Antonio el Toto and García Vivancos. Over the years the composition of the group altered (with some members dying and others joining it). It had a powerful infrastructure and plenty of auxiliaries: Julia López, María Luisa Tejedor, Pepita Not, Ramona Berni, Mas, A. Martín, Palau, Flores, Ballano, María Rius, Boada, H. Esteban, P. Martín, J. Blanco, Pérez Combina, Batlle, Sosa, etc. Later the group was joined by Antonio Ortiz (1926) and by Jover (also under the dictatorship). Its purpose was to stand up to the pistoleros, keep the CNT's structures intact and create a peninsular anarchist federation. To this end they planned the eradication of the most prominent anti-worker leaders (Regueral, Soldevilla, Anido, Arlegui, Coello, Bugallal, Languía..) and in several instances they succeeded: García Oliver and Ascaso executed Languía in Manresa (1923), Suberviela and El Toto finished off Regueral in León and Torres Escartín and Ascaso killed Cardinal Soldevilla in Zaragoza. They also collaborated with the attempt on the life of Dato (financing the defence of Nicolau and Mateu), summoned an anarchist congress that planted the seeds for the FAI. Durruti, Ascaso and Aurelio Fernández were chosen by that congress to form a liaison committee.

Initially poorly armed, they had soon set up a whole network of dumps holding grenades and rifles, all under the care of Brau in Barcelona and thereabouts; some of this gear was bought in Eibar (October 1923) with the proceeds from a hold-up at the Banco de España in Gijón (September 1923) - an operation with dire consequences in that it cost the life of Brau, followed by the arrest of Torres Escartín who later went mad. After the Primo de Rivera dictatorship was imposed, several group members crossed into France and set up a revolutionary committee against the dictatorship and it was largely responsible for the unfortunate Vera de Bidasoa and Atarazanas barracks ventures (1924), as well as the freeing of Ascaso from prison in Zaragoza. Persecution of the group was stepped up, especially by Anido, and the tide began to turn against them: an arms dump was discovered in Pueblo Nuevo, Suberviela, Campos, Aurelio Fernández and

Domingo Ascaso were surrounded (in March 1924), resulting in the deaths of the first two and the arrest of Fernández. In the years that followed, the group was scattered until, with the advent of the republic, it was able to regroup following a period of disagreement between Ascaso/Durruti and García Oliver/A. Miguel/García Vivancos. By the summer of 1931, they were back together again (there was a meeting involving García Oliver, Ascaso, Durruti, Jover and Sanz) and a short time later they joined the FAI as the Nosotros group and earned themselves some fresh laurels; they were very directly involved in the most outstanding episodes of the time (the uprisings in 1932 and 1933, the revolutionary gymnastics, lots of rallies and meetings). with the inevitable visits to jail. During the republic, they wielded very great influence and many saw them as dominant over the CNT. Once the civil war started in 1936, they all held prominent posts in the militias and in government.

Even when they had a mouthpiece of their own, Crisol, they were none too prominent in the realms of theory and doctrine; nor does it appear that they saw eye to eye with one another on this score (thus, García Oliver is usually credited with taking an anarcho-Bolshevik line which was not shared by Ascaso and Durruti, perhaps on account of their early deaths). In any event, the only certainty seems to be that García Oliver was their best known spokesman and that his arguments can be summarised thus: emphasis on the class struggle and the faïsta line against the treintistas' and syndicalists' reformism, establishment of a revolutionary army (which they identified with the centrally-controlled trade union membership), the seizure of power (not State power, but insurrectionary power, which is to say, drawing together the federated revolutionary committees to ensure revolutionary order and uphold freedom and the people's initiatives.)

96. BORREL, Enrique.

Member of the Madrid nucleus of the International, he served on its first liaison commission. He took part in the debates at the 1870 congress (joining Fargas to sign the motion to affiliate to the IWMA, defending the

motion on resistance and anti-parliamentarism) and was elected on to the federal council as bookkeeper. After the aggression shown towards him in 1871 it is said that he withdrew from militant activity (he declined to go to Lisbon with Morago and Lorenzo), to devote his time to his trade as a tailor, but, as we shall see, this is not quite the case. In 1871-74 he worked for an exhibition form in Madrid and in 1877 he was attached to the world's fair in Philadelphia. His withdrawal from Internationalist activity was such a partial thing that it seems certain that in 1873 he replaced Villa as the secretary of the Centre region on the FRE federal council and years later he still had an interest in anarchism. In 1882 he stated that although he took no part in public life his anarchist beliefs were intact; in 1884 at the Madrid Ateneo he gave a talk on wages that did justice to his roots; in 1891 he spoke up at the Madrid congress of the Pacto and lashed out at the socialists; in 1892 he spoke up for collectivism in a public debate against Dezas and Iglesias, and, years earlier (1888-89) had edited *La Bandera Roja*. The likelihood is that he lapsed into a rather questionable brand of anarchism; linked with the Villacampa uprising in 1886, led by a faction favouring engagement in politics and fiercely opposed by Tárrida, Lorenzo, Mella and Tomás. At the time of his death he was Madrid representative for an Andalusian railway. He translated Balzac and was author of: *El Salario. Memoria leída en el Ateneo de Madrid* (Madrid 1884).

97. BONAFULLA, Leopoldo. Alias used by Juan Bautista Esteve, a man with ties to the anarchist revolutionary movement at the turn of the 20th century, for which he did outstanding work.

In 1901 he was among those jailed in El Pelayo in connection with the Barcelona strike and the following year he was outstanding in the famous 1902 tour of Andalusia by Teresa Claramunt. We find him also the mainstay of the second phase of *El Productor* and a member of the anarchist group *Avenir* (which broke up in 1910). In 1910 he represented Bujalance at the CNT foundation congress (helping to draft the motion on farm organisation). Later he seems to have slipped into oblivion. He was a

regular contributor to the anarchist labour press; he ran *El Productor* and had articles published in *La Revista Blanca* (as well as in its Supplement and Almanach), *La Protesta*, *El Corsario*, *Fraternidad*, etc. He died in Barcelona about 1925. Author of: *Criterio libertario* (Barcelona 1905), *La Revolución de Julio en Barcelona. Su Represión, sus víctimas, proceso Ferrer; recopilación completa de sucesos y comentarios* (Madrid 1909), *Generación libre* (1905), *La Familia Libre* (Barcelona 1910), *Los Dos Polos Sociales* (Gracia, undated), *Hacia el Porvenir* (Barcelona 1905).

98. BOAL, Evelio. Born in Valladolid.

One of the CNT's greatest ever general secretaries, a real scientist in matters of organisation, to borrow Buenacasa's words. Murdered (using the ley de fugas ploy) in Barcelona on 18 June 1921. He was a member of Barcelona's graphical union; he had been an anarchist from a very early age and, just as soon as he had learned the type-setting trade, he got involved in the theatre with considerable success (he was the first comic actor with the Espantaleón company); he gave up the stage apparently on account of his beliefs and for sentimental reasons, but kept up his interest in the theatre (he ran the drama group at the workers' centre in the Calle Mercaders and stage plays by Guimerá, Rusiñol, Iglesias and Ibsen). Small, skinny and gaunt, he had been soured by the infidelity of his wife, which is why some people were against it when he was put forward for the national committee; however, he did sterling work on Buenacasa's national committee and threw himself with gusto into the task of making inroads into Castile. Arrested in January 1919 along with other national committee members, he was released on account of his precarious health and took over a national committee secretary, carrying out work for which he was thanked at the La Comedia congress in 1919 (when he was confirmed in office)., although there was some criticism of him later (especially over his having gone with Quemades and Seguí to Madrid in 1920 to finalise a pact with the UGT regarding responses to the repression). He contributed to the CNT and anarchist press (to *Tierra y Libertad* for instance, using the nom de plume

Chispazos) and it appears that he was one of the first people to suggest the establishment of an FAI.

99. EL MUNICIPIO LIBRE. Title of several libertarian papers.

1. - Newspaper sub-titled "Revolutionary Socialist Paper" of which 11 issues were published clandestinely in Barcelona from November 1879 to May 1888 . It was produced on presses acquired by the Barcelona local federation and it had a pronounced doctrinal and campaigning flavour. Affiliated to the International, it had Anselmo Lorenzo on the team as type-setter and editor.

2. - San Salvador del Valle, 1978, 3 issues.

3. - Gavá, 1979, 2 issues. A CNT paper.

In the latter two cases, the title was MUNICIPIO LIBRE rather than LA MUNICIPIO LIBRE.

100. OLMO SAEZ, Jesús del. Nick-named Malatesta. Zaragoza 1924-Antibes (France) 1958, killed in a road accident.

A member of the confederal anti-Francoist action groups, very closely connected with Facerías, he made many incursions into Spain (with Saborit and Facerías in 1950) and Italy. He turned up in Italy in June 1952 in the company of Facerías, with whom he carried out extensive publishing work in Genoa, Carrara and Livorno, helping to organise the international anarchist jamborees and involving himself in organisational activity and expropriations. At the end of 1954 he distanced himself from Facerías and went back to France.

101. PELLICER PARAIRE, Antonio. Barcelona 1851-Buenos Aires 1916.

A type-setter from the age of eleven, he was a cousin of Farga and joined the International at a very early age (with the original Barcelona nucleus). Lively and very active, he secretary of the printers' section and of the Alliance federation (in August 1872 he signed the text in defence of the Alliance against the editors of La Emancipación). At the age of twenty

(seemingly exiled) he spent four years travelling Cuba, Mexico and the United States. On his return to Barcelona he kept up his membership of the internationalist organisation (secret type-setters; section) and served on its federal commission in 1872-73, siding with the collectivists; at the same time he worked with the anarchist press of the day and took part in soirées and conferences, and wrote some literature (in Catalan, *El lo Ball*, *Celos*, *Jo Vaig*, *La Mort de la Proletaria*, *Sense Esperança*). Before leaving for Buenos Aires, he joined the freemasons, as other internationals had. In Buenos Aires he ran the trade paper *Exito Gráfico*, followed by other trade journals (*La Tarjeta Postal*, *La Unión Cartófila Argentina*, *Anuario Cartófilo Sudamericano*) and the Argentinian Type-Setters' School was established at his instigation. All of which explains the great impact that his death had well outside anarchist circles. In Argentina he kept up his activity and in addition to corresponding with comrades in Spain (cautioning them against the Lerrouxist danger and advising them to resist a socialist presence in the *Solidaridad Obrera* organisation), he was a decisive influence in the foundation of the Argentinian FOA-FORA and had a direct in-put into its foundation congress. (His twelve articles in *La Protesta Humana* in 1901 on labour organising, drawing together economic and revolutionary organisation at a time when spontaneity was prevalent in Argentina were particularly valuable. In them he also opposed authoritarianism, bureaucracy and centralisation, whilst favouring federalism, organisation towards a revolutionary commune, internationalism and close coordination between the policies of the trade unions and the anarchists). Around 1905 he eased up on his activity and was content to reaffirm ideas and take an interest in anarchism in Spain. Author of: *En Defensa de Nuestros Ideales* (Barcelona 1894), *Memorandum con motivo y en celebración de mis 55 años* (Buenos Aires 1906), *El Individuo y la Masa. La Educación de la Libertad* (Barcelona 1908), *Conferencias Populares sobre Sociología* (Buenos Aires 1900), *La Política Juzgada por los Políticos. Análisis de la cuestión de la Vida* (1909).

102. PONZÁN VIDAL, Francisco. Oviedo 1911-murdered by Nazis in the forest of Bouzet (Toulouse) 17 August 1947.

His youth was spent in the city of Huesca where he trained to be a teacher (he was a disciple of Acín, of whom he was to have very fond memories). A CNT member, once the fascist revolt began he had talks with the governor of Huesca with an eye to preparing a counter-offensive: later he he was part of the working party that drafted the motion setting up the Council of Aragon (October 1936), on which he served as councillor in charge of Transport and Trade, until, following the crackdown by Lister he enlisted with the Roja y Negra column (summer 1937) as captain adjutant to his friend Máximo Franco. Later he was in charge of the republican army's intelligence-gathering in enemy territory and fought with the Army of the East, all of which activities would be of service to him later in France and again in Spain. When the civil war ended he wound up in the concentration camp at Vernet (February 1939) from which he escaped to start organising an extensive anti-Franco network inside and outside of Spain (several of the earliest action groups operating in Barcelona were down to him) and he took part in incursions into the interior, being wounded in Boltaña on one such incursion designed to secure the release of Lozano (who was imprisoned in Zaragoza). When the Germans overran France he founded the celebrated escape network (charged with smuggling known antifascists out of France) known as the Pat O'Leary and Ponzán Group network; it saved over a thousand victims of persecution. When he was arrested after various adventures in 1943, the Germans jailed him in Toulouse and eventually shot him. José Esteve, Zafón, Moriones, Ginés Camarasa, Cotenó, Cervantes, etc., were trusted members of his network. Early on he was connected with the groups aiming to organise the CNT and he drafted a plan of operations against Franco that was turned down by the General Council of the MLE. His thoughts in this regard seem to have been: bolstering the ANFD, honouring the principles laid down by the CNT in the interior, with exceptions (he was against the CNT of the interior's organising along mass lines), repudiation of politics (albeit acceptance of municipal politics) and

the winding up of the IWA.

103. LA SOLIDARIDAD. Title adopted by several newspapers and reviews (The first three listed below were entitled La Solidaridad an the rest merely Solidaridad).

1. - Madrid, 15 January 1870 to 21 January 1871. Weekly launched by Anselmo Lorenzo. Organ of the Madrid section of the International. The first ever champion of the IWMA it was sub-titled "Organ of the IWMA, Madrid section" and, later, (after No 29) "Organ of the sections of the IWMA's Madrid Federation". Print-run of about 3,000 copies. Anarchist-collectivist. Carried new commentary, news from abroad, organisational and labour movement notices, as well as serialised section that included regulations, statutes, pertinent topics and congresses. The editorship changed hands from time to time but at one time or another was in the hands of V. López, Pauly, Ambau, Alcázar, F. Mora, G. Morago, Simancas, Gomis, Allieri, Miñaca, Vel, Martín and Pagés. It carried articles by Ocaña, Nieva, Bakunin, Proudhon, attacks on Fernando Garrido, etc.. It was stated in its last issue that the Madrid Federation was giving up publication and handing over to Barcelona.

2. - Barcelona. Anarchist. 1874-76.

3. - Seville. anarchist, from 21 August 1888 to 1889, under the direction of Mella, 58 issues. Anarcho-collectivist. Texts by Mella, Marselau, Roscoe and Lorenzo.

4. - Organ of the CNT of Asturias. 1931-33, Gijón. Weekly, run by S. Blanco, Acracio Bartolomé and J.M. Martínez.

5. - Paris 1962, 6 issues. Title which adopted the sub-title Solidaridad Obrera after the latter paper was suspended. Run by J. Ferrer.

6. - CNT daily issued in Barcelona (13 February 1934), in replacement of the banned Solidaridad Obrera. It was in the hands of D.A. de Santillán and Villar.

7. - Weekly paper of the Galician CNT, La Coruña 1936.

8. - Monthly publication, Barcelona-Valencia, in 1968-69. A dozen issues

published. Contributions from Félix Carrasquer, Edo, Taberner, Prudencio, Mercedes, Altable, etc. It was the mouthpiece of the group of the same name and took an anarcho-syndicalist line with the emphasis on trade union and work issues.

104. SEVILLE, 2nd FTRE CONGRESS, 1882.

Held in the Cervantes theatre over six sittings from 24 to 26 September 1882, with 216 delegates attending (others claim somewhere between 212 and 254 delegates) representing 218 local federations, and 59,000 members (others give the figures of between 209 and 216 local federations, 632 to 640 sections, 49,000 to 58,000 members). Its resolutions included the following: 1. - A campaign for the eight hour day and against piece rates. 2. - Rejection of political parties and advocacy of a 'demolition policy', reaffirming the principles of collectivism. 3. - Non-violent revolution finding expression through science (which is to say the enlightenment of the worker). 4. - Equal rights for women. 5. - Judicious use of the strike weapon, use being confined to inevitable sympathy strikes. 6. - Riots, disturbances and Jacobinism condemned as means inappropriate for workers. 7. - Recruitment campaign (secular schools, bulletins, propaganda). 8. - Andalusia to be split into three comarcas (implying the creation of a southern comarca). 9. - Election of Canibell, Tomás, Farga, Pellicer and Llunas to the federal council.

The significance of this congress resides in several things: a) a split by the more radical faction, the southern peasantry, led by Rubio. This minority accused the majority of failing to understand the realities of life of the southern peasantry. b) The success of the supporters of collectivism who, through Tomás and Llunas, roundly opposed Rubio's anarcho-communists. The victorious side was identified with law-abiding methods, rejecting the violence advocated by the southerners and positing anarchism as an ideal to be approached gradually rather than through revolutionary posturing (hence the regulation of the use of strikes and the condemnation of riots and disturbances).

105. EL SOCIALISMO. Title of two newspapers.

1. - Cádiz 1886-1891, at least 74 issues run by Salvochea. Its aim was to circulate anything useful carried by foreign socialist publications.

Kropotkinist anarcho-communist but seeking common ground with anarcho-collectivists (its sub-title from June 1890 on, would be "Anarcho-communist Fortnightly"). Published texts by Lafargue, Reclus, George, Lumm, Bax, Joynes, anarcho-communist and collectivist manifestoes, FTRE circulars and a few pamphlets (such as Kropotkin's *The Wage System*). A much harassed publication, especially on account of Salvochea's profile, it suffered its director's misadventures; when Salvochea was jailed it ceased publication; when he was released an attempt was made to resurrect it, only for him to be jailed again. Plans to replace it with *El Anarquista* also foundered after the events in Jérez.

2. - Libertarian theoretical review, Madrid (?), 1976-77. 3 issues.

106. DOMÉNECH, José Juan. Barcelona 1900-1979.

CNT member with a background in the consumer cooperative movement and who achieved considerable prominence during the civil war and in exile in France as a supporter of the reformist line. He was president of the Barcelona glassworkers' union and secretary of the National Glass Industrial Federation. Secretary of the Catalan CNT after Eroles, he held the councillorship for supply in the first Generalitat cabinet (September 1936) and later the responsibility for Public Services (December 1936). In April 1938 he was on the working party that drafted the motion to establish an MLE executive committee in Catalonia and joined that committee as the representative of the CNT, not that that was any obstacle to his displaying complete opposition to Prieto (over dialogue with Franco): in November 1938 he lobbied for the CNT to rejoin the Generalitat. When the civil war ended he ended up in the French concentration camps (Vernet and Djelfa), emerging to enlist in the British army (1942). After the Germans were defeated he sided with the collaborationist faction (the Sub-committee) and

in 1946 put his signature to the Luque motion and in December 1947 he took over as head of the Sub-committee following the caretaker administration of R. Alvarez and he entered Spain by clandestine means. After the Clermont plenum (March 1960) he joined the reunification commission and after unity was achieved he served on the Intercontinental Secretariat. An old man, he returned to Barcelona, having given up all militant activity. Author of: Retaguardia y Frente: Habla el Secretario del CR de la CNT (Barcelona 1937), Discurso pronunciado ante el micrófono de la EA1DD el 23-X-1937 (Barcelona 1937)/

107. MAS CASAS, Valerio. San Martín de Provencals 1894- Lissac (France) 1973.

CNT member who gained a certain fame during the civil war. He was the CNT representative on the central supplies committee and secretary of the Catalan regional committee from November 1936 to May 1937: after the May '37 events he was the CNT representative to the Generalitat. During the war he took a conciliatory line within the antifascist camp and turned down the POUM's suggestion regarding the crushing of the Stalinists. When the civil war ended, he belonged to the MLE General Council (representing the CNT) and served on its policy commission and then went on an odyssey through French concentration camps (Vernet and Djelfa). After the Nazis were defeated, he held high-ranking office among the orthodox-line emigrés (serving as a member of the Intercontinental Secretariat in 1949 and 1952).

108. MASSONI, Pedro. Born 1883 (?)- died Barcelona 1933.

A CNT tiler outstanding as level-headed public speaker, a staunch militant in his industry and administrator of Solidaridad Obrera. He attended the Sans congress on behalf of the Barcelona tilers and served on the first junta of the Construction Union (1918). Much sought after by the pistoleros he suffered during the Anido era; he was jailed and subjected to the ley de fugas and was left seriously wounded and never quite recovered (and as a result was obliged to work at his trade in his latter years in spite of

progressive paralysis). His courage was evident in 1923 when the industry went on strike and served on the commission defending some comrades accused of armed robbery. Under the dictatorship he was involved in conspiracy (and jailed towards the end of 1930) and signed the treintista Manifesto, being a militant with close ties to Pestaña and Peiró. When Solidaridad Obrera was revived (August 1930) he managed it during Peiró's editorship (having previously served on Pestaña's clandestine national committee). And it is down to his insistence that the paper procured its own presses. His support for the reformist line of Pestaña and Peiró brought him problems; with the factional struggle at its height, he was accused by the faístas (March 1933) of irregularities in the management of the paper. These criticisms affected him deeply and led to a worsening of his ailments and led to his death. Author of: *Los Ladrilleros a través de las Luchas Sociales* (Barcelona 1928).

109. AGRAZ, Antonio. c. 1905-05. - 1956.

A member of the police force up until 1930 when he was dismissed for attending a demonstration in San Sebastián, A picturesque sort, a poet and editor of CNT. In 1931 he published poems in *La Tierra* (using the nom de plume Gerineldo) and from 1931 on started to help out on CNT (on the *Romances de CNT* section) until he parted company with that paper due to ideological differences with its director (García Pradas) and his fondness for wine. A very well-known figure during the republic, he was published in all sorts of reviews. After the civil war broke out, he was involved in the defence of Madrid (1936-37) and was arrested at the end of the war and sentenced to 12 years, serving 4. He died in Madrid in 1956. Author of: *Romances de CNT* (Madrid 1936), *¡Aquí Madrid, capital de la tierra!* (Madrid 1938?) and *Del campo vendrán* (Madrid 1937?).

110. PUENTE AMESTOY, Isaac. Las Carreras (Vizcaya) 1896-Pancorbo 1936, murdered.

Although born in Vizcaya, Alava was the theatre of his activities. He studied

for his baccalaureate in Vitoria (1911) and studied medicine in Santiago and Valladolid (up until 1918), practising as a doctor in Cirueña and, a year later, in Maeztu where he would live up until his death. Under the Primo de Rivera dictatorship he was grace and favour deputy for Alava, a position he resigned early to join the ranks of the libertarians (joining the FAI and the CNT). He won great prestige as a populariser of naturism and medicine (especially through his contributions to *Estudios*) and also when he agreed to join the revolutionary committee in Aragon in 1933 (because of which he was jailed in Zaragoza and Burgos up until May 1934); however his popularity later was owed to his having published a pamphlet on libertarian communism that furnished the basis for the 1936 CNT congress's elaboration of the CNT's understanding of what libertarian communism meant. He wrote a lot for the libertarian and like-minded press: he was the chief contributor to *Estudios* between 1923 and 1936 and also wrote for *Ética*, *El Sembrador*, *Liberación*.. either under his own name or under the celebrated nom de plume of *Un médico rural* (A country doctor) and he wrote numerous pamphlets: *La Higiene, la Salud y los Microbios* (Barcelona 1932), *La Sociedad del Porvenir* (Barcelona 1932), *Los Mártires de la CNT* (Barcelona 1932, together with L. Martínez), *Finalidad de la CNT. El Comunismo Libertario* (Barcelona 1933), *Hipótesis, Experimentación y Perfeccionamiento* (Barcelona 1933), *El Comunismo Libertario* (Valencia, undated), *La Sociedad del Porvenir. El Comunismo Anárquico* (Barcelona 1933), *Los Microbios y la Infección* (Valencia 1931), *Propaganda* (Barcelona 1938), *Divulgación de la Embriología, Consejos Prácticos para evitar el Contagio de la Enfermedades Venéreas, Menstruación, su Significación e Higiene, Cómo curar la Impotencia Sexual, Métodos Anticoncepcionales*, plus a number of prefaces to works by Dévaldès, F. Caro, Segarra and R. Sanz.

His pamphlet on Libertarian Communism summarised.

It is made up of five parts and a Conclusion.

Part One (Countering Prejudice) spells out his understanding of libertarian communism (a society organised without a State and private property

rights, to be achieved on the basis of the trade union and free municipality, bodies seen as representing, respectively, the collectivist and the individualist outlooks) and takes the line that the worst feature of society is slavery of which poverty is symptomatic, making the State therefore worse than exploitative capitalism, even if both are the two great blights upon human existence; He also brings out how man aspires to meet his economic needs and remain free, on which basis we reject the communism of the barracks or the herd. That established, Puente proceeds to demolish a series of prejudices commonly held by people (such as regarding capitalism's crisis as a passing phenomenon, taking libertarian communism to be a simplistic solution such as the ignorant might devise, the belief in the necessity for an intellectual vanguard, crediting anarchism with holding the arts, culture and science in contempt, the inability to frame a new society, giving knowledge the priority over experience, the belief in political leaders and role of politicians as intermediaries).

Part Two (Economic Organisation of Society) plainly contrasts "political organisation" with "trade union organisation" and champions the latter as the one ready to take all society's wealth into common ownership and to communise the obligation upon every individual to contribute to production insofar as his strength or aptitudes allow. He states that everything not an economic activity or function will remain a matter for individual preference. Among the features he detects in trade union organisation (and contrasts against the political) are: hierarchy from the bottom up, uniform status of all producers, assemblyism, the freedom of every collectivity to look to its own activities and affairs, the transfer of initiative to trades organisations as the realisation of democracy and federalism..

Part Three (Wealth and Labour) points out the unfairness implicit in the distribution of wealth and work.

Part Four (Our Country's Economic Potential) shows that the country does have the potential to survive - he offers a brief break-down of the national economy - in the event of an international boycott, should libertarian communism succeed. He is also confident that the country could stand up

to a possible invasion by capitalist powers.

Part Five ('Realisation' of libertarian communism) tackles the question of implementing libertarian communism in country and city; in the case of the cities, he finds the solution to be the activation of the free municipality or commune, governed by its assembly and holding property in common ownership (private property would be acceptable as 'the usufruct of what every person needs for his consumption and diversion'). In cities, the axis would be the local federation of trade unions, the sovereignty of which is derived from the assemblies of producers. He also states that economic compulsion forces the individual into cooperation, but that such compulsion ought never to come from some supreme committee (the seed-bed of authoritarianism and bureaucracy); he also holds that national industrial federations are appropriate.

In his Conclusion, he writes that economic compulsion is the cement holding society together and that it should be the only compulsion wielded by the collectivity over the individual; All other activities (cultural, artistic, scientific) should remain beyond the control of the collectivity and in the hands of those groups disposed to pursue and encourage them. It is precisely in those pursuits unconnected with the necessity to work that Puente sees the germ of a new society, the one praised and propagated by anarchism, Once it manages to meet society's needs, it will render the economic supervision exercised by organisations over individuals quite redundant.

111. SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA. Name given to an important labour federation from the early years of the twentieth century. Also the title of numerous anarchist and revolutionary syndicalist newspapers.

1. - Following the demise of the FTRE, attempts to reorganise a revolutionary workers' movement (the Pacto, the OARE..) were not unduly successful; not until the turn of the century did an organisation of the significance of the old International emerge: this was Solidaridad Obrera. Around 1904, the Barcelona local federation was organised; it was the core

of Solidaridad Obrera and would acquire some significance around 1907. Initially the new federation failed to make much of an impact; in April 1906 there were signs of its being relaunched (the Valls assembly) and simultaneously a divorce took place between workerists and Lerrouxists (with the Barcelona rallies in September 1906: French syndicalism was another considerable influence at work in this). In May and June 1907 meetings were held with an eye to the creation of Solidaridad Obrera and this culminated in the appointment on 13 June of a commission made up of militants of varying ideological persuasions (Seguí, Bruguera, Badía, Saví and Sedó); later, regulations were thrashed out and on 25 July Tierra y Libertad carried a markedly pro-unity (but anti-reformist) manifesto from Solidaridad Obrera to the workers of Barcelona bearing the signatures of thirty workers' societies. A short time later, on 3 August, Solidaridad Obrera was inaugurated on the premises of the Asociación de la Dependencia Mercantil, in the presence of 34 delegates and numerous workers. That gathering arrived at a number of basic tenets: preservation of workers' gains, the right of association, Sundays off work, a rejection of piece-rates, compulsory rational education, emancipation from the capitalist system, etc., tenets which, all in all, assumed a predisposition towards anarchism, albeit shorn of any radicalism. By January 1908 SO numbered 67 associations, mostly in Barcelona and accounting for 12,500 workers and its leadership council was made up of three commissions: Administration and Promotion (Colomé, Badía, Bisbe, Lostau, A. Sánchez, Ferrer, Martí), Propaganda (Villalonga, Palau, Bonafout, P. Sánchez, Román, Sayós and Gas), and Education (Casasola, Calvo, Ginés and the Carreras). From 9 November 1907 on, it had as its mouthpiece a weekly paper that was to become legendary (Solidaridad Obrera). At the start of 1908 SO began to expand; a local federation was established in Badalona and this was accompanied by the delegate assembly held in Badalona and attended by 57 SO bodies and many others from Barcelona, Badalona, Premiá, Mataró, Canet, Vilassar, Manresa, Caldas, Igualada, Manlleu, Capellades, Vich, Sabadell, Roda, Berga, San Feliu de Codina and Tarrasa, a total of 123 in all. It was this assembly that

opened up the new federation; the incoming council was chaired by Bisbe and it did great propaganda work. Particularly outstanding was its opposition to Maura's anti-terrorist legislation.

Eventually the first regional congress for Catalonia was held (in Barcelona, 6-8 September) at the workers' centre with a number of delegates variously estimated by historians at between 130 and 150, representing a hundred associations and 25,000 members and embracing socialists, anarchists and republicans; At that congress it was agreed to set up the Solidaridad Obrera Regional Confederation of Resistance Societies, with direct action as its essential weapon of struggle. In addition, an apolitical line was imposed vis a vis party politics. It was already plain at this congress that the anarchist case had carried the day, assisted, notably, by Lorenzo's appeal to anarchists to join the federation (anarchists had not all been of the same mind with regard to SO: there had been moderate criticisms from Tierra y Libertad and Acción Libertaria, and greater enthusiasm from El Rebelde and La Voz del Cantero) and the victimisation of Ferrer. The reason for this seems to have been the universal moderation and above all the skill with which the socialists managed the whole business in order to avert anarchist dominance. Rest assured that Badía's socialists wanted to see SO turned into a "neutral" (i.e. non-anarchist) trade union; but the breakthrough came when Badía had launched a socialist newspaper to neutralise SO and provoked angry responses from Loredó, Lorenzo and Prat; anyway, the anarchists must have been very confident that the final victory would be theirs. In the months following the congress, the pace of events was hectic; support for the new Catalan federation flooded in from Cádiz, Gijón, Montilla and Extremadura and from the Alcira conference and this led to the organisation's spreading throughout Spain. Then again, SO angrily confronted Lerrouxism in September 1908 (with a boycott of the Radical press) and this culminated in March 1909 (at the Regional Assembly) with the pronouncement of an anathema on Lerroux who was declared an enemy of the working class. Between late 1908 and April 1909, changes took effect in the SO leadership; the leadership chaired by J. Román in December 1908

included Demestres, Vives, Escandell, Badía, Herreros, Mas Gomeri, J. Castillo, Coll, Sala, Vargas, Closas, Alvarez, Cristóbal, Giner, Fius and Sans; by April, the line-up was Rico, Moreno, Ferrer, Salvat, Darrer, Herreros, Salvador Seguí, Herrero, Demestres, Badía, Escandell, Gandía, Sans, Salas, M. Sans, and B. and J. Castillo.

The final parting of the ideological ways, however, did not come about until 1910, after the national congress in 1909 was called off, but in the interim, the anarchists emerged the victors; as the repression targeted SO (in the wake of the Tragic Week events) the anarchists alone held the line. On 13 June 1909, at a meeting of delegates, a national congress was arranged for that September; within days it had been arranged for 24-26 September and a circular was sent out setting out the agenda (all-embracing unions, worker housing, creation of establishments by SO, consumer cooperatives, agricultural production cooperatives, the eight hour day, minimum wage, yellow unionism, organising the SO on a nationwide scale), as well as an insistence that a congress should be held for those who did not see eye to eye with UGT tactics. The immediate crackdown led to the closing down of social premises and whittled the membership down to 4,500 as the weak and the moderates deserted, leaving the libertarians in complete control; by the time that the repression had passed, the new leadership council was unequivocally anarchist and criticisms of the agenda of the suspended congress were unanswerable; a number of the items on the proposed agenda were regarded as out of order because of their pro-UGT flavour. In the end the congress was held: it was the second SO congress and the foundation congress of the CNT, attended by 114 societies and local federations in October-November 1910. The SO was laid to rest and the CNT came into existence.

SO represented something new in the labour sphere: the replacement of combinationism by syndicalism and the adoption of French trends, together with retention of the late 19th century internationalist tradition. It seems certain that the main work carried out by the anarchists arrived at a federation on a par with the FRE and FTRE and to that end had had to

grapple with problems very much like the ones faced by the old International: the struggle against the socialists, distancing from the republicans (previously it was the federal republicans, now it was the Radicals), resistance to repression, and the overcoming of narrow parochialism.

2. - Title of the most enduring anarchist and syndicalist newspaper. It appeared first in Barcelona on 19 October 1907 as the "Organ of the Solidaridad Obrera Federation" and under the supervision of Jaime Bisbal (it seems that the real director was Anselmo Lorenzo). It seems to have grown out of *El Despertad Social* (the paper of a waiters' union) and it enjoyed financial backing from Francisco Ferrer, although Lorenzo got the credit for the idea of launching it. The first editorial team was made up of Lorenzo, Moreno, Casasola, Colomé, Grau, Ferrer and Herreros, with Badía handling the administration and frequent contributions from Mella, Prat and Loredo. Suspended on 30 November (with issue No 7) it reappeared on 13 February 1908. Later it was run by Tomás Herreros, Andrés Cuadros (temporarily in 1910), Joaquín Bueso (1910-1911), Andrés Cuadro (for a second stint), Manuel Andreu (1915-16, before he resigned when accused of pursuing a nationalist policy line) and Borovio. When Pestaña joined the editorial team in 1917, the newspaper (which also included Negre, Puerto, Jordán and Godayol) had fallen into some disrepute (being boycotted even by some CNT unions) and was selling only 3,500 copies; Pestaña shook things up and gave it a clearer line as well as - at some risk - pushing a big campaign against Bravo Portillo, all of which boosted sales to 17,000 copies. In May 1922, when it became impossible to publish in Barcelona, it was removed to Valencia under the direction of Alaiz, with Viadiu, Abella, Quílez, Calleja, Amador, Seguí, Caracena as editors and contributors. It was shut down by Primo de Rivera only to reappear on 31 August 1930 (in accordance with a resolution by a Catalan regional plenum of unions that May), with support funding from libertarians in Manresa and with its own presses, under the editorship of Juan Peiró, with Massoni as manager and Foix, Carbó, Magre and Clará on the editorial panel, achieving average

daily sales (having gone daily in 1916) of 26,000 copies. When the feud erupted between treintistas and faístas, there was hot competition for control of the paper; in September 1931 a Catalan regional plenum of unions gave the victory to the radicals and Alaiz took over as editor: he was succeeded by José Corbella, Liberto Callejas and others (undergoing seven changes of manager between September 1931 and November 1932).

During the civil war, it was run by Liberto Callejas, Jacinto Toryho and José Viadiu (who was its last director before it was driven underground by Franco's victory), achieving sales of 220,000 copies (the biggest selling newspaper in Spain).

Its most troublesome time was during the republic, as the authorities intervened regularly following the faísta-treintista squabbles: whole editions were impounded or suspended (when Villar was editor it was suspended for 104 days at one go and the impounding of issues was repeated under Abad and Gilabert), necessitating its temporary replacement by Solidaridad. Up until the defeat in 1939, large numbers of prestigious militants passed through its editorial panels: Peirats, Ascaso, Viñas, Castellá, Marianet, etc. Being the mouthpiece of the Catalan CNT, it mirrored all of the events of any note that affected the Confederation and, given the hold it exercised over CNT personnel, it was the object of much ferocious competition.

After the 1936-1939 war, it resurfaced repeatedly as a clandestine publication from 1942 onwards: it appeared regularly as a monthly up until June 1947, and then fitfully until at least 1955 (No 40, August 1955) and again after that (one issue appeared in Madrid in 1961 under the aegis of Ismael Rodríguez's national committee). In the 1940s, its directors were Mariano Lasasús and Aiguaviva and it championed the collaborationist line of the CNT of the interior.

When Franco died, it reappeared in 1976, publishing sometimes monthly and sometimes weekly, as the organ of the Catalan CNT, its quality varying wildly and its management changing often (over a hundred issues were published up to 1982).

3. - A news-sheet described as the "Organ of the Confederals and

Libertarians of the Unión Nacional and its Guerrilla Brigades". Nothing to do with the libertarian movement, it was pro-PCE and appeared in France following the defeat of the Nazis.

4. - Algiers, 1944-46, organ of the MLE in North Africa. Published also in Oran, it was brought out by Isabel del Castillo, Pérez Burgos, Puyol, Herrea and Muñoz Congost. Took an anti-collaborationist and orthodox line.

5. - Mexico 1942-1960 (off and on), mouthpiece of the CNT emigrés in Mexico. Run by Viadiu. The first newspaper of the title to surface in exile.

6. - Paris 1944-1961. Appeared as the mouthpiece of the XI Region. Anti-collaborationist and anti-Communist. Attained sales of 20,000 copies, falling to 6,000 in the 1950s. Started off on 24 September 1944 as the weekly/fortnightly and lawful mouthpiece of the CNT exiles (having been published underground in 1942-43): from 1954 on it carried a monthly Supplement launched by Gómez Peláez. In November 1961 it was wound up under pressure from the Francoists and (after a few attempts to circumvent the banning order, such as reappearing as Solidaridad, Boletín CNT or Boletín) its place was taken by Le Combat Syndicaliste (Still publishing in 1982). Through its editorial team have passed, at one time or another, Montuenga, Freire, Joan Ferrer, Fernando Gómez, Cánovas Cervantes and Casanova. Prominent among its contributors and editors were Endériz, García Birlán, García Gallo, García Pradas, Puyol, Leval, Viadiu, Patán, Baldó, Borraz, Camacho, Ilde, Alaiz, Carbó, Galindo, Gracia, Samblancat, A. Ferreras, Alcón, Casellas, Parra, Volga, etc. It was the most important CNT mouthpiece among the orthodox wing of the exile community in France, along with Espoir-CNT.

7. - Gijón, 13 November 1909 to 24 December 1910, 32 issues. Organ of the Federation of Gijón Labour Societies. Director: Emilio Rendueles and Pedro Sierra, with Viñas as administrator: contributions from Quintanilla, Lorenzo, Mella and Prat. Resurfaced later in two separate incarnations: a) in 1916 under the editorship of V. Fernández and Marcelino Suárez, as the Organ of the Gijón CNT workers' federation and b) 1918-1926, with a print-run of up to 10,000 copies, run by González Mallada, Buenacasa and Francisco

Fernández.

8. - Bilbao, 1918, under direction of Antonio Pena.

9. - La Coruña, 1924-25, weekly, under the direction of Suárez Duque and Ricardo García. Organ of the Galician CNT. Later also in Compostela, under Ezequiel Rey. Reappeared in La Coruña in 1931-34 and in 1936.

10. - Valencia, Organ of the CNT of Levante, 1930-36. Published in Alcoy for a time.

11. - Huelva, organ of the CNT's Huelva unions, 1930.

12. - Seville, 1920, organ of the Andalusian CNT. Took a syndicalist line. Fortnightly.

13. - Valencia, 1981-82, organ of the breakaway CNT (Valencia Congress), 10 issues.

14. - Madrid, 1920.

15. - Vigo, 1920.

16. - Bilbao, 1920.

17. - Mouthpiece of the Galician CNT, clandestine, 1947.

112. EL PRODUCTOR. Title of several anarchist and revolutionary syndicalist papers.

1. - Barcelona, initially a daily (up to No 31), then weekly. from 1 February 1887 to 21 September 1893. Anarcho-communist. Editors included Lorenzo, Esteve, Gomis, Lluñas, Sentiñón, Urales, Pellicer and Adrián del Valle.

Articles by Reclus, Proudhon, Cafiero, Bakunin, Azorín, Alvarez, Clemens, Nieva, Gener, Tárrida, Boix, Mella, Büchner, Cruz, Castilla, etc., as well as a variety of workers' and anarchist manifests. 369 issues published.

It resurfaced in Barcelona-Gracia in 1901 to 1904, under Bonafulla and with the support of Teresa Claramunt, with contributions from López Montenegro, Alarcón, Mir, Estruch, G. Fernández, Mella, Allado, Vidal, Acracio Progreso, Montfort, Claramunt, Tárrida, Pahissa, Torralvo, Prat, etc. 122 issues in all.

It reappeared then in 1905-06, publishing 48 issues, with texts from Rull, Mas Gomeri, Onteniente etc.

One of the most celebrated classic anarchist reviews. As for its launch, it seems that the plan was to publish it in Valencia as an anarcho-collectivist daily with help from the La Regeneración workers' circle and Spain's collectivists, but in the end it appeared in Barcelona, in close association with the editors of Acracia.

2. - Anarcho-syndicalist newspaper published in Blanes (and, from December 1925, in Barcelona). It appeared on 7 November 1925 and lasted until April 1926 when it was suspended by Primo de Rivera. Initially the intention had been that it would be published as *El Libertario*. A weekly, it attained a print run of 5,000 copies. Founded by Buenacasa with direct support from the Spanish group at *La Protesta* (especially Abad de Santillán). Its aim was to bolster anarchism within the CNT in order to counter the syndicalist onslaught. Its editorial team included Patricio Navarro, Alberola, Adelantado, Domínguez, Suñé, Gisbert, Miguel Jiménez, Labrador, Ròsquillas, Sesé, Vázquez, Miguel Chueca, Peñacorada, Blas, Royo and Ruiz de Galarreta. Contributions from Santillán, Ghiraldo, Treni, Malatesta and Makhno.. It resurfaced momentarily in 1930 (June-July).
3. - Seville 1919. Weekly published by Sánchez Rosa. Reappeared in July 1920 (up until October). Took an anarchist line hostile to the CNT (reflecting Sánchez Rosa's problems with the syndicalists in the Andalusian CNT).
4. - Onteniente, 1905 and 1936-38.
5. - La Coruña 1896, 5 issues.
6. - Tarragona 1923, under the direction of H. Plaja.
7. - Canaries, 1921.

113. EL PRODUCTOR LITERARIO. Weekly newspaper, Barcelona, 24 February 1906 to 12 January 1907, 45 issues. An anarchist paper in the Nietzschean tradition and of a very high literary merit, targeting anarchism's intellectualised minority. Contributions from Azorín, Coca, Ibsen, Gener, Torralvo, Unamuno, Dorado, Camba, Onteniente, Insúa and others.

114. MELLA CEA, Ricardo. La Gamboa 1861-Vigo 1925.

A hat-maker's son and the oldest of four children, he attended school from 1867 to 1873 and by 1877 was a member of the federal republican party, as well as its secretary in Vigo from early on. He worked for a shipping agency and took an interest in journalism (one that he retained all his life) and founded *La Verdad*. He left for Madrid only to return to Vigo in 1880 and found the federalist weekly *La Propaganda* (1881) which mirrored his shift from federalism into anarchism and which had a telling impact upon tipping the working class of the area in the anarchist direction. From 1881 on he was coming to prominence in Vigo when he was charged with insulting the cacique Elduayen; brought to trial, he was forced to move to Madrid, where he became closely linked with Serrano Oteiza (marrying one of his daughters) whom he had met at the congress in Seville in 1882 (which he attended on behalf of the Vigo local federation). Encouraged by Oteiza, he embarked upon a study of surveying and drank deeply of anarchist theory and completely abandoned the republicanism of his youth. In 1883 he began to make a name for himself as an anarchist writer in *La Revista Social* and also served on the panel that determined that Iglesias should be expelled from the FRE. He embraced the anarcho-collectivist line, a doctrine that called for common ownership of natural and social assets and freedom to use the land, the soil, the sea, machinery or the major instruments of labour, the railways etc., but advocated private ownership of the products churned out by the individual or group. In 1884, with Alvarez, he translated Bakunin's *God and the State* and the following year he entered two essays for the Reus symposium ('Differences between Communism and Collectivism', plus the one on emigration), rejecting libertarian communism and admitting to a libertarian socialism (which he described as: all men require an indefinite degree and form of physical and mental development and all are entitled to have this need met in full and freely through cooperation or voluntary community). In 1887, he worked in Andalusia as a surveyor and developed a great fondness for the region, where he launched newspapers, was an active propagandist and acquired

considerable prestige: that same year, his essay on emigration was published in Barcelona along with one entitled 'The Reaction in the Revolution: Communism defended from Communists'). In the ensuing years he was to publish many pamphlets and in 1888 launched *La Solidaridad* in Seville (it was a collectivist bulwark). Within a year he was coming around to Lum's mutualist collectivist variant, whilst rejecting the economic dogmatism of the anarchists, only to settle for Tárrida del Mármol's anarchism plain and simple (*sin adjetivos*) to which he was to subscribe right up until the end of his days. In 1889 he presented a paper to the Reus symposium and founded *La Alarma*. At this time he felt very much consumed by the widespread rebellion in pugnacious Andalusia and held lots of meetings. In 1894 he wrote a sharp retort to Lombroso's theses and translated Malatesta; the next year, he returned to Vigo and within two years was in Pontevedra working on the building of the railway and joining with his friend Prat to write against the repression in Barcelona and involving himself in the victims' defence campaign. In 1899 he published his famous pamphlet 'The Law of Numbers', debunking electoralism and parliamentarism: in 1900 he was the Spanish delegate to the international anarchist congress in Paris and in 1901 he moved to Asturias (to Sarriego) and wrote for *Natura*: shortly after that he gave up on anarchist activism, irritated by the prevailing Jacobinism; he picked up again years later in 1909 and denounced such Jacobinism from the pages of *Tribuna Libre*, *Solidaridad Obrera* (of Gijón) and other papers. In 1910 he settled in Vigo (where he was to become a well-known figure as director of the tram company) and wrote for *Acción Libertaria* and *El Libertario*, translated Kropotkin and published pamphlets such as *Matters Educational* (putting the case for a neutral schooling rather than Ferrer's approach). When the Great War broke out he sided with the Entente powers and after 1916 drifted apart from anarchism again as Jacobinism experienced a revival. After his death, work began on publication of his collected works, two volumes of which were to come out (in 1926 and 1934), prepared for publication by Prat and Quintanilla.

Mella is one of Spanish anarchism's most brilliant theorists whose extensive oeuvre is characterised by its moderation and its enduring influence over the Asturian CNT. He used many pen names (Raúl, Mario, Doctor Allen..) and many of his ideas have withstood the test of time: in addition, he coined expressions still common currency to this day (e.g. beyond the ideal there is always another ideal). He published in very many newspapers including *La Anarquía*, *Bandera Roja*, *La Idea Libertaria*, *El Productor*, *Tierra y Libertad*, *La Revista Blanca*, *La Solidaridad*, *Natura*, *Ciencia Social*, *El Rebelde*, *La Protesta*, *Acción Libertaria*, *El Porvenir del Obrero*, *El Libertario*, *El Corsario*, *Fraternidad*, etc. Author of: *El Socialismo Anarquista* (Madrid 1898), *Táctica Socialista* (Madrid 1900), *La Cooperación Libre y los Sistemas de Comunidad* (1900), *La Bancarrota de la Creencias*, *El Anarquismo Naciente* (Valencia 1903), translated from the English, and wrote an introduction to Kropotkin's *La Ciencia Moderna y el Anarquismo*, *Cuestiones Sociales* (Valencia 1912), *Plumazos* (La Coruña 1912), *Cuestiones de la Enseñanza* (Madrid 1913), *El Ideal Anarquista. Su Significación Filosófica y su Significación Práctica* (Jérez 1915), *Las Grandes Obras de la Civilización* (Jérez 1915), *Por la Anarquía* (Barcelona 1916), *Mirando hacia el Futuro* (Buenos Aires 1925?), *Episodios de la Miseria. El Hambre* (Seville 1888), *El Problema de la Emigración en Galicia* (Barcelona 1885), *Diferencias entre el Comunismo y el Colectivismo* (Reus 1885), *La Anarquía*, *Breves Apuntes sobre las Pasiones Humanas*, *La Nueva Utopía*, *El Colectivismo, sus Fundamentos Científicos*, *El Crimen de Chicago* (all Barcelona 1890), *Entre Anarquistas. Diálogos* (Madrid 1891), *Sinopsis Social: la Anarquía, la Federación y el Colectivismo* (Seville 1891), *La Coacción Moral* (1893), *Lombroso y los Anarquistas* (Barcelona 1896), *Le Socialisme en Espagne* (Paris 1897), *La Ley del Número* (Vigo 1899), *La Barbarie Gubernamental en España* (with Prat, 1897), *Del Amor. Modo de Acción y Finalidad Social* (1900), and some poetry *De la Playa a la Montaña* (Ideario 1926). A supporter of collectivism, he embraced the literary anarchism of Azorín and, like the radical anti-authoritarian that he was, he opposed anarchist Jacobinism; he believed in the potential of minorities and in the individual

versus the herd, and, although no great enthusiast for organisation, he welcomed the birth of the CNT. He championed a neutral education against Ferrer and was opposed to regionalism; he was a believer in personal revolution and repudiated slavery, preferring education and integral training. In his view, social progress was the fruit of the individual's rebellion against the herd; hence his rejection of the law of the will of the majority (he hoped to see the herd turned into a community of individuals and to create a society in which man would be the God-King). Then again, he took the view that man is neither naturally good nor naturally evil, that it all depends on the example set him (goodness lies in the central concern for truth); nor did he look upon passion as a negative thing. The evil lay in its being corrupted and in its context (authoritarian society) and he considered himself an atheist (because of his anti-authoritarianism); he rejected the social contracts of Hobbes and Rousseau, contrasting it with moral and social coercion or public spiritedness. Yet he was only partly a believer in the revolutionary spirit of the masses (hence his advocacy of minorities); he set out his theory of the free contract (the struggle against capital and the State, wherein one's methods have to be tailored to circumstances, but he condemned terrorism) and embraced the threefold great objective of equality, freedom and solidarity; hence his opposition to private property.

115. VALENCIA, FRE CONFERENCE, 1871. This replaced the scheduled congress and, because of the tide of repression, met in secret in Valencia from 10 to 18 September. It was attended by 13 delegates (including Alonso Marselau, Montoro, Mesa, Farga, Bargalló..) representing 11 local federations, plus Mora and Lorenzo, who were representing the federal council. The conference concluded with a debate against academics from the university. The resolutions passed were: 1. - To reorganise the FRE into five comarcas (north, south, east, west and central). 2. - The expression "democratic federal republic" was defined as meaning "collective ownership, anarchy and economic federation". 3. - Individual dues would be lowered, federations of related trades set up, the local federations' fighting funds

done away with, and costs (incurred by illness, unemployment, blacklisting, harassment, schooling and cultural expenditure) would be shared. 4. - A congress would be held in Zaragoza. 5. - A delegate would be sent to the London international conference and was to bring along a report drafted by Farga, Mora and others. 6. - A new federal council was elected; it had its base in Madrid and it would be made up of: Iglesias, Pauly, Mesa, Pagés, F. and A. Mora, Calleja, Sáenz and Lorenzo.

116. SABATÉ LLOPART, Francisco. Alias Quico. Hospitalet de Llobregat 1915-San Celoni 1960. Died in a clash with the Somatén and the Civil Guard.

At the age of seven, his parents put him in the Durán home in Barcelona, from which he escaped and made his way home. He worked in a plumber's supply workshop and joined the CNT in his home town before the republic was proclaimed. Around 1932 he began his sometimes blurred oscillation between crime and idealism, joining the Los Novatos action group and joining the FAI: he was involved in the uprising in December 1933. The following year he was sent to prison. In 1935 he was declared a draft-dodger and was involved in a bank robbery to bolster prisoner defence funds. In August 1936 he served on the Aragon front with the Los Aguiluchos column, fought in the ranks of the Ascaso Division and with the 25th Division: he was involved in clashes with the Communists and was obliged to desert in Teruel and flee to Barcelona where he helped free some anarchist prisoners; arrested in connection with the death of the Stalinist Ariño, he was jailed in Barcelona and later in Vich from where he shot his way free of the Carabineros; he joined the 26th Division and served with it up until the end of the civil war. In February he crossed the border into France and wound up in the Vernet camp; in December he was sent to a gunpowder factory in Angoulême and, after the Germans overran France, to a gas plant. He was active with the anti-Nazi guerrillas and in 1943 was living in the Perpignan area (and may have visited Barcelona), studying the border and working in the countryside. After the CNT's 1945 congress,

Sabaté was one of the people who responded with most alacrity to the CNT's call for the fight against Franco to be stepped up: in 1945 he carried out robberies with Parés, moving weapons and releasing prisoners in Catalonia, along with setting up a sprawling support network. In 1948 he was sentenced in France (in absentia) to a three year jail term for smuggling arms; in 1949 he made contact with the Los Maños group in Barcelona and together they prepared a (failed) attempt on the life of Quintela. Together with Facerías's group he launched an intensive campaign in the lead-up to Franco's visit to Barcelona. In June 1949 he was arrested in France and served nearly a year in prison (in Montpellier), during which time Franco's police dismantled the network he had established in Catalonia. At the start of 1955 he launched the Grupos Anarcosindicalistas (which were disowned by the CNT-in-exile) and fought in Barcelona with weapons and propaganda materials; in 1956-57, these groups were smashed (with 42 arrests made in Catalonia) and Sabaté wound up in jail in Montpellier (for eight months). He returned to Spain in 1959 with Miracle, Conesa, Madrigal and Ruiz, but they were ambushed on the border and the wounded Sabaté escaped, but was gunned down in San Celoni on 5 January 1960.

Sabaté is, without doubt, the most famous of the anti-Franco urban guerrillas. Generally, he was acting in conformity with the CNT's rules, except for 1955-56 when he came in for harsh criticism. Strictly a man of action, he carried on with the struggle even when he knew that things were hopeless.

117. SALVAT-PAPASSEIT Juan. Barcelona 1894-1924.

Author prominent in Spanish- and especially Catalan- language literature. As the orphaned son of a stoker, he entered a naval home up until the age of 13 when he began work at a variety of trades. In 1911 he made the acquaintance of Eroles who introduced him to the world of books and literature and put him in touch with Garcés. Around 1916 he was living in poverty, working as a harbour watchman. Later he ran the literature section

of some stores and an antique stall in Sitges, while publishing articles (signed with the nom de plume of Gorkiano) of a pronounced anarcho-syndicalist tone. In 1917 he launched the review *Un Enemic del Poble* (a paper of spiritual subversion) in which he published his op-ed items (giving his views of all sorts of matters). In 1919 he was in Barcelona with Manent, López Picó and Millás and contributed to the review *Marvella*, whilst turning into one of the most outstanding representatives of an avant-garde with a highly accentuated social message and inimical to aestheticism (see the *Manifiesto contra los poetas en minúscula*, 1920) and emphasising the youth theme and the theme of boyhood heroes such as the pirate or the clown. His literary oeuvre (he was essentially a poet) blended avant-gardism with a rebelliousness derived from his social origins, with an additional dash of Ibsen, Gorky, Nietzsche, and others added. Author of: *Humo de Fábrica* (1917), *Poemes en Hondes Hertzianes* (1919), *L'Irradiador del Port i les Gavines* (1921), *Les Conspiracions* (1922), *La Gesta dels Estels* (1922), *Poema de la Rosa als Llavis* (1923) and *Ussa Menor* (1925).

118. SENTIÑÓN, Gaspar. Died in Barcelona 1903.

Catalan doctor who studied in Vienna, Belgium and Germany over a six year period. In August 1869 he turned up as a member of the Geneva section of the Alliance and that same year was a delegate to the Basle congress on behalf of the Barcelona Federal Centre. He attended the Barcelona congress in 1870 and was the administrator of *La Federación* (leading to his being imprisoned in 1871); at around the same time, in Barcelona, he founded a free-thinkers' club (*La Luz*) and flirted with Almirall's Catalanist line of argument. Around 1873 he drifted away from the International and from anarchist circles, although he did contribute to *El Productor*. Throughout those years he corresponded with Jawlovsky, Eccarius, Becker, Engels and Varlin and was a close friend of Bakunin and the lynch-pin of the Spanish Alliance. An affable and highly cultured man, he wrote for *La Federación*, *El Productor* and *La Humanidad*, translated Kropotkin and Büchner and wrote a book on cholera, *El Cólera y su*

Tratamiento (Barcelona 1883).

119. MIRANDA CONCHA, Francisco. Anarchist enjoying great prestige in the early years of the 20th century. Seems to have been born in 1869 and usually lived in Barcelona; he was Anselmo Lorenzo's stepson and served as his companion. It looks as if he took part in the propaganda tour through Andalusia in October 1902; he is credited with membership of the strike committee during the Tragic Week (though this is not certain) and in any case was obliged to flee Spain in August 1909. Following the resurrection of the CNT in 1915, he was assistant secretary of the first national committee; in 1917-18 he was its secretary and, shortly before that, he attended the congress in El Ferrol (1915). During the 'teen years of the century he was frequently involved in rallies and propaganda tours (such as the nationwide excursion of 1918), and was active in strikes (a member of the Barcelona strike committee in August 1917, was arrested over the La Canadiense strike, arrested over the 1911 strike, and took part in pro-amnesty meetings in 1916 and 1917). A very determined character, he was regularly imprisoned and was an outstanding public speaker; his fondness was for matters relating to anarchy, rationalism and Ferrer's teachings (he was an enthusiastic promoter of the books of the Modern School. Wrote for *El Porvenir del Obrero* and had letters published in *El País* and *El Progreso*).

120. MARTÍNEZ PRIETO, Horacio. Bilbao 1902-

Construction worker who came late to the CNT because he considered himself a pure anarchist; subsequently, he was to be the most outstanding representative of pro-political, reformist revisionism within the CNT. During the Primo de Rivera dictatorship he spent some time in Paris (1925-26) where, it seems, he opposed García Oliver's case for the formation of a revolutionary alliance against the dictator. His influence began to become apparent under the republic: in 1932 he was on the editorial staff of CNT (and visited Russia that year), vice-secretary of the CNT national committee in 1934 and secretary in 1936 (after eight months spent in prison in Bilbao),

until he resigned the post at the end of that year. The outbreak of civil war had found him in Bilbao and he was the CNT representative in the Vizcaya provincial defence committee (with responsibility for health matters) until he departed for Barcelona, at which point he set in motion an ambitious plan to get the CNT to commit to the republican government: first, at the national plenum of CNT regionals on 28 September 1936, and later at another national plenum of regionals (which he had summoned off his own bat) in October which accorded him powers to arrange for CNT entry into the republican government (he had talks with Largo Caballero and Azaña), which he did. At a national plenum of regionals in November 1936 he was labelled a traitor and liquidationist, but within a month was director of trade with Juan López. In December 1937 he headed the CNT delegation to the extra-ordinary congress of the IWA and there put the case for governmentalism. In April 1938 he was under-secretary for health under Blanco and in October, at a national plenum of regionals, he put the case for the FAI to be turned into a political party (a thesis he had previously argued in the review *Timón*), whilst issuing a call for apoliticism to be jettisoned, condemning Kropotkin and inclining towards philo-marxism and reformism: a short time previously, he had chaired the committee of liaison with the Stalinist UGT and that same year he pressed for the opening of negotiations with Franco. He was also a member of the CAP (Policy Advisory Committee), but, curiously, he was against the creation of the García Oliver-ist Executive Committee in April 1938 (and the war was scarcely over before he was opposing the POT, on the grounds that it was "ill-timed"). After the defeat he was a nominal member of the MLE General Council set up in 1939 and stuck to his emphatically collaborationist line: he supported the Luque motion in 1946-47, served as a minister in Giral's government-in-exile in 1945, etc. His trajectory culminated in his proposal that a political party be launched; he signed its manifesto on 23 January 1948. It drew little response and this to all intents placed him on the outside of the libertarian movement: thereafter he was regarded for the most part as a former libertarian.

The arguments invoked by Prieto to justify joining the republican government were: that there was no way of imposing libertarians' wishes on the republican zone for want of psychological preparation, they were not in a position to win the war, there was the foreign opposition to the anarchist revolution, the revolution's gains had to be defended, the people dearly wanted anti-Francoist unity.. That such arguments should have cut any ice with influential strata within the CNT speaks volumes for the CNT personnel of the time and accounts for the CNT's compliance with dereliction of principles (and for layabouts' appetite for the trappings of rank): Prieto was merely the rigger in this process of degeneration. for it has to be obvious that his arguments would have made no headway had he not had supporters and met with complicit silences. Authors of:

Anarcosindicalismo. Cómo Hacemos la Revolución (1933), Facetas de la URSS (Santander 1933), Los Problemas de la Revolución Española (1933), Los Problemas de la Revolución Española (1933), Anarquismo Relativo. Crítica de los Hechos y Sugestiones Revisionistas (Mexico 1948), El Anarquismo Español en la Lucha Política (Paris 1946), Posibilismo Libertario (1966), Semblanza y Personalidad de Galo Díez (unpublished), Gobierno Vasco. Algunos Antecedentes para el Libro Blanco de Euskadi-Norte CNT (unpublished), Marxismo y Socialismo Libertario (Paris 1947), El Movimiento Libertario y sus Necesidades (Paris, undated), Problemas Planteados en la Casa CNT-FAI de Barcelona el 6-1-1938 (unpublished).

By the way, his son César M. Lorenzo's book, *Los Anarquistas Españoles y el Poder*, is nothing more than an apology for his father's handiwork and a protracted plea for a politicised CNT.

121. LOREDO, Antonio.

Spanish anarchist whose activities took place in the River Plate nations as well as Spain. Around 1902 he was a member of the barbers' union in Argentina and was prominent in the press; the likelihood us that he was deported to Montevideo in 1905 and expelled from Argentina in 1909, in which year he turned up in Catalonia; he was director of *Tierra y Libertad*

and was imprisoned in Tarrasa (in connection the Barcelona strike that July). In the teen years of the century he spread anarchism through the hinterland of Córdoba (Canete, Bujalance..). In 1915 he attended the El Ferrol congress and was involved in the propaganda tour on behalf of the Cenicero prisoners and died a short while after that in Logroño. One of the finest writers and public speakers of his day, he was highly cultivated and had an interest in education and was firmly against the presence of socialists in Solidaridad Obrera. He was a member of the 4 de Mayo anarchist group and wrote for Tierra y Libertad and Solidaridad Obrera.

122. EL LIBERTARIO. Title of several periodical publications.

1. - Quality Asturian anarchist newspaper. It appeared on the strength of a donation made to Mella by Panamanian anarchists. Mella entrusted the venture to Quintanilla, Sierra and Machargo. It appeared in Gijón from 10 August 1912 to 12 April 1913. 35 issues. Later, it was transferred to Madrid (like Acción Libertaria). It carried texts from Mella and Benavente..

2. - Caracas, 1959.

3. - Barcelona 1901. Anarchist.

4. - Madrid 1909, 6 issues. Texts by V. García.

5. - Madrid 1923.

6. - Blanes 1923. Anarchist.

7. - Madrid 1932, anarchist weekly.

123. DAMIANO GONZÁLEZ. Cipriano. Comares (Málaga) 1916.

Active from a very early age. By the time of the collapse of the Málaga front, he had already served three years in prison. He co-founded the reviews Faro (1936) and Nervio (the 127th Brigade newspaper). He lived through the civil war and after the defeat was in the port of Alicante: he endured the concentration camps of Almendros and Albaterra, imprisonment in Valencia and in the fortress of Gardeny and served with the labour battalions across Spain, the last one in Tudela de Duero (punctuated with escapes and attempted escapes). Convicted several times over, he saw the

inside of the prisons of Barcelona, Madrid, Segovia, Málaga, Guadalajara, Jaén and Palencia. His popularity is down to his activities during the post-civil war years; he was vice-secretary of Vallejo's national committee of the underground CNT (1949), and secretary from 1951: arrested in 1953, he was sentenced to 15 years in prison. On his release he left for France; later, he returned and took over the CNT national committee following the capture of Calle, during the Cincopuntista period; he opposed the Cincopuntistas (and published the review *Panorama*) and was again captured by the police (1970) and served several years in prison (being released towards the end of 1973). When the CNT was reorganised after Franco's death, and following the bickering at the Casa de Campo congress, he appears to have sided with the breakaways. In 1982 he served on the editorial board of *Polémica*. During his rather eventful life he used a number of aliases, including Segundo Canillo, El Niño, Cigadón, Devenir, Paco, León, Antonio González, and Yayo. Author of: *La Resistencia Libertaria, 1939-1970* (Barcelona 1978), based largely on Juanel's book.

124. ÁLVAREZ, Ernesto.

Valladolid anarchist occupying a position of the first magnitude in the late 19th century libertarian press. His work was essentially done in Madrid (he was one of the leading lights of Madrid anarchism) where he was friendly with Serrano Oteiza. It seems that Pío Baroja offers a fictionalised portrait of him in *Aurora Roja*. He was a dogged campaigner for the eight hour day and was briefly imprisoned in connection with the planting of a petard in Cánovas's garden (1893). He died in 1903. He was an editor of *La Anarquía*, *La Bandera* and *La Idea Libre*, and was a contributor to *El Productor*, *Bandera Social*, *La Solidaridad*, *La Emancipación*, *El Condenado*, *El Orden*, *La Revista Social*, *La Protesta*, *Acracia*, etc., with articles on a wide variety of topics (anti-clerical, critical of the federal republicans, social articles). Together with Mella he translated Bakunin's *God and the State* and was the author of the first pamphlet published in the Iberian peninsula on the Chicago martyrs. Around 1891, he seems to have been very actively

involved in preparing the Madrid congress of the Pacto that year. Author of: ¡Siete Sentencias de Muerte; Proceso de los Anarquistas en Chicago. Juicio Crítico y Discursos PrOnunciados ante los Tribunales (Madrid 1887), Al Pueblo (Reus 1896), Espartaco: Bosquejo Histórico (Valladolid 1900, previously published in La Idea Libre).

125. GARCÍA PRADAS, José. Born in Quincoces de Yuso (Burgos) 1910. Even as a teenager in Valencia he had an early introduction to literary and political circles (he knew Max Aub and Civera) and was drawn to the CNT after a reading of Lenin (by whom he was revulsed). In Valencia in the 1930s he was the correspondent for La Tierra. Shortly before the civil war he moved to Madrid as an editor on La Tierra, a post he resigned because of ideological differences, to work as a hod-carrier; he joined the FAI (same group as Celedonio Pérez and Melchor Rodríguez) and belatedly joined the CNT (in February 1936). When the civil war began he became one of the lynch-pins of the Castilian CNT: he was to direct CNT and Frente Libertario, was a member of the Centre regional defence committee (with Del Val and Salgado), fought in Guadalajara and in the environs of Madrid and was also an important player in making the preparations for the anti-Communist gambit in March 1939 which was the subject of so much controversy later: during the civil war years he wrote a lot in favour of unity with the UGT and the antifascist Popular Front, and such writings earned him great prestige. Going into exile in March 1939, he lived in London for many years as an editor with BBC Radio and engaged in literary work (as a translator of Shakespeare). Famously he clashed with Leval and was very harshly critical of Martínez Prieto (the cause, he argued, of CNT collaborationism). He contributed articles to Solidaridad Obrera (Paris), Frente Libertario, España Libre, 14 División, Campo Libre, Construcción, etc. Author of: Teníamos que Perder (Madrid 1974), Tres Epístolas a Horacio (Algiers 1946), España, Colonia de su Ejército (Paris 1947), Rusia y España (Paris 1948), La Traición de Stalin. Cómo Terminó la Guerra de España (New York 1939), Bandera de Libertad (Madrid 1938), Guerra Civil (Vesoul 1947), Milicias

Confederales (Madrid 1938?), Antifascismo Proletario (Madrid 1938), Después de la Guerra (Madrid 1938), Frente Popular Antifascista y Alianza Obrera Revolucionaria (Madrid 1939), Meditaciones Independientes (Paris, no date), Revolución Proletaria? (Paris 1951), Pasado y Presente del Movimiento Obrero Español (no place, no date), Cómo Terminó la Guerra de España (Buenos Aires 1940), La Crisis del Socialismo (Paris 1957), Origen, Esencia y Fin de la Sociedad de Clases (Rennes 1948). Other works include: Los Rusos Vuelven, Tierra de Lobos, Al Pie de la Vera Cruz, Fabulillas de Tablado, En el Portal de Belén, Balada de Nochebuena, Leyenda del Pucará, Resón de la Araucana, Fray Tomás de San Martín, Romance del Conde Alarcos, La Revolución del Estado, Con el Sudor de su Frente, El Estado es un Clase, Tributo de Sangre, El Terror de Soso Khan, Nuestro Señor el Centauro, La Saeta Erbolada de Traición and Cuatro Cartas a Carbó.

126. ACCIÓN LIBERTARIA. Title of a number of periodicals.

1. - Asturian anarchist publication, Gijón, November 1910 to July 1911, 27 issues. Run by José Marchago. Banned and lacking a press of its own, it was moved to Vigo (September to November) where it was run by Mella and published 6 issues. In the end it was banned. It resurfaced in Gijón on 8 January 1915, lasting until 4 February 1916, assuredly under the direction of Quintanilla, for a total of 44 issues. Contributors included Sierra, Rovira, Mella, Lorenzo, Chueca, Grave, Ingenieros, Malatesta, Alomar, Salvochea, Maeztu, Fabbri and Cornelissen.. and it turned into one of the best newspapers of its day. It showed sympathy for CNT syndicalism. Its demise was down to ideological disagreements. Before it reappeared in Gijón, it had a further stint in Madrid, apparently with Sierra in charge, from 23 May 1913 to 22 January 1914, publishing 34 issues. (The Madrid phase is normally counted as part of the life-span of El Libertario).
2. - Organ of the MLE, Marseilles 1944-45.
3. - Libertarian Youth publication, Paris 1964.
4. - Zaragoza 1914.

5. - Mouthpiece of the CNT del Ebro (and later, Aragon), Zaragoza 1975-79, 26 issues.

6. - Organ of the CNT of Asturias-León-Palencia (and, formerly, of the North), Gijón-Oviedo, 1976, to date (1983). Monthly and bimonthly, 40 issues. After the split at the Fifth Congress, it aligned itself with the breakaways.

127. GALLEGO GARCÍA, Gregorio. Madrid 1916.

Attracted by sociological and literary matters he joined the CNT and the FIJL in 1933, coming to prominence because of his activism and holding numerous positions of responsibility. During the civil war he was an editor with Castilla Libre, contributing to like-minded newspapers and he fought in the Centre region (in Madrid, Guadalajara and Teruel). His fame grew in the post-civil war years after he had passed through the inevitable concentration camps and prisons, from which he was released in 1943. He then joined the underground struggle up until arrested in the winter of 1944-45 when he was secretary of the CNT of the Centre and a member of the underground national committee: he was sentenced to 30 years, serving 19 in Alcalá, El Puerto and Ocaña. Freed in 1963, and being disillusioned and with his cover 'blown', he succumbed to the importuning of the Francoists and got involved in the Cincopuntista episode. Later he turned to literature and worked for publishing houses. Author of: El Hachazo (Mexico 1966), La Maraña (1966), La Otra Vertiente (1972), Los Caínes (1973), Madrid, Corazón que se Desmaya (Madrid 1976), Hacia el Triunfo (Madrid 1937), and Las Juventudes Libertarias ante el Pueblo (Valencia 1937).

128, MARCO NADAL, Enrique. Valencia 1913.

Active in the rail union, he joined the Libertarian Youth under the republic and the CNT in 1931. Founder and secretary of the Valencia sub-section of the National Rail Industry Federation, he served on the Libertarian Youth's provincial committee at the time the civil war broke out. He fought in the ranks of the Iron Column and was the officer in charge of intelligence and

map-making with the staff of the 215th Mixed Brigade. When the war ended he was captured in Alicante and interned in Albaterra from where he managed to escape to France after four months (using forged permits). In Perpignan he was arrested by French gendarmes and taken to the Barcarés camp, which he left as a member of the 21st Foreign Volunteer Regiment and joined the very first Free French division fighting the Nazis in Egypt, Libya, Tunis, Italy and France; taken prisoner by the Germans (January 1945) in Polch, he was taken to the Langwasser camp, emerging after some months. In May 1945 he arrived in Paris and right after the split in the CNT in France he sided with those backing the CNT of the Interior (the collaborationists) and was greatly active in Poitiers (being secretary of that regional committee) and in Toulouse (secretary of the Levante natives' regional committee and a member of the national committee, which, at his suggestion, took the name of the Sub-Committee). During the first half of 1946, following the capture of Juanel, he volunteered to replace him inside Spain and set off immediately. He crossed the border clandestinely with the aid of Aransáez and made his way to Madrid via Pamplona. In Madrid he was elected to head the underground national committee (after Monllor stepped down) and from that position he did sterling work, mainly on bolstering the ANFD and working to unite all anti-Francoists (hence his contacts with monarchists and the monarchist generals Beigbeder and Aranda); he also scored significant success in boosting the CNT press and was in touch with the guerrillas in the northwest; he was captured by police while on a visit to Barcelona (April 1947), tried, sentenced and served rather more than 17 years in prison. With great integrity (in spite of the prospect of a heavy sentence), in 1947 he rejected Francoist overtures inviting him to collaborate with the dictatorship. In a thoughtless moment in 1965 he wound up directly implicated in Cincopuntismo, probably through weariness, disenchantment and differences of opinion with the exile community. When the CNT was reorganised in 1975-76 he returned to his old organisation and after the falling-out at the Fifth Congress he sided with the breakaways and wrote for their press. Author of: *Condenado a*

Muerte. Trozo Autobiográfico (Mexico 1966) and Todos Contra Franco. La Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democráticas 1944-1947 (Madrid 1982).

129. MOLINA MATEU, Juan Manuel. Known as Juanel. Born in Jumilla (Murcia) 1901.

Anarcho-syndicalist from 1915 in his native village, serving as secretary of its federation in 1917-18. In 1922 he deserted from the army and moved to Barcelona where he was active in trade unions and anarchist groups (he was to be a member of the CNT national committee and secretary of the anarchist groups' liaison commission) and wrote for the libertarian press. In 1926 he crossed into France where he was to be the general secretary of the Spanish-speaking anarchist groups; arrested there, he went on an odyssey through various prisons before being expelled: he then went to Brussels (where he was a member of the international anarchist defence committee) until he returned to Barcelona in 1930 and took up the secretaryship of the FAI, holding it until 1934 (save for a year when he was in jail). During the republic he ran and administered Tierra y Libertad and Tiempos Nuevos. Arrested on 19 July he was freed the same day and represented the libertarians on the Supply Committee and would later serve (up until May 1937) as Catalonia's under-secretary for defence; he refused the position of commissar with the army court martial and served as commissar with the army's X and XI Corps. Going into exile in 1939, he was very closely connected with Ponzán's groups and acted as delegate for the exterior on the underground national committee led by Pallarols, in which role he managed to get many victims of persecution out to France. Arrested on several occasions in 1940-43, he was one of the first to throw himself into rebuilding the CNT in France (attending the very first clandestine plenums) and was to be the first general secretary of the CNT in exile; he inclined towards the collaborationist line in the ascendant inside Spain and this placed him at the heart of the controversies of the day, when he turned into the *bête noire* of the orthodoxes. He declined reelection at the 1945 congress in Paris and, after the split, he sided with the Sub-Committee and

served as its delegate within Spain. He entered Spain in February 1946, becoming defence secretary on the clandestine national committee, as well as of the ANFD: arrested that April, he was sentenced to fifteen years of which he served several (1946-52) in Alcalá, San Miguel and Ocaña. On his release he moved to France and refrained for a time from active membership (although he never reneged upon his beliefs) up until 1976 when he bounced back, encouraged by the reconstruction of the CNT inside Spain. A battler, like his wife Lola Iturbe, many have seen him as the chief representative of the collaborationist line (the famous Juanel motion) between 1939 and 1945, and this brought him a lot of criticism from Esgleístas and purists: be that as it may, there is no denying his commitment to the CNT and he suffered a lot for the sake of anarchism and the CNT. He wrote for many publications, including *Redención*, *Tierra y Libertad*, *La Voz Libertaria*, *Acción Social Obrera*, *Cultura Obrera*, *Tiempos Nuevos*, *Historia Libertaria*, etc. Author of: *Noche sobre España. Siete Años en la Prisiones de Franco* (Mexico 1958), *La Insurrección Anarquista del 8 de Diciembre de 1934* (Barcelona 1934, with Villar and Abad de Santillán).

130. GRACIA IBARS, *Germinal*. Barcelona 1919.

Better known as Victor García. A member of the CNT's manufacturing union from 1933 and of the Libertarian Youth in Gracia. A self-educated activist and writer. His earliest writings appeared in *El Quijote* and in *Ruta*. When the civil war started he served with *Los Aguiluchos*, but after militarisation he quit the front and joined a collective in Cervià (Lérida) where he launched a Libertarian Youth branch and served on the Catalan regional committee of the Libertarian Youth. After the Ebro disaster he joined the 26th Division and, after he was wounded in Tremp, crossed into France where he passed through the concentration camps and the jails in Marseilles and Lyon; arrested in Dauphiné as a resistance member, he was jailed and placed in the Vernet camp, but managed to escape when they tried to ship him to Dachau. The liberation of France found him in Paris; he attended the CNT's 1945 congress and at the Toulouse plenum that April, he

joined the FIJL national committee; later he was administrator of *Ruta* and *Solidaridad Obrera* and served as the first secretary of the IJA (Anarchist Youth International) - hence his attendance at the congress in Faenza in July 1946 - and founded its (Esperanto) newspaper. Late in 1946 he slipped into Spain to back up the Libertarian Youth in the interior but was arrested and jailed (until mid-1948); while in prison he edited the bulletins *Esfuerzo* and *Acarus Scabieri*; on his release he managed to give the slip to a police trap, hid out in Montjuich and was assisted across the border by Denís. Of no further use to the struggle with his cover blown, he moved to Venezuela (where he would be the moving spirit behind *Ruta*) and toured the world, turning his hand to various trades (1953-58). A tireless militant and propagandist, he wrote a lot for like-minded newspapers and his writing is of a quality well above the usual; articles by him have appeared in *Gioventù Anarchica*, *Tierra y Libertad*, *Solidaridad Obrera* (Paris), *Le Combat Syndicaliste*, *Umbral*, *Historia Libertaria*, *Ruta*, *Frente Libertario*, *Le Libertaire*, *Umanità Nova*, *Volontà*, *La Protesta*, *Reconstruir*, *La Obra*, *Cuadernos de Ruedo Ibérico*, etc., and ran *Crisol* and *Ruta* (Caracas). He had a direct in-put into the (Spanish version) *Anarchist Encyclopaedia* and was the author of: *La Internacional Obrera* (Caracas 1964), *América Hoy*, *Cordenadas Andariegas. Panamá, México y Océano Pacífico*, *El Japón Hoy* (Buenos Aires 1960), *Escarceos sobre China* (Mexico 1962), *El Sudeste Asiático*, *La Incógnita de Indonesia*, *Proyección de Iberia en América* (Buenos Aires), *El Pensamiento Anarquista* (Toulouse 1963), *Raúl Carballeira* (Paris 1961), *Bakunin Hoy*, *Franco y el Quinto Mandamiento*, *Juicio contra Franco* (Caracas 1963), *El Vaticano*, *España Hoy* (Caracas 1962), *Las Utopías y el Anarquismo* (Mexico 1977), *Museihushugi, el Anarquismo Japonés* (Mexico 1977), *La FIJL en la Lucha* (with F. Alaiz).

131. PEIRATS VALLS, José. Born in Vall de Uxó, 1908.

From his boyhood he lived in Barcelona and his most common employment was as a tiler. Self-educated, he joined the CNT early on (in 1922) and under the republic was particularly active in anarchist groups and

libertarian youth and frequented the ateneos. During the civil war he clung to his beliefs and opposed collaborationism (from, say, the pages of Acracia) and his stewardship in charge of Ruta stuck to his familiar line (he had stepped down as an editor on Solidaridad Obrera because of his opposition to possibilism, and quit the FAI in 1934 - having been secretary of the Barcelona local federation - due to his disagreement with the system of majority rule and because he did not see eye to eye with the bolshevism of Los Solidarios..) From 1937 on he served on the Aragon front. After the defeat of the republic he crossed into France and in 1940 moved on to Santo Domingo and Panama (heading the exiled CNT there); after seven years he returned to France, still very much an orthodox and anti-collaborationist and was twice general secretary of the CNT (in 1947 and 1950) and was jailed following an anti-CNT campaign hatched by the government: it appears to have been the only secretary of the majority faction among the exiles who, in this capacity, made a clandestine entry of Spain: while in office he encouraged the establishment of anti-Francoist fighting groups: he was also director of CNT and Espoir. Following the reunification in 1960 he strayed from Esgleist orthodoxy and eventually joined the Frente Libertario groups, to whose newspaper he was one of the prime contributors. After Franco died, he took part in celebrated meetings in Spain and followed in the footsteps of the breakaways in 1979-1980. An anarchist very much in touch with the Libertarian Youth and the fight against Franco, a friend of Amador Franco and Alaiz and conversant with the ins and outs of the organisation .. his fame and prestige nevertheless derive essentially from his having written a crucial book on the CNT's feats during the civil war in 1936. He contributed to or was editor of many newspapers including Tierra y Libertad, Acción, Más Lejos, Cénit, Umbral .. Author of: La CNT en la Revolución Española (Toulouse 1951-53), Glosas Anarquistas (Barcelona 1932), Para una Nueva Concepción del Arte: Lo que Podría Ser un Cinema Social (Barcelona 1934), Quince Conferencias Breves (Mexico 1940), Los Anarquistas y la i (Montevideo, no date), La Práctica Federalista como Verdadera Afirmación de Principios (Paris 1964), Polémica

sobre el Determinismo y Voluntarismo (Mexico 1966), España, ¿ Transición o Continuidad? (Toulouse 1973), Figuras del Movimiento Libertario Español (Barcelona 1978), Emma Goldman, Anarquista de Ambos Mundos (Madrid 1978), Estampas del Exilio en América (Paris 1950?), Los Anarquistas en la Guerra Civil Española (Madrid 1976), Diccionario del Anarquismo (Barcelona 1977), Examen Crítico-Constructivo del Movimiento Libertario Español, La Sión Hispánica (Toulouse 1961), Mecanismo Orgánico de la CNT (1979), Los Anarquistas en la Crisis Política Española (Buenos Aires 1964), Los Intelectuales en la Revolución (Barcelona 1938).

132. GUARDIA ABELLA, Isidro. Valencia 1921.

An orphan , he was obliged from the age of ten to try his hand at several occupations and was self-educated. A member of the CNT catering union from the age of 14, he served during the civil war as a volunteer before passing through the French concentration camps: later he joined the underground resistance and was captured by police in June 1940 (when he was serving on the Valencia provincial committee of the MLE, with responsibility for organisation). Tried in 1941, he was sentenced to death, a sentence later commuted; released after 10 years behind bars (in San Miguel de los Reyes) it was while in prison that he started to write (publishing a CNT Boletín and running the Libertarian Youth newspaper, as well as operating as correspondent for the anarchist press abroad). He wrote for España Libre, Comunidad Ibérica, Frente Libertario, etc. He used a number of noms de plumes, including Codine, Juan Lorenzo, Viriato, and Juan Ibérico. Author of: Otoño de 1941 (Madrid 1977?) and Conversaciones con el Movimiento Obrero (Madrid 1978). As of 1978 he was director of a chemical firm and his views of anarchism and the CNT can be found in El Movimiento Libertario Español (Paris 1974).

133. ALVAREZ PALOMO, Ramón. Gijón 1913.

CNT and FAI militant, commonly known as Ramoncín. Regarded by himself as the depository of Quintanilla' moderate tradition (he wrote a biography

of Quintanilla), his record was very controversial and assessments of it very varied: more of a syndicalist than an anarchist, he wielded considerable influence in Asturias, among the exiles in France and during the 1970s. A member of the Solidaridad anarchist group (together with Blanco, Mallada and J.M. Martínez) he was jailed in connection with the Aragon uprising; he secretary of the Asturian CNT from 1933 up until the time of the Asturian Commune in 1934, at which point he was obliged to go into exile in France. He returned with the Popular Front victory in 1936, representing the CNT on the war committee in Gijón (August 1936) in the communications department, and the FAI on the Asturias-León Council (holding the fisheries portfolio, 1936-37). In November he was a Gijón city councillor. In 1938, at the national plenum of regionals in Barcelona, he argued on Asturias's behalf for consideration to be given to Prieto's proposal (that talks be opened with Franco). After the defeat of the republic, he went into exile in France where he helped reorganise the Confederation (as secretary in the Eure department); he attended the Paris congress in 1945, was secretary of the Asturias regional committee (sub-committee) and after the split, he held the secretaryship of the national sub-committee favourably disposed to the CNT of the Interior and was caught up in the business about the regionals by origin. As secretary of the national sub-committee he entered Spain irregularly in 1947 (attending a national plenum of regionals that April). Later, between 1957 and 1960 he returned to Spain to breathe new life into the CNT in Asturias. After Franco died he played a very direct part in the rebuilding of the CNT in Asturias and after the Casa de Campo congress, he sided with the breakaways, becoming an important leader of theirs in Gijón. He wrote for many publications including *Antena*, *Historia Libertaria* and *Acción Libertaria*, etc.. as well as the press outside Spain. An expert on the history of Asturian anarchism and its press. Author of: *Importancia y Futuro del Sindicalismo* (Mexico 1967), *Viejo y Nuevo. Idea y Realidades en la Historia* (Mexico 1967) and *Eleuterio Quintanilla (Vida y Obra del Maestro)*, (Mexico 1973).

134. TORYHO, Jacinto. Born in Tierra de Campos 1911.

From his early youth he was drawn to journalism and was a professional journalist. He attended a monastery school in León. wrote for numerous established newspapers from all over Spain (Norte de Castilla, La Gaceta Regional, El Adelantado, El Heraldito) and was a graduate of Herrera's school of journalism, leaving to become an editor with the (Catholic) newspaper El Debate, which paper he left as a result of ideological differences, to join the Madrid CNT: he helped set up the Libertarian Youth in Madrid. Under the republic he wrote for Solidaridad Obrera (being an editor and correspondent in 1933-34 and director in 1937-38). In 1934 he moved from Barcelona to Madrid to collect information on the Asturias revolution and launched the clandestine Revolución. During the civil war, he was the CNT representative on the CENU and the CNT-FAI's propaganda secretary. After the defeat, he moved to France and thence to New York, to Cuba (for several months), back to the United States (for several months) and to Buenos Aires (1941) where he settled and carried on with his profession of journalist in various publications (Crítica, La Nación. Clarín, La Razón). Author of: La Independencia de España (Barcelona 1938), Informe que el Camarada Jacinto Toryho.. como Director de S.O. (Barcelona, undated), Reportajes. La Libertad de Expresión en el Periodismo Contemporáneo (Barcelona 1934), La Hora de las Juventudes (Barcelona 1933), Después de la Tragedia.. La Traición del Señor Azaña (Havana 1939), Del Triunfo a la Derrota. Las Interioridades de la Guerra Civil en el Campo Republicano Revivida por un Periodista (Barcelona 1978), No Éramos tan Malos (Madrid 1975), Stalin. Análisis Espectral, Anverso y Reverso de la Unión Soviética, Joaquín Costa y la Revolución Española.

135. CHIAPUSO, Manuel. San Sebastián 1912.

CNT member from the age of 19. Served on the Basque regional CNT committee and on the CNT national committee in Barcelona during the civil war. Jailed under the republic (1931-35), he was the founder of the major anarchist newspapers in the Basque Country - Crisol (San Sebastián 1935),

CNT del Norte (Bilbao 1936) and the review Horizontes. During the civil war he distinguished himself in the defence of San Sebastián and, after he was wounded there he moved on to Durango and then to Bilbao (October 1936) to take up his post on the CNT regional committee; he himself supported the idea of entering the Basque government (and had talks with Aguirre in May 1937) but was unable to overcome the opposition (led by Rivera) and, as a result, the Basque CNT held to the orthodox line. After the defeat he passed through concentration camps in France and experienced lots of ups and downs; he fought in the French resistance and with anti-Francoists in the south of France (Bayonne and Toulouse); eventually he settled in the Paris area, studying at the Sorbonne and turning to the teaching of languages and literature. In exile he advocated the collaborationist position and even signed a document in support of a libertarian party in January 1948. Author of: *Las Incertidumbres del Doctor H* (a novel that was finalist for the Nadal prize), *Generalidades sobre Euskadi y la CNT* (Bayonne 1945), *Juventud y Rebeldía*, *Sembrando Inquietudes*, *El Impertinente Andariego*, *La Ciencia y el Joven Libertario*, *Délire et retrovisión*, *Los Anarquistas y la Guerra de Euskadi*. *La Comuna de San Sebastián* (San Sebastián 1977), *El Gobierno Vasco y los Anarquistas* (San Sebastián 1978), *Oposición Popular y Cárceles en la República* (San Sebastián 1980).

136. MUJERES LIBRES. Name of an anarchist organisation and of several publications.

1. - Anarchist feminist organisation set up in April 1936; it survived until Franco's victory (effectively disappearing from Spain in April 1939). Its origins lay with a group of women who published a review of the same name, designed to foster women's interest in social issues. The group was established by the trio Lucía Sánchez Saornil, Mercedes Comaposada and Amparo Poch, the first of whom served as the nascent organisation's secretary. It grew rapidly during the war to something like 20,000 members, most of them workers, especially in Barcelona, Madrid, Guadalajara, Aragon

and Levante, with groups scattered across Gijón, Granada and Almería. Its first congress in Valencia (beginning on 2 August 1937) determined the Mujeres Libres' structure and principles: it would be organised on the basis of local, provincial and regional groupings with a national committee assisted by a sub-committee of 6 secretaries (general, organisational, socio-political, economic and labour, social welfare and propaganda-cultural-press secretary), and it enshrined the principles of independence, self-management and federalism, abolition of the State, etc. Plainly anarchist, it regarded the civil war as more of a social than a civil conflict and pushed a proletarian feminism designed to lift women out of their triple slavery (as ignorant, producer and woman). It also sought to campaign for social equality for the individual of either sex and was against marriage (replacing it with free love in the correct sense) and stressed the value of education and culture (hence its establishment of training schools in Madrid, Valencia and Barcelona, publication of information pamphlets and literacy drives). It aspired to become the fourth arm of the libertarian movement (along with the CNT, FAI and FIJL) but met with no success in this, for most of the libertarian movement could not see the point (of organising on the basis of gender).

2. - Title of the mouthpiece of the Mujeres Libres organisation. Thirteen issues between 1936 and 1939. It showed an interest in culture, women's issues and the collectives. Carried writings by Nahuel, Sánchez Saornil, Montseny, Martí, Comaposada, Grangel, Poch, Portales, Goldman, Federn, Mary Giménez, etc.

3. - London, from 1963 on. Contributions from Lola Iturbe, Mera, Zimmerman.. The continuation in exile of the 1936 paper.

4. - Mouthpiece of Mujeres Libres. Barcelona 1977-1978, 4 issues. Regular.

137. TRAMONTANA. Title of several publications (some with the definite article included i.e. LA TRAMONTANA).

1. - Anti-clerical, partly anarchist publication. Barcelona, 12 February 1881 to 12 June 1895. Suspended several times and its editors were jailed.

Directed by José Llunas. A very prestigious weekly which seems to have been a replacement for La Teula Barcelonina. At least 717 issues printed and contributors included Conrado Roure, Federico Soler, Lasarte, Arús, Farigola, Carreras, Tonijuán and Serabé. In 1892 it also issued an Almanaque.

2. - Publication appearing in 1907 (1 August). Libertarian weekly from Barcelona, sub-titled "Sociología". Popular interests, arts and letters. Its last edition dates from October and was written in Spanish (the previous issues having been in Catalan). Run by Mas Gomeri, its editorial panel included Usón, J. Grau, Pujol and Masferrer. Connected with Cortiella's Avenir.

3. - Publication from 1913. Barcelona. Its first issue dates from 15 February and it appears to have published only three. Texts from Lorenzo, Pujalà and Folch. May well have been under the direction of Salvador Seguí and H. Plaja. Declared itself to be a follower of Llunas.

4. - Gerona 1979, single issue. Described as 'Periodic Ilibertari'.

138. - EL ORDEN. Title of several publications.

1. - Clandestine newspaper of the Spanish International. Madrid, monthly 1875-78, 65 issues. It appeared as a "Socialist propaganda and revolutionary action sheet". Compiled by González Morago and Serrano Oteiza. Highly influential, it faced hostility from the government which promised a reward to anyone who would give information concerning the whereabouts of its presses (of which Posyol was in charge).

There is a possibility that 12 to 15 issues appeared in 1876 elsewhere in Spain.

2. - Córdoba 1873-75. Appeared, clandestinely, in June and built up a large circulation that summer due to the workerist vigour of Barrado, which is why the FRE federal council was to ask its editors to turn it into the mouthpiece of the International. (Some people argue that it had earlier appeared in 1870).

139. ABAD de SANTILLÀN, Diego. Alias used by Baudilio Sinesio García Fernández, born in Reyero (León) 1897 into a family that emigrated to

Argentina in 1895.

From the age of 10 onwards in Argentina he tried his hand at a variety of jobs (especially on the railways) and attended night school. Returned to Spain to study for his baccalaureate (León 1913-14) and studied philosophy in Madrid where he struck up a friendship with Noel and turned to writing (for the review *Los Ciegos*, a pamphlet on Spain's entitlement to a revolution, and the book *Psicología del Pueblo Español*, 1917). Mixing in bohemian circles, he experienced jail (15 days) and shortly after that was caught up in the revolutionary events that led to his being jailed again; released under amnesty in 1918, he moved to Argentina where he threw himself into the anarchist movement (having come into contact with it in jail in Madrid through Tomás Herreros) in Santa Fe (where he founded the review *La España Futura*), contributing to the like-minded press and struck up friendships with Torralvo, López Arango, Barrera and Radowitzky (helping Torralvo and López Arango to publish *La Campana*). In 1919 he was back in jail (over a strike in Buenos Aires) and then he ran an anti-clerical weekly; an attempt to launch another review the following year failed and eventually he became an influential member of the *La Protesta* staff and of the FORA (in those days he admitted to being a Kropotkinist). In 1922 he left for Germany to study medicine and from there he carried on writing for *La Protesta* (and its *Suplementos*) and became very influential. In Hamburg and Berlin he associated with militant anarchists (Goldman, Arshinov, Berkman, Voline, Schapiro, Makhno, Ghezzi, Kater) and was in touch with Nettlau and Rocker (translating them both as well as Bakunin), busily assisting them in the re-launching of the IWA (attending the congresses in 1922 and 1924 and even coming up with the name). Through the *La Protesta Suplementos* he argued the purist line against those who he regarded as syndicalist reformists within the CNT and he was all for the establishment of a specifically anarchist organisation (the notion of the *trabazón*), an idea taken up by Buenacasa, Herreros, Magriñá and others who founded *El Productor* (in Blanes). With an eye to combating communists and reformists, he, with López Arango, wrote *El Anarquismo en*

el Movimiento Obrero (1925). In 1926 he returned to Argentina in an attempt to find a resolution to the hostilities that had broken out among the La Protesta team and he campaigned widely on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti. At the same time he had growing doubts about violence as a solution and was taking an interest in economic issues and constructive socialism. He had a hand in the founding of the ACAT (drafting its statement of principles in 1929) and encouraged the revolutionary line within the FORA. Uriburu's military coup (1930) drove him out of the country and after a time in Montevideo his eyes turned back to Spain. He arrived in Spain on the eve of the 1931 CNT congress, visiting Barcelona and then returning to Montevideo to conspire and then smuggle himself back into Argentina. He resurrected the FORA, laid the groundwork for a campaign on behalf of the exiles and then returned to Spain. He was back in Spain by mid-1933; he cautioned those who had placed all their hopes in the republic and opposed the treintistas; he was involved in the re-launching of Solidaridad Obrera, launched Tierra y Libertad and Tiempos Nuevos and tried without success to sell his economic ideas to the congress in 1936. When the fascist revolt came, he joined the Antifascist Militias' Committee in Barcelona (representing the FAI) on 21 July and later served on the Generalitat's Council of Economy (August) and as a Generalitat minister between December 1936 and March 1937: later, he was a member of the CAP. After May 1937 he was disillusioned, founded the review *Timón* (1938) and drifted towards H. Martínez Prieto's revisionist line. In January 1939 he left Spain, endured life in the concentration camps in France and, shortly before the end of the world war, moved on to Santo Domingo and then Chile, finally settling in Argentina for some decades; there he threw himself into tremendous academic work (as a translator and compiler of encyclopaedias). During this lengthy period in exile he subscribed to the collaborationist line and lapsed increasingly into a reformism bordering on Cincopuntismo, as was evident after he returned to Spain after Franco's death.

A globe-trotting anarchist of extraordinary influence in Spain and in the

Americas, a prolific writer whose articles are scattered throughout the libertarian press, as well as the author of a huge number of books and pamphlets (many of them crucial), Santillán was a contributor to La Protesta (being a major figure with that paper), Solidaridad Obrera, Tiempos Nuevos, Tierra y Libertad, Construir, Umbral, Sindicalismo, Historia Libertaria, Acción Social Obrera, Cultura Proletaria, Mañana, etc. Author of several bi-lingual dictionaries and encyclopaedias (Gran Enciclopedia Argentina, Gran Omega, Historia Argentina, Diccionario de Argentinismos, De Ayer en Hoy. etc.). His anarchist and labour writings include Ricardo Flores Magón (Mexico 1924), El Anarquismo en el Movimiento Obrero (with López Arango, Barcelona 1925), Historia del Anarquismo en Argentina (Buenos Aires 1930), Reconstrucción Social, Nueva Edificación Económica Argentina (with Lasarte, Buenos Aires 1933), Las Cargas Tributarias. Ensayos sobre las Finanzas Estatales (Barcelona 1935), El Organismo Económico de la Revolución. Cómo Vivimos y Cómo Podríamos Vivir en España (Barcelona 1936), Bancarrota del Sistema Económico y Político del Capitalismo (Buenos Aires 1932), Por Qué Perdimos la Guerra (Buenos Aires 1940), De Alfonso XIII a Franco (Buenos Aires 1974), Contribución a la Historia del Movimiento Obrero Español, Estrategia y Táctica (1971), Ayer, Hoy y Mañana (Puebla 1971), ¿Colaboración y Tolerancia o Dictadura? El Problema de la Armonía Revolucionaria (Montevideo 1937), España Ayer, España Mañana, Resumen Histórico de la Revolución Mexicana, Opúsculos, El Derecho de España a la Revolución (Madrid 1917), La Insurrección Anarquista del 8 de Diciembre de 1933 (with Juanel and Villar, Barcelona 1934), La Represión de Octubre (Barcelona 1935), Gli Anarchici e la Rivoluzione Spagnola (with Fabbri, Geneva 1938), La FORA. Ideología y Trayectoria del Movimiento Obrero Revolucionario de la Argentina (Buenos Aires, 1933 and 1971), El Anarquismo y la Revolución en España. Escritos 1930-38 (Masdrid 1976), En Torno a Nuestros Objetivos Libertarios (Algiers 1945), Memorias 1897-1935 (Barcelona 1977).

His ideas underwent a considerable evolution over time, shifting from a radical anarchism of a pronounced anti-communist and anti-reformist tenor to

a progressive acceptance of the importance of economic issues (which led him on to a synthesis of planning and spontaneist anarchism), and an historical understanding of capitalism (as a necessary stage in the evolution of humanity, one that has placed man in a position where self-liberation is feasible) and a rejection of an anarchism that has no programme to offer. In the 1970s, by which time he was an old man, his programme was a far cry from what it had been initially: participatory trade unionism, reform as the revolution of today, the need for experts inside the unions, the State as a greater repressor and danger than capitalism, and he looked upon Spain as being what all sides had made her.

140. FRE.

Initials of the Federación Regional (or, de la Región) Española (Spanish Regional Federation).

The FRE was the product of a process begun with Fannelli's meeting (on 24 January 1869 in Madrid) with a band of working men with the Barcelona combinationist tradition (of the Centro Federal) and disenchantment with federal republicanism behind them: all these elements came together in the first Spanish labour congress (Barcelona 1870) which gave birth to the IWMA's Spanish section, to wit, the FRE, the first federal council of which comprised González Morago, Lorenzo, Borrel and the Mora brothers. Its task was undoubtedly a difficult one, as there were several factors working against them: a) government restrictions which ultimately led to the banning of fledgeling internationalism, b) the fascination that federal republicanism exercised shifted across to internationalism, c) the ingrained traditions and compliant character of most workers. The FRE grappled with these difficulties with considerable success: it expanded and managed to recruit stalwart militants (some of whom would go on to belong to the FTRE, Solidaridad Obrera and the CNT), but, then again it failed to sell its approach to the whole labour movement and a split occurred (with the Madrid group breaking away). Initially this split was rather feeble but with the passage of time it spawned the PSOE and UGT. Militants of the FRE old

guard included Farga, Tomás, García Viñas, Iglesias, Pagés, Mesa, Lorenzo, González Morago, the Moras, Pauly, Calleja, Soriano, Sentiñón, Albarracín, Pino, Montoro, Pamias, Albagés, Alonso Marselau, Náchér and Balasch..

The initial thrust was considerable and the FRE even ventured to expand into Portugal, where the Portuguese section of the international was set up in 1871, thanks to the good offices of Lorenzo, Mora and González Morago. The FRE also boasted a number of gutsy labour mouthpieces (*La Solidaridad*, *La Federación*, *El Obrero*, *La Revolución Social*, *La Voz del Trabajo*, *El Orden*, *El Condenado*). Expansion into Andalusia (as the Córdoba congress confirmed) was a great stride forward: thereafter Andalusia would be a staunch anarchist stronghold, whereas the initial Madrid group was to wither and the core groups in Catalonia, Valencia and Aragon were intensely active.

The fall-out with federal republicanism was confirmed at the Valencia Conference (September 1871), when the "federal democratic republic" was categorised as having these three features: collective ownership, anarchy and economic federation, or, to use the classic formula "a free universal federation of free workers' agricultural and industrial associations". In practice this theoretical divorce was not so comprehensive (on account of the radicalism of the republicans at the time) and there were internationalists aplenty who were involved in the republicans' insurrections, possibly with an eye to investing them with an internationalist slant. On the other hand, the Valencia Conference signalled the first signs of the coming split, which was not unconnected with the subsequent work of the federal council elected at it (Iglesias, Mesa, Lorenzo, the Moras, Pauly, Pagés, Calleja and Sáenz), most of whom were converted to marxism through the efforts of Lafargue.

The ripple effect from the Paris Commune enthused active internationalists but it terrified the conservatives who used their government positions to ban the FRE (order of Sagasta, January 1872) which, as a result, went underground (as the *Defensores de la Internacional*): even so, the FRE defied the banning order by holding its congress in Zaragoza (April 1872),

where its strength was reckoned at 25,000 members: at that congress the gloves came off in confrontation between marxists (authoritarians) and Bakuninists (anti-authoritarians and anarchists) and although the members of the congress tried to defuse the quarrel, the differences between them persisted and affected even the members of the federal council (Montoro, Tomás, Rosell, Torres, Asensi, Martí, Franco, Mora and Lorenzo) were affected, with Lorenzo resigning in June and Mora refusing appointment (his place was taken by Albarracín): indeed, the marxists from La Emancipación were expelled and the split became effective on 7 July 1872 when the tiny New Madrid Federation was established (Iglesias, Pauly, Pagés, the Moras, Sáenz, Mesa, Calleja and Castellón). This split mirrored the situation in labour circles internationally and also led to a parting of the ways between authoritarians and anarchists (with the congress in The Hague and the Saint-Imier Pact in September 1872). The FRE congress on Córdoba (1872-73) wholly endorsed the ascendancy of the anarchists and the expansion in membership (with a doubling in membership), on which basis it has been argued that that congress was the world's first anarchist congress and that Spanish labour preferred the Bakuninist line over the marxist. The federal council elected at the congress in Córdoba reflected this, being made up of Albarracín, Pino, Tomás and Fontbuena (complemented at comarcal level by Seguí, Abad, Deomarco, Villa and Castillo). With the espousal of anarchist principles, the government attack was escalated: early in 1874 a dissolution order was rigidly enforced, with two thousand workers deported and anything reminiscent of internationalist labour organising coming in for intense persecution. All in all, the FRE contented itself with surviving and keeping its structures - most likely aping the Bakuninist Alliance in this - so the 1874 congress in Madrid registered its shrinkage and emasculation: (This shrinkage accelerated over the years, hence the decline from 270 local federations in 1873, to 320 in 1874, 112 in 1876, 73 in 1877 and just 37 by 1880). This required the postponing of general congresses, which were then replaced by congresses and conferences at comarcal level until an extra-ordinary Conference met in

Barcelona in February 1881 and wound up the FRE, launching the FTRE in its place. Clandestinity and persecution account for the emergence of radically defensive attitudes as well as avengers: Oliva attempted the king's life in October 1878, there was peasant agitation and strikes and Andalusia in 1879-80, the emergence of action groups and the revolutionary socialist Alliance, etc. During the tough underground years, the FRE was sustained by volunteer groups (let us single out Lorenzo, García Viñas, Tomás, Miranda and Farga) and it is down to this that the FTRE bounced back. The membership of the clandestine federal councils and commissions included Domínguez, Trucharte, Vera, Borrel, F. Ruiz, Moreda, Llúsar, Tomás, Soriano, Albarracín, Náchar, Balasch and others: Farga, García Viñas, Alerini, Brousse, Marquet, Soriano and Albarracín served as delegates to international congresses.

COMARCAL CONFERENCES OF THE FRE.

Forced underground, the FRE found itself prevented from operating in accordance with norms laid down by the 1874 congress: as a result, the federal commission, advised by the local federations, replaced congresses with comarcial conferences (which would be attended by a delegate from the federal commission who would bring along the agenda that had been drawn up at the prompting of the federations): it was up to the federal council to amalgamate all the resolutions into a common whole. In order to ensure the necessary coordination, there was the Bakuninist Alliance network to fall back on. Consequently there was no FRE congress in 1875. In a variety of ways, the conferences overhauled the FRE's statutes: 1. - Incorporating conferences into the federal structure for as long as the ban on the FRE remained. 2. - The federal council became a corresponding and statistical clearing-house, as well as an intermediary between the comarcial federations: it had a minimum of five permanent members based wheresoever seemed the safest place. This commission could take the initiative if it deemed this appropriate and this signified a strengthening of its powers (which, however, remained limited insofar as they were renewed on an annual basis and it had no funds). 3. - Establishment of comarcial

federations organised into local federations. 4. - Revolutionary activity was afforded priority over scientific strikes.

The first comarcal conference held was the Catalan one in Sans and the ones in 1876 and 1877 were especially outstanding in terms both of their determinations and of the number of those actually put into effect. The ones in 1875 (like all the others held over that summer) delivered to the FRE a federal council made up of Tomás, Farga, Soriano, García Viñas and Vidal. In 1876 there were conferences in Aragon, Valencia, Old Castile, Murcia, New Castile, Extremadura, Andalusia East and Andalusia West, with the ones in Catalonia and Andalusia especially well-attended: their decisions were: that the line of the 1875 conferences be endorsed, that executive commissions be appointed to every federal section to organise action groups, security and secret propaganda with an eye to revolutionary action, that the 1875 statutes be retained, with subscriptions raised to 15 céntimos per head, that the Spanish delegation to the international congress work towards unity of action and solidarity and sponsor the creation of an international bureau, that the federal council be empowered to appoint two delegates to the international congress, that (come the collapse of the State) any localities in which internationalists might succeed be declared independent, property abolished and that all the rebel comarcas federated, etc., at which point the liberated collectives would be represented by the local councils. The 1876 conferences (in July-August) drew attendances from Barcelona, Sans, San Martín, Gracia, Granollers, Sabadell, San Esteban, Reus, Las Corts, Zaragoza, Huesca, Cocentaina, Alcoy, Valladolid, Murcia, Molina, Beniaján, Madrid, Chamartín, Málaga, Vélez Málaga, Córdoba, Quentar, Dila, Benaoján, Granada, Seville, Córdoba, Arcos, Lebrija, Marchena, Jérez, Puerto, Coronil, Badajoz, Plasencia and Trujillo.

The 1877 comarcal conferences (in Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia, Andalusia East, Andalusia West, the North, Extremadura, Aragon, Old Castile and New Castile) were attended by 77 local federations: Barcelona, Sans, Gracia, Tarrasa, Manresa, San Martín, Granollers, Sabadell, Reus, Bañolas, Llansá, Lavid, Valencia, Alcoy, Grao, Murcia, Cartagena, Molina, Málaga, Benaoján,

Jaén, Córdoba, Espiel, Granada, Motril, Alhaurín, Arahal, Paterna, Coronil, Puerto Real, Alcalá Gazules, Puerto, Sanlúcar, Rota, Trebujena, Jérez, Carmona, Lebrija, Marchena, Paradas, Seville, Cádiz, Ubrique, La Línea, Huelva, Arroyo, Arcos, Santander, Bilbao, Aceuchal, Badajoz, Puente Maestre, Nogales, Santa María Barros, Villalba, Plasencia, Trujillo, Almaraz, Brozas, Zaragoza, Huesca, Valladolid, León, Candelaria, Madrid, Alcalá and Chamartín. Its accords included: that a general strike be organised to press for the eight hour day, that the federal council liaise directly with the local federations, that each region have its propaganda fund, that Morago and Viñas be appointed delegates to the international congress, that a drive be launched to recruit women members and mutual aid funds set up, revolutionary courts, insurrection was defended as was distancing from the bourgeois and a new federal commission be appointed (Lorenzo, Tomás, Farga and Viñas).

The conferences over the following years were indicative of an obvious decline. The ones in 1878 agreed not to reduce the powers of the federal council, the appropriateness of internationalist schools, engagement in revolutionary action, support for prisoners, exiles and victims of reprisals, that delegates (Morago and Lorenzo) be appointed to the international congress and a new federal commission be elected which included Gasull and Julivert. The 1879 conferences decided to set up a war committee, declared their sympathy with those retaliating against oppression and to appoint a new federal council (Viñas, Farga, Soriano and Lorenzo). The 1880 conferences decided to give priority to collective over individual defence, to reject amalgamation with outside groups, to struggle actively and mount reprisals as well as to elect a new council (Lorenzo, Allier, Vidal, Gasull and Nácher).

Finally, the FRE extra-ordinary conference in Barcelona (6-9 February 1881), drawing delegations from Andalusia East and West, Valencia, Catalonia, New Castile and Old Castile, resolved to expel Lorenzo (general secretary of the FRE) and to impose lighter penalties upon Gasull, Nácher, Allier and Vidal (also federal council members). There was evidence of internal squabbling

and this set the seal upon the demise of the Federation. Seven months later, a reconstruction congress was held (in Barcelona in September).

141. EXILIO.

CNT newspaper published in France by Regional No 3 (Cantal department) from 19 July 1944 to November 1947. It was the first CNT publication in exile in France: initially roneoed, it was later printed: the first eight issues were clandestine. It appeared in Veray Mauriac under the direction of Manuel Rico, with Morey as administrator. Its standing increased after the Clermont-Ferrand plenum in September 1944 and it turned into a publication designed to offer guidance to the membership, defend the CNT and combat the PCE's attempts to gain hegemony through the UNE. It did sterling work, given the confusion prevailing at the time, but its line was controversial because of the heterodoxy of its leading contributors such as Doménech, Morey, Martínez Prieto, Fernández Escobés, Vivas, Albagés, Domingo Torres, Borrás, Juanel and Ramón Álvarez.

142. SABORIT CARRELERO, César. San Martín Sagrera 1915-Barcelona 1951.

At a very early age he joined the Libertarian Youth in his barrio of San Andrés and Clot; also a militant of the Barcelona construction union. As early as 1932 he had connections with the busiest of the action groups as controller of a clandestine arms dump. In July 1936 he took part in the fighting against the fascists in Barcelona and then served with the Durruti column and in the hand-picked Batallón de la Muerte (Death Battalion). When the civil war ended he was jailed for several years and then joined the underground organisation, coming to prominence on account of his activism. In 1949 he was secretary of the CNT's Catalan regional committee and he backed the activities of Los Maños; in 1950 he turned up in Massana's guerrilla band and shortly afterwards left for France; he carried out organisational missions on both sides of the border and in mid-1951, after a lot of hesitation and opposition from the Organisation in exile, he decided to go with Facerías (having fought alongside him previously as a

guerrilla) on an incursion into the comarca of Barcelona; he died at the hands of the police on 19 July 1951. A militant greatly loved in wide sectors of the CNT, his death caused tremendous uneasiness and grief.

143. MASSANA BANCELLS, Marcelino. Berga 1918-

Orphaned at the age of five, his early childhood was spent in Llínas and, from the age of seven, he attended a religious college in Solsona (spending the summers in Berga) under the supervision of his uncle, a priest. He left the college at 13, spent a year in Sallent and eventually started his working life at 14 as apprentice in a machine shop. by 1934 he was a textile machinist and he joined the CNT the following year. Come the fascist revolt, he joined the Berga militias' committee and in August, having enlisted with the Tierra y Libertad column, he fought for a short time on the Madrid front; he returned to Catalonia and joined the Hilario Zamora column and, after it was amalgamated, served with its successor, the 25th Division, with whose 118th Brigade he fought in Aragon from October 1936 up until the end of the civil war (as a lieutenant from April 1938 on). The end of the war caught him in Alicante, where began his odyssey through concentration camps and jails (Albatera, Bétera, Porta Coeli, Manresa, Barcelona, Madrid). Released on licence in 1942, he went underground after a few months after refusing to do his army service; he walked all the way from Barcelona to Berga, lived as a peasant farmer in Aviá and Organyà, contacted the smugglers in the area and became an expert in border crossings. In 1944 he was living in Tarascón and organised a guerrilla campaign that he was to keep up until 1950 with great shrewdness and consistency (he was living in Toulouse from 1947), until he found himself caught up in a clash with French customs officers and called it a day. Initially his problems with the French government earned him a month in prison, but, following pressures brought to bear by the Francoists (who pressed for his extradition) he was imprisoned again and then committed to Deux Sebres and Leucamp up until 1956. Released in 1956 he moved to Paris to work as a mechanic and gardener and, having fallen ill, he drifted away from activism and resisted

pressure first from Sabaté and then (in the early 1960s) from Mera, Alberola and García Oliver to rejoin the armed struggle. Eventually he moved to his present home in Languedoc and after the CNT was relaunched he joined the Barcelona metalworkers' union. His tremendous prestige derives from his intense struggle against Franco in 1944-50, years when he carried out countless operations in the Catalan Pyrenees (blowing up electricity pylons, carrying out expropriations, making border crossings with documents, weapons and other fighters, etc.) , frequently in the company of Vila Capdevila, Senzill, Antonio Sánchez, Puig Torres, Pons, Dot, Saborit, Saturnino Sanz, Pérez Pedrero, Adrover, Massip, Crespo, Benítez, F. Martínez, Arcos, M. Sabaté, Pepe Blanco, etc. especially in 1949 when he was frenetically active in the Manresa-San Vicente de Castellat-Rocafort comarca, enjoying considerable popular support. The work he did for the Libertarian Youth members involved in the publication of the clandestine Ruta likewise seems significant. Massana is one of the greatest of the anti-Franco guerrillas, on a par with Sabaté, Vila Capdevila and Facerías. Curiously enough, he did not die in combat, in spite of the length of the time he was active.

144. MIL - Initials of the Movimiento Ibérico de Liberación (Iberian Liberation Movement).

The roots of the MIL can be traced to one of the factions into which the Workers' Commissions (CC.OO) split in Catalonia in 1969, a faction described as "independent" and made up of one-time Catholic militants from the JOC and the HOAC and anarchists, contributors first to the review Metal and later to ¿Que Hacer?, the last issue of which announced that it was winding itself up in order to establish a Platform without any political alignment, one that would have its own review in the form of Nuestra Clase (1969) and for which the future members of the MIL were to write. Initially the MIL included three teams (the Worker, the Theoretical and the External teams), one of which operated as the armed wing; the latter had a base in Toulouse and sought to liberate the working class from the noxious

influence of intellectuals. In 1971 all three teams amalgamated to form the GOA (Grupos obreros autónomos - Autonomous Workers' Groups) and published numerous clandestine pamphlets. In December that year the GOA disintegrated over differing interpretations of activism, leaving the members of the External and Theoretical teams which launched the MIL and decided to go on the offensive.. The MIL grew up as a support group for radical struggles waged by Barcelona labour, offering tactical back-up (material help to strikers) as well as theoretical support (publishing pamphlets and leaflets through its review CIA and its publishing imprint Ediciones May 37). Its main theme was anti-capitalism, with heavy councilist and anti-parliamentary undertones. In its capacity as a support group for the proletariat it tackled at the root the issue of expropriation of funds and it carried out lots and lots of operations in Barcelona (30 hold-ups between the end of 1972 and early 1973). A document dated 1972 drew a distinction between armed action (i.e. support groups) and armed struggle (i.e. the vanguard), and indicated that they were counting upon the armed agitational groups spreading throughout the entire country. Among the members of MIL were Oriol Solé Sugranyes, José Luis Pons Llobet, Emilio Pardiñas Viladrich, Santiago Soler Amigó, F. Javier Garriga Paituvi, Salvador Puig Antich (executed in March 1974), Canestro, Piguillén, and Jorge Solé. At its first and only congress (august 1973) MIL disbanded itself in response to the repression by which it was being decimated; that repression started in September 1972 (with the arrest in France of Oriol, Puig, Torres and Rouillan) and extended from June 1973 (with the uncovering of safe houses in Barcelona, the arrest of Oriol in Spain, and the arrest of Pons, Piguillén, Pardiñas, Camestro, Soler Amigo, Garriga and Puig between 17 and 25 September 1973), From that September on MIL, it can be assumed, was no more: its closely connected successors, or so it seems, were the GAI and the GARI.

145. VIDA OBRERA. Title of several newspapers.

1. - Weekly of the Asturian CNT, Gijón 1921-22, run by González Mallada.

2. - Organ of the CNT sindicato único in Canet (Barcelona). Appeared in February 1924 and disappeared the same year.
3. - Weekly of the Gijón CNT, 21 issues. Virtually exclusively labour news, 1977-1978.
4. - Organ of the CNT-AIT Asturian regional. 7 issues, 1981-82. Replaced Acción Libertaria. Aligned with the breakaways from the Fifth Congress. Almost all labour news only.

146. SEGUÍ RUBINAT, Salvador. Lérida 1887-Barcelona 10 March 1923, murdered.

In the year he was born he moved with his family to Barcelona which became the theatre of his activities from then on. He attended school up until the age of 12 and then became an apprentice painter; he flitted from workshop to workshop on account of his restless temperament and began to look into anarchist theory. In 1902 he was arrested briefly for his part in a metalworkers' strike and was early on active with the hardest of the anarchist groups (see the murky Rull episode). In 1904, for the first time, he used the alias that he was to make famous, El Noi del Sucre, in his speeches and articles (in El Pintor). In 1907 he was caught up in events at the Condal theatre in connection with the struggle against Lerrouxism and served nine months in prison. His role in the Tragic Week is none too clear, although we can be certain that he was forced to flee to Gualva or Palautorderá.

He had a hand in the foundation of Solidaridad Obrera (as a delegate to the 1908 congress) and of the CNT (although it appears he did not attend the 1910 congress), as well as in the 1911 general strike and in the campaigns opposed to the deportation of American anarchists (1910); in 1911 he was in Marseilles on CNT business, attending an international working class get-together. In the ensuing years, by then a CNT bigwig, he could be found involved in the 1914 hunger riots, in the Queraltó campaign, the Valencia Assembly, the Zaragoza Pact (1916), he was president of the Barcelona construction union (1915), a labour organiser in Lérida, a public speaker and lecturer tirelessly touring throughout Catalonia, secretary of the Catalan

CNT (1916), served on the 1917 strike committee, was secretary of the Assembly in Valencia (1916), entered talks with the UGT with a view to tackling the rising cost of living. In 1918 he was the lynch-pin of the crucial Sans congress, lobbying on behalf of sindicatos únicos, served on the first Junta of the Barcelona construction union and was secretary of the Catalan CNT to boot. He also did important work in connection with the La Canadiense strike, not that emerged from this with any credit (he negotiated the return to work), being heavily criticised by purists who alleged that he had political ambitions, a suspicion strengthened by his serving on the Mixed Labour Commission. At the 1919 congress he opposed a straightforward affiliation to the Russian International and in 1920, perhaps because of the strained atmosphere, left for Tarragona (he served on the clandestine Catalan regional committee that year), before carrying out a lengthy and busy speaking tour of Andalusia and Levante (speaking 110 times) which ended in his being arrested in November. He did not emerge from prison until April 1922, to embark upon intense propaganda work in Catalonia and the Balearics and attending the Zaragoza Conference (1922), where he endorsed the famous document that drew a distinction between a-politicism and anti-politicism. In the end he was murdered by a police-employer conspiracy.

A much harassed (jailed in 1907, 1916, 1917, 1919 and targeted for assassination bids in 1919 and 1920) bohemian type, he towered over an entire chapter of CNT history, which is why Seguí's story is also the story of the early CNT. A great organiser, legendary public speaker and a contributor to the press (*Solidaridad Obrera*, *La Terra*, *L'Opinió*, *Páginas Libres*, *Vida Nueva*, *Cultura y Acción*, etc,) he was momentarily attracted to journalism and tried to re-launch *La Tramontana* (1913). His evolution has been a matter of some controversy and he has been credited with leaning towards politics, which appears not to have been the case. It was more a case of his being, as lynch-pin of the CNT and as a greatly harassed militant, having been compelled to grapple with particularly difficult times (the pistoleroismo of the employers) and that he resorted to advocacy of a strategy of alliance

with socialists and republicans (Macià, Casanova, Soriano, Layret, Companys..) as a means of surmounting problems: in any event, there is no conclusive evidence of his having been getting ready to go over to politics. It is quite another matter that the more orthodox anarchists (Urales for one) may have deplored the possibilist approach displayed by Seguí on occasions. Author of: *El Sindicalismo Libertario en Cataluña* (with Pestaña) and *Escuela de Rebeldes* (Madrid 1923).

147. GARI. Initials of the *Grupos de Acción Revolucionaria Internacionalista* (Internationalist Revolutionary Action Groups).

The organisation lurking behind the initials GARI is shrouded in some mystery. It appears to be the case that the Groups had some connection with the MIL and aspired somehow to be the continuation of the MIL. The link with the MIL was through Jean Marc Rouillan (who would turn up years later connected with the Action Directe organisation in France) who, it would appear, had some connection with the MIL. The centre of GARI activities shifted from Catalonia to France and Belgium and its theoretical outlook was more anarchist than the MIL.. but still very confused. The half-way house between the MIL and the GARI was the GAI or *Grupos Autónomos de Intervención* (Autonomous Intervention Groups) set up in France after the death of Puig Antich; these carried out a series of attacks in France in March 1974 The GARI were made up of some MIL members, Alberola's anarcho-syndicalists and others of no very definite affiliation, centred on Toulouse. Their characteristic features were: they were a solidarity group, rebels rather than revolutionaries, anti-capitalist, anti-religion and hostile to the society of the Spectacle. Their operations included the kidnapping of the director of a Spanish bank in Paris, attacks on the Tour de France's Pyrenean stage, a series of attacks on the Iberia airline in France and Belgium, bombings of Spanish consulates and banks, etc. Those connected with the GARI appear to have included Octavio Alberola, Lucio Urtubia, Ariane Gransac, Rivière, Plazen, Guibert, Camilleri, Rouillan, Mario Inés Torres, Víctor Manrique, R, Delgado, Floreal Cuadrado,

Zapata, etc. By the end of 1974 the GARI had faded away. Be that as it may, anything having to do with the GARI is open to revision.

148. GÚZMAN, Eduardo de. Madrid 1909-

A journalist from a very early age, he was editor-in-chief of *La Tierra* (1930) for five years: in 1935 he moved on to the editorship of *La Libertad*, staying until the civil war broke out. Having joined the CNT - apparently under the influence of Orobón Fernández - he took up the direction of *Castilla Libre* (the organ of the CNT of the Centre region) in January 1937 and held this until the end of the war. Captured in Alicante on 1 April 1939, he passed through the concentration camps and (in January 1940) was sentenced to death in Madrid, a penalty then commuted (May 1941); released from prison and wholly at liberty from 1948, he was rearrested in 1951 (serving a year in prison in Oviedo), on charges of spying. After his release, he earned his living as a translator and writer of pot-boilers (no less than a hundred detective novels and 400 westerns published under the noms de plume of Eddy Thorny or Edward Goodman) and from 1969 he worked for a Mexican news agency. Like other militants so severely chastened by imprisonment and repression, in 1965, in a moment of thoughtlessness, he turned up aligned with Cincopuntismo. In later years he was editor of *Historia Libertaria*, and wrote for *Indice*, *Triunfo*, *Tiempo de Historia*, *Castilla Libre*. etc. In addition to the novels mentioned earlier (so far as we have been able to establish, it looks as if the bulk of this very popular genre was written by victimised CNT personnel) he wrote: *Madrid, Rojo y Negro* (Barcelona 1938), *El Año de la Victoria* (Madrid 1974), *Nosotros, Los Asesinos* (Madrid 1976), *La Muerte de la Esperanza* (Madrid 1973), *Aurora de Sangre* (Madrid 1978), *1930: Historia Política de un Año Decisivo* (Madrid 1973), *Historias de la Prensa* (Madrid 1982), *Vida y Lección de Anselmo Lorenzo* (Madrid 1938), *La España Trágica* (Madrid 1932), *Sevilla la Trágica* (Madrid, undated), *Teodoro Mora* (Madrid 1938?), *Un Momento Decisivo en la Vida de España* (Madrid 1938), *24 Horas* (Madrid 1936), *España entre la Dictadura y la Democracia*, plus an investigation of Hildegart made into a

movie.

149. PIÑÓN, Camilo. Barcelona 1889-1979.

Highly prestigious pre-civil war CNT militant. Showed an early interest in revolutionary syndicalism and attended the CNT's foundation congress (1910) and had been jailed in May 1909. In the years following the foundation of the CNT he held positions of responsibility: secretary of the Barcelona local federation and secretary of the Catalan regional committee in 1912, then president of the lamp-lighters, treasury of the Catalan metalworkers' union (1917), treasurer of the regional committee formed at the Sans congress, member of the transport strike committee in 1920. During the years of the employers' hired gunmen he moved to Mahón and on his return headed the Barcelona transport union (1923). Advocating a moderate line akin to Peiró, he signed the Vida Sindical manifesto (January 1926) and the Manifesto of the Thirty and was involved in the contest with the faístas. During the republic he was president of the international relations committee, president of the fishing industry and by 1936 secretary of the National Fishing Industry Federation. When the civil war was over he passed through several French concentration camps and returned to Spain (1943) to participate in the underground struggle, but was quickly arrested (he was a member of the CNT's Catalan regional committee) and jailed for 27 months. Later he stuck by his convictions and appears to have served as secretary of the ANFD in 1945. With the passing of the years he eased up on his activity. A typical syndicalist, he believed in national industrial federations and in revolutionary syndicalism, as opposed to spontaneist, violent revolutionism, not that he used this as a pretext for dropping out of the struggle at times when it looked as if his beliefs had been bested; he attended all the CNT congresses, was frequently jailed for his beliefs, serving a total of 15 years behind bars.,

150. ALAS. A syndicalist and anarchist review, sub-titled "Sociological and Literary Review". It appeared in Castro del Río, published by the anarchist

group of the same name. Monthly, it published 6 issues from 1 February 1915 on. Its director was S. Cordón.

151. ADELANTE. Title of several newspapers.

1. - Reus, 1936.

2. - Gijón, 1901.

3. - Santander, 1901-1903, 42 issues. Articles by V. Blanco, Mella and Martínez Barrio.

4. - Eibar, 1908.

5. - Murcia 1920. Organ of the CNT of Murcia, Cieza and Cartagena. Syndicalist weekly.

152. GÓMEZ CASAS, Juan. Bordeaux 1921-

Born to emigrants who returned to Spain in 1931. A CNT member (like his father) and, from 1936, of the FIJL in Madrid. At the beginning of the civil war he was working as a re-moulder and he joined the army in 1938 (39th Mixed Brigade). When the war ended he escaped jail because he was a minor and he threw himself into the clandestine struggle through the Libertarian Youth. In September 1946 he was secretary of the Libertarian Youth Centre region (anti-collaborationist) and shortly after that represented the Libertarian Youth at the Toulouse congress (October 1947); on returning from France he was arrested in Madrid (January 1948), and in his home were found the presses to print *Tierra y Libertad* and *Juventud Rebelde* (he was then, it seems, secretary of the FAI's Peninsular Secretariat); in July 1948 he was sentenced to a thirty year jail term of which he served almost half in San Miguel de los Reyes, Ocaña and Burgos (failing in an escape attempt in 1956). Released from prison in 1962, he returned to his old trade as a painter, worked as bookkeeper in a Madrid hotel and turned to writing, creative writing (his first book, *Cuentos Carcelarios*, was started while he was in prison) as well as publicist writing and translation (he translated upwards of a hundred titles and writes like a demon-hack, alone and in partnership) using the nom de plume of Jacques

de Gaulle for some books like *Las Horas Decisivas de la Guerra Civil*, *El Frente de Aragón* and a life of Pablo Iglesias). In the 1970s he became the best-known representative of the nascent CNT, serving as its first secretary (August 1976 to April 1978) once it had finally resurfaced: at the same time he was beginning to make his name as a populariser of CNT and anarchist topics and also came to be regarded as a credible spokesman for the CNT. Following the 1979 congress, he condemned the policy of the breakaways. Has written for *El País*, *Cambio 16*, *Historia Libertaria*, *Sindicalismo*, etc. Author of: *Los Anarquistas en el Gobierno* (Barcelona 1977), *Historia de la FAI* (Madrid 1977), *Historia del Anarcosindicalismo Español* (Madrid 1969), *La Primera Internacional* (Madrid 1974), *Situación Limitada* (Madrid 1975), *Sociología e Historia* (Madrid 1973), *La Política Española y la Guerra Civil* (1974), *Cuentos Carcelarios*, *Autogestión en España* (Madrid 1976), etc. Also author of several forewords and introductions to books on anarchist themes. Director of CNT (1980-81) and of Adarga.

153. CERRADA SANTOS, Laureano. Miedes 1902-Paris 1976, murdered. A student of José Alberola, he was a member of the CNT (railroad union) and anarchist organisations. Active under the republic, in 1936 he helped in the taking of the Atarazanas barracks and Captaincy-General building in Barcelona and, as the man in charge of the Central Railway Administration Fund, was a great help to the Aragon front. He really became popular, though, in exile in France after the civil war: very active in the struggle against the Nazis, he organised extensive propaganda networks, clandestine arms dumps and safe houses and was also in contact with many underground guerrillas and dabbled in arms-trafficking. After the end of the Second World War, he enjoyed enormous prestige in CNT circles: he was secretary of the Paris regional committee (1945), but appears to have refused the position of CNT general secretary (declining to have his name included in the list of candidates) and some take the view that his refusal led to the success of Esgleas's candidacy in 1945. He funded CNT propaganda and direct action activity against Franco and furnished forged

papers to many victims of persecution: the high point in his war on Franco came in 1948 (when, together with Ortiz, he prepared an airborne attempt on Franco's life). He also tried to flood the country with counterfeit currency. His star began to wane in 1951: an informer brought him to the attention of the police who accused him of being a counterfeiter (of currency and official papers): many CNT personnel distanced themselves from him (and he was even expelled from the CNT for resorting to "unacceptable methods") and his life was lived on the blurred margins shared by criminality and anarchist idealism, torn between one and the other. Jailed again from 1970 to 1974, he was murdered in his old age. A very energetic man of tremendous daring, a born activist none too scrupulous in fighting the enemy, his style did not go down well with some people.

154. ALBEROLA SURINACH, Octavio. Mexico 1928-

Son of Spanish parents with a libertarian tradition (his father was councillor for Education on the Council of Aragon), he moved with his family to Mexico after the civil war (1940), studying engineering in Mexico City and became an organiser for the Libertarian Youth (being arrested in 1946). In 1962 he moved back to Europe and joined García Oliver, Mera and others on Interior Defence: from then on his name was associated with numerous operations designed to strike at the Franco regime. In 1966 he was one of the most strenuous opponents of Cincopuntismo (see the New York conference that year) and at all times he was closely associated with the FIJL and with the review *Presencia*: from 1966 at least he has been regarded as a leading member of the *Primero de Mayo* anarcho-syndicalist group and responsible for violent attacks against Spanish fascism (the attempt in February 1968 to kidnap the minister Ullastres in Belgium, for one) which led to his serving time in prison in Belgium. His activity continued into the 1970s from French soil, from where he was expelled in April 1974 and within a month he had been arrested in connection with the abduction of a Spanish banker: around that time he seemed to be connected with the

GARI; in the mid-1970s he settled in Liège. When the reconstruction of the CNT began in Spain, he tried to bring influence to bear through the review *El Topo Avizor* (without much success) and when the obscure episode of the "Paralelos" came to light, leading members charged Alberola of having been behind it. Similarly, he was accused of having bolstered the the marinalist faction of the CNT (through Edo). All of this would be hard to prove, because, following the split in the CNT, Alberola (presumably on the basis of his well-known opposition to Esgleism) went with the breakaways (writing in their press). Author of: *El Anarquismo Español y la Acción Revolucionaria 1961-1974* (Paris 1975, with Ariane Gransac) and *Determinismo y Libertad* (1949). Has written articles for *El Topo Avizor*, *Historia Libertaria*, *Frente Libertario*, *Solidaridad Obrera* (Valencia Congress), An enthusiastic advocate of violent tactics (see his controversy with Gaston Leval in 1965) and direct action and vehement in his hostility to Esgleism, these days, he represents for some in CNT circles a minor but magnetic school of thought.

155. ALONSO MARSELAU, Nicolás.

A picturesque, unstable personality whose life was governed by great spiritual upheavals. Born in Granada on a date unknown, he was a seminarian in his native city until, around 1858, he parted company with the Church to throw in his lot with the federal republicans, as a result of which he was obliged to flee to Gibraltar, France and England. Shortly before the 1868 revolution, he popped up again in Seville and years later was the director of the famous newspaper *La Razón* (1871-72) with its markedly anti-clerical tone. Whilst not departing from this line it turned to championing the arguments of the internationalist proletariat. In the early days of the FRE he became a popular activist who attended the Valencia Conference (1871) on behalf of Seville labour groups and was a delegate to the congresses in The Hague (having been elected by referendum which says a lot about how popular he was) and Brussels. A fine controversialist (see his quarrel with Mateos-Gago) and a writer of passion and brilliance, he switched tack again

in 1874. He forswore his beliefs, returned to the Catholic Church and entered a Trappist monastery, after which he dropped out of sight. He was a tortured personality who, in spite of his final change of direction, deserves to be remembered because it was largely due to him that the FRE was such a success in Seville. He defended anarchism staunchly in Saint-Imier and helped draft the famous memorandum that Lorenzo brought with him to London and wrote a couple of highly successful pamphlets. He wrote articles for *La Razón* and *La Solidaridad* and was the author of: *Pensamientos Sociales Arreglados* (Seville 1872, written from a prison cell) and *El Evangelio Obrero* (1872).

156. CARRASQUER LAUNED, Francisco. Albalate de Cinca (Huesca) 1915- Member of a celebrated family of libertarians. After trying his hand at a number of trades he finished up in Barcelona in 1936 as a teacher in an ateneo. He served in the civil war (119th Brigade), ending it as a staff major. After the defeat, he went into exile in France, served time in the Vernet concentration camp and found work in Nantes, Pau, Toulouse and the Foix district. He returned to Spain in 1943, apparently wanted by the Nazis and was arrested and jailed for half a year, before being sent to Africa (to do his military service). Involved in the underground struggle (as a member of the CNT's Catalan regional committee, together with his brother Félix), he was arrested in December 1946 and, in July 1947, released on licence after a half a year in jail. In 1949 he returned to France by clandestine means: settling in France, he studied at the Sorbonne in Paris, eking out a living by giving Spanish and literature lessons and graduating in these subjects. From 1953 on he lived in Holland, where he worked for a radio station, publishing his poetry and teaching at the University of Leyden (from 1964 on). Author of some superb translations (a prize-winner in 1960), anthologies of Dutch poetry, an anthology of the writings of Alaiá (Madrid-Gijón 1981), a thesis on R. Sender and some creative writing like *Manda el Corazón* (1948?) and *Cantos Rodados* (1956). Contributed articles to *Frente Libertario*.

157. CATALUNYA. Title of several CNT publications.

1. - Evening daily newspaper of the CNT of Catalonia, written in the Catalan language. Published in Barcelona from 22 February 1937 until, having met with little success, it was replaced in 1938 by the evening edition of CNT in Castilian. Sub-titled "Regional Organ of the CNT", it was directed initially by Ricardo Mestres, then (from August 1937) by Peiró and then by Ferrer and Vives. It had a print-run of some 5,000 copies and carried contributions from Urales, Viadiu, Bajatierra, Santillán, Doménech, Marianet, Usón and, chiefly, J. Ferrer and J. Anselmo, as well as from several journalists from L'Instant (such as Puig, Sivera, Vila). Mirrored the contents of Solidaridad Obrera.

2. - "Revista d'opinió confederal CNT-AIT", Barcelona, 1976-78, 4 issues, in the Catalan language.

3. - Trial daily newspaper of the CNT-AIT in Barcelona, a would-be continuation of the 1937 daily newspaper. It failed, with just one issue published in 1978.

158. ANARQUÍA. Title of several newspapers and reviews, some of which (see the entries from 6. onwards below) bore the title of LA ANARQUÍA.

1. - Seville 1910. Directed by Sánchez Rosa.

2. - Seville 1920. Replaced El Productor and became (at the request of the Catalans) the organ of the anarchist groups. Its print-run rose to seven thousand copies and it was the platform from which Sánchez Rosa pushed his strictly libertarian pro-congress views in opposition to the reformism then prevalent among the CNT committees in Andalusia. Its first issue was dated 14 November. It was directed by Sánchez Rosa and claimed to be the "Organ of the Spanish anarchist congress".

3. - Bulletin of the Libertarian Youth of Granada. Two issues appeared (clandestinely). Directed by Mateo Rodríguez, 1933.

4. - Barcelona, FAI., 1937.

5. - Seville, Libertarian Youth, 1980? (Full title "La Anarquía. o los Amigos el

Orden"). One issue.

6. - Madrid 1869. Popular individualist weekly. Texts from Huelbes and Tejada.

7. - Madrid weekly. from 16 August 1890 to 15 June 1893, 144 issues. Under the direction of Ernest Alvarez: texts from Mella, Urales, Büchner, López Montenegro, Salvochea, Gustavo, Prat, Setabas, López Maldonado, Lorenzo, Renan, Bo, Bignon..

8. - Madrid 1882-85. Directed by Ernesto Alvarez.

9. - Barcelona, fortnightly, 1906, 10 issues. texts by Prat, Médico, Martorell, Mella..

159. QUINTANILLA PRIETO, Eleuterio. Gijón 1886-Bordeaux 1966.

Of working class origin, he received his primary education at a non-fee-paying school and from the age of 13 worked as an apprentice with an employer who encouraged to pursue his studies: he attended the workers' ateneo and from 1904 on picked up several languages (Italian, French, English, Esperanto). Got involved in the labour movement in 1904-05 as a public speaker in Mieres (putting the case for anarchism) and wrote for the regional libertarian press (for *Tiempos Nuevos* from 1905 on), of which he became a stalwart and a marvel on account of his extensive knowledge of trade unionism world-wide. From 1908 on, he was associated with Mella (having made his acquaintance three years before) whose moderation-, deliberation- and realism-centred theories he stoutly defended. The repression in Barcelona drew a response in Gijón (with many public rallies in which Quintanilla participated) and at about the same time Quintanilla was to the fore in the founding of the Casa del Pueblo in Gijón (1910-11). In September 1910 there was a great sensation when he was jailed (this was during the crackdown on Asturian anarchism) and protest rallies were held: in the following years he held meetings throughout the region and debated against the socialist Teodomiro Menéndez, served as editor on *Acción Libertaria* and *El Libertario* (in the pages of which he published his famous serials). In 1914 he quit his trade as a chocolate maker and took up

teaching at the Escuela Neutra (of which he was to be the director), attended the El Ferrol congress in 1915 and the 1916 trade union congress in Gijón, urging unity between the CNT and the UGT. During the 1914-18 war, he expressed support for the Entente powers and in 1918 he represented Asturian anarchists at the Barcelona plenum, a plenum at which he called upon anarchists to join the CNT; that same year he ran the workers' library and gave French classes at the ateneo. In 1919 he addressed rallies in Sama and La Felguera and was exceptionally prominent at the 1919 CNT congress, albeit to little effect (his motion on the federations of industry being defeated): between 1910 and 1922 he held meetings in Asturias and then opted to take a back seat (unable to reconcile himself to the defeat he had suffered at the 1919 congress): even with the advent of the republic, he remained in the background until, towards 1932-33, he called for reunification of the CNT. After the outbreak of civil war and the CNT decided to collaborate in government, he refused a ministerial appointment (other sources claim that some CNT personnel from Asturias refused it for him on the understanding that he was not active at the time): he served on the National Council for Evacuee Children and was the Spanish representative at the Labour Conference in Geneva (1938). After the defeat of the republic, he went into exile., serving with a labour company in the Loire until 1943 (a period by which he was particularly affected, given that he was far from a young man by then: such was the impact it made on him that he wrote *Emocionario del Destierro*, with its mystical overtones). Later he settled in Bordeaux and lived a quiet life. A man of profound intelligence and ahead of his times (cf. the pact with the UGT, the national federations of industry, his misgivings about the Russian revolution..), a moderate but no weakling and staunch in his approach and beliefs.. he was a great influence on the Asturian CNT and on anarchism in the area. His name will be forever associated with the National Federations of Industry (of which he was the main champion). He published lots of writings in the libertarian press: *Solidaridad Obrera* (Gijón), *Renovación* (he editor of both of these papers), *Acción Libertaria*, *El Libertario*, *Tribuna Libre*, *Revista*

Blanca, Sindicalismo, etc. He wrote the foreword to the second volume of Mella's collected works and was author of: *Las Tesis Sindicalistas* (Madrid 1931).

160. PESTAÑA NUÑEZ, Ángel. Santo Tomás de las Ollas (León) 1886- Barcelona 1937.

From an impoverished and distressing background (his mother having abandoned husband and son when Pestaña was very small) he followed his father's itinerant quest for work, through Béjar, Canfranc, Pajares and the mines of Vizcaya. His father wanted his son to study for the priesthood, believing that to offer steady employment and sent him to a relative in Ponferrada, but that relative exploited the boy: he ran away from Ponferrada to rejoin his father in Valmasada (he was then 10 years old): he followed his father around the Cantabrian coast and from the age of 11 was working in the mines: orphaned at 14, he worked on the railways (in Portugalete) and then in a theatre in Bilbao: he developed a fondness for theatre (and even wrote a comedy, *La Ciudad*, which was staged during the republic) and set up a troupe that performed in the Bilbao district, marrying this activity with his work as a bricklayer and glazier. At the age of 15 he was arrested and jailed for three months for public advocacy of the eight hour day: on his release he made a living as a *farundalero* in Asturias and Santander, until he left for France (Bordeaux and Paris) via Gijón and Pasajes. He was deported from France in 1906 (for travelling without documents). After a time in Guipúzcoa, he made his way back to France and worked in the Bordeaux countryside and then, in the south, helping with the grape harvest: later he turned up in Cethe as an *espadrille-maker* (there he met María Espés who was to become his wife and constant help). At the age of 23 he arrived in Algiers and lived quietly there working at his final trade (watch-maker) and for the first time he began to write for the anarchist press (articles for *Tierra y Libertad* in Barcelona). In August 1914, he moved to Barcelona, contacts *Tierra y Libertad* and Anselmo Lorenzo and frequented the *Ateneo sindicalista*: he soon made a name for himself with

articles in *Solidaridad Obrera* and at public meetings at which he sided with the most hard-line, radical elements of anarchism (he himself was a member of the *Primero de Mayo* group), representing his local federation at the El Ferrol congress in 1915 and calling for the CNT to be overhauled: shortly after that, he fled to France after severely criticising the Civil Guard and on his return to Spain was forced to live in hiding for several months. In 1916 he was put in charge of the (underground) Catalan regional committee of the CNT and the following year, together with Lacort and Seguí, he helped finalise arrangements in Madrid with the UGT for a protest strike (and, as a member of the strike committee, was forced to flee to Zaragoza). Appointed director of *Solidaridad Obrera* he did sterling work on sprucing up the paper and also exposed Bravo Portillo. He attended the Sans congress (1918), which re-elected him as director of *Solidaridad Obrera* and, the very same year he was addressing rallies (by then he was a CNT bigwig on a par with Seguí). He attended the 1919 congress (representing Berga) where his contributions were telling. He was chosen to visit Germany and Russia. The trip proved extremely dangerous: he was jailed in Barcelona, attended the international congress in Berlin, visited Moscow (taking part in the proceedings of the Profintern, meeting Lenin and other soviet leaders and witnessing the crackdown on anarchism), was jailed in Milan, Genoa and Barcelona (it was in his Barcelona prison cell that he drafted his famous report on his experiences). Freed in April 1922, he put his findings to the Zaragoza conference that year and, with Seguí and others, put his signature to the famous and controversial resolution spelling out the philosophy behind a-politicism and anti-politicism. An opponent of terrorism, he became a sought after target for the gunmen of the employer-government alliance: his life was attempted in Tarragona (in 1920) and in Manresa (1921) and was left seriously wounded. With the approach of the Dictatorship, he joined the revolutionary national committee, but soon left it: a little later, he was embroiled in the Vera de Bidasoa and Atarazanas incidents and was jailed until the end of 1926. It was around this time that Pestaña began, discernibly, to lean towards revisionist views: on his release,

he championed reorganisation of the CNT against supporters of clandestine struggle and he was caught up in his famous controversy with Peiró, in the course of which he argued a very possibilist, exceedingly syndicalist line which led to the collapse of the national committee on which he was serving (1929): shortly after that he was holding talks with Berenguer and Mola with an eye to legalisation of the CNT (1930): the next year, he ruled out the possibility of a Libertarian Party and came away from the CNT congress rather disappointed: he signed the treintista manifesto and became the bête noire of the radicals and faístas (he was secretary of the CNT national committee): the criticism he came under led to the break-up of the national committee (March 1932) and he was expelled from the CNT (not that that stopped him from looking upon himself as a CNT member right up until the day he died). After that, the pace of events accelerated: he set up the FSL (Libertarian Syndicalist Federation) in opposition to the FAI, took an interest in the Workers' Alliance and eventually founded the Syndicalist Party (March 1934). Not only was the latter a failure, but it left him in a vacuum. After the outbreak of civil war (he was deputy for Cádiz on the Popular Front ticket after February 1936) he organised a brigade (the 67th) and served on the general war council: in addition, he was sub-commissar general for war and declined appointment as a CNT minister (in return for which offer he was required to disband his party, which he refused to do: later on, he was put in charge of the War Materials Council and rejoined the CNT - late in 1937). He died on 11 December 1937, still, it would seem, invoking the CNT's name. He wrote widely for the libertarian press and the press in general: *Pravda*, *Solidaridad Obrera*, *España Nueva*, *El Crotálogo*, *Solidaridad Proletaria*, *Acción*, *Mañana*, *Revista Obrera*, *La Libertad*, *Vida Sindical*, *Solidaridad Obrera* (Santiago), *Tierra y Libertad*, *Acción Social*, *Nueva Senda*, *La Campana de Gracia*, etc., and was director and administrator of *Solidaridad Obrera*. He wrote numerous books and pamphlets including: *Sindicalismo y Unidad Sindical* (Valencia 1933), *Setenta Días en Rusia. Lo Que Yo Pienso* (Barcelona 1925), *Setenta Días en Rusia. Lo Que Yo Ví* (Barcelona 1924), *Acción Directa* (Barcelona 1924),

Sindicalismo; Su Organización y Tendencia (Valencia 1930), Las Federaciones de Industria (Barcelona 1930), Normas Orgánicas (Barcelona 1930), ¿Sindicato Único? (Barcelona, undated), El Sindicalismo, Qué Quiere y Adonde Va (Barcelona 1933), Lo Que Aprendí en la Vida (Madrid 1933), Terrorismo en Barcelona (Tarragona 1920, reprinted in an extended edition, Barcelona 1979), Por Qué se Constituyó el Partido Sindicalista (Barcelona 1936), ¿Dictadura Proletaria? (Barcelona, undated), ¿Debe Disolverse el Partido Sindicalista? (Valencia 1936), Del Momento (Madrid 1936), Las Doce Palabras (Madrid, undated), Inocentes (Barcelona 1926), ¿Donde Cree Usted Que Va el Siglo? (Madrid, undated, with others).

Pestaña is a mythic figure, one of the greatest in the CNT's history, the very symbol of the life of the Confederation for upwards of twenty years, a protagonist in all of the major events and meetings, who gave repeated service at the head of the national committee, was arrested times out of number for his CNT activity and was also wounded in the Confederation's service. However, even today, when the CNT has bestowed its forgiveness upon so many, he is still widely vilified and all because he ventured to launch a political party (and refused to disband it). Surely it is high time that that error was outweighed by the numerous services he rendered anarchism and the Confederation? It is high time that Pestaña, a methodical, tenacious type, a knight of sorrowful countenance, puritanical and long-suffering, a man of steely temperament, a CNT man even in his mistakes, was rewritten into the overall history of anarchism.

161. PEIRÓ BELIS, Juan. Sans 1887-Valencia 1942, shot by the fascists. Involved in the glass industry from a very early age, he was illiterate until the age of 15 and had ambitions of becoming a bullfighter. At the age of 15 he started to take an interest in labour affairs and moved from Pueblo Nuevo to Badalona where he joined the workers' association and became a theatre buff. By 1906 he was a committed activist and it seems certain that he attended the 1910 congress (as an observer on behalf of the Ateneo of Badalona, along with Piera). In 1915 he managed to unite the Badalona

unions into a single local federation and launched its mouthpiece, *La Colmena Obrera* (of which he was director from January 1917 on); in 1916 he was general secretary of the Spanish Glass Federation (until 1920), editor of *El Vidrio* (which he was to direct the following year). In 1917, he argued the anarcho-syndicalist case at a conference and in 1918 he attended the Sans congress; in 1919 he spoke up for national industrial federations at the CNT congress. In 1920 he moved to Sans, organised the national glass-makers congress, survived two attempts on his life and was jailed in Soria and Vitoria for holding clandestine meetings. In 1922 he came to the forefront of the CNT: he served as secretary of its national committee, attended the Zaragoza Conference and, by then a resident of Mataró, threw himself into resolving the glassmakers' problems and took part in many meetings; in 1923 he served on the civilian conduct committee; in 1924 he oversaw the establishment of the glass co-operative and argued for legalisation of the unions (to which end he launched *Vida Sindical* in 1926); he had a hand in every conspiracy against Primo de Rivera and endured jail a number of times (serving half a year in 1925, as well as being jailed in May 1927 and in the summer of 1928), headed the CNT national committee in 1928-29 and towards the end of 1929 engaged Pestaña in a famous controversy, only to cause surprise by signing the *Manifiesto of the Republican Intelligentsia* the following year (for which he was much criticised and from which he retracted his signature). He helped found the syndicalist papers *Mañana* and *Acción* and at the 1931 congress he successfully argued the case for national federations of industry. Come the frictions between moderates and radicals, he signed the *treintista manifiesto* and (under FAI pressure) resigned the directorship of *Solidaridad Obrera*: in 1932 he joined the FSL and in 1934 was scathingly critical of the foundation of Pestaña's Syndicalist Party and called for reunification of the CNT. After the outbreak of civil war, he served on Mataró's local antifascist committee, which he left to turn to journalism (in August): he drifted towards possibilism: in October he was appointed a delegate to the Generalitat's Council of Economy and in November 1936 became minister of Industry in

the central government as the CNT representative. After his time in government he directed the daily *Catalunya*, was commissar general of electrical power (1938) and finally left for exile in France. In Paris he worked with the JARE and after the Nazi victory he was arrested and handed over to Franco who had him executed on 27 July 1942 after Peiró refused to take up a post in the fascist syndicates.

He wrote for many publications, including: *La Colmena Obrera*, *Solidaridad Obrera*, *El Diluvio*, *Solidaridad Proletaria*, *Acción Social Obrera*, *Vida Sindical*, *L'Opinió*, *Despertad*, *Acción*, *Mañana*, *La Rambla*, *La Tierra*, *Cultura Libertaria*, *Sindicalismo*, *Catalunya*, *Meridià*, *CNT*, *Timón*, *Revista Blanca*, *Redención*, *La Calle*, *La Publicitat*, *Renovación*, *Combate*, *Vertical*, *El Poble Català*, *Albada*, *Llibertat*, *El Combate Sindicalista*, *Tiempos Nuevos*, *Hora Sindicalista*, *Mi Revista*, *El Noticiero Universal* and *Umbral*. Author of: *Perill a la rera* (Mataró 1936), *Trayectoria de la CNT* (Mataró 1925), *Ideas sobre Sindicalismo y Anarquismo* (Barcelona 1930), *Problemas y Cintarazos* (Rennes 1946), as well as few other things which seem to have been lost when he was arrested in France. Some fragments have survived of *Análisis Crítico de la Historia de España*, but there was a text on economic problems and the reconstruction of Spain and a third text on the republican emigrés in France.

Peiró is one of the most attractive of the libertarian movement's personalities: any mistakes or vacillation on his part were wiped out by the integrity with which he conducted himself in the face of the Francoists in 1940-1942. In a way, Peiró was Seguí's successor within the CNT, acting in the 1922-1936 period as its pace-setter, a position for which he competed with Pestaña (even though they eventually found themselves on common ground). At great length he spelled out his view of syndicalism and of the CNT, a view that changed over the years, but which was always exceptionally influential in CNT circles. His theoretical work was pursued through the press: we might single out the series of articles he published in *La Colmena Obrera* (1919), entitled "Democracy and Syndicalism", the first heavyweight treatment of the principles, tactics and aims of revolutionary

syndicalism: it was syndicalism's role to carry out cultural work and revolution and work a change in society. In *Solidaridad Obrera* (1924) he wrote about the need for a congress, rejecting the option of clandestinity and setting out controversial ideas about the meaning of direct action: it can be said with certainty that he drafted the Zaragoza motion on apoliticism and anti-politicism. In *Solidaridad Proletaria* (1925) he mounted his earliest defence of national federations of industry, dealing with the relationship between anarchism and syndicalism and the CNT's particular brand of syndicalism. This led on to the *Vida Sindical* manifesto (January 1926), to his controversy with Cardenio on the CNT's principles and cooperativism (see *Acción Social Obrera*, 1927). In 1928 (in *L'Opinió*), in a polemic with Maurín and others he declared himself an anarchist and the following year he defended direct action. His controversy with Pestaña dates from 1929 (in *Acción Social Obrera*) and brought about the famous 'clearing of the decks': he rejected the idea of the CNT as a mere container or receptacle, condemning cooperativism and championing direct action. In 1929-30 (in *Despertad*) he published a much praised series of articles, arguing that syndicalism was not sufficient unto itself in achieving the ideal, stateless society, but that anarchism was needed, working through syndicate and commune. In 1930-31 he broached the necessity of updating the workers' movement as well as how this might be done: organisation along industrial lines, adapting to the new phase of capitalist economics, with industrial unions and federations (which he advocated very vigorously). In 1931-32 he spelled out his conception of revolution (distinguishing it clearly from political revolution) which had to be social and which would necessitate a prior restructuring in order to reach beyond mere violence: he also spoke of permanent revolution, stages in the revolution, personality cults keeping the CNT divided, the revolutionary ineffectuality of local strikes and the over-riding necessity for CNT unity: he also set out his view of revolutionary syndicalism (a far-reaching view that took in virtually everything) and attacks on the FAI. In 1933 (in *Sindicalismo*) there was the series called "The Social Revolution and Libertarian Communism", where he

argues that libertarian communism was feasible (it would be introduced by libertarian syndicalists, not by the anarchists) as was the social revolution (he attacked the FAI's concept of revolution) and how the union would be the pre-eminent instrument in this: The social revolution was more dependent on resolution of an economic-industrial organisational problem than on an act of force, from which it followed that the task of the militant was to convince people that the building of a new world was not dependent on political, or State legislation but rather upon the conquest of the factories, mines and land, the means of transport and production - to be achieved through organisation of manual and intellectual workers along industrial lines: the social revolution implied organisation and discipline: Peiró also tackled the question of money, the functions of the municipality, the requirement for coercion during the transition.. In 1933-34 he launched savage attacks on the FAI, put the case for the Antifascist Labour Alliance and the Federal Social Republic (demonstrating that it was not at odds with libertarian communism) and, prophetically, he called for participation in voting in the forthcoming elections as a lesser evil. After the civil war began he wrote for *Solidaridad Obrera*: he stressed that the war would be won through the economy, advocated a transitional regime (federal socialist republic), a unified command in military matters (winning the war being the most important thing), unity with the UGT and a CNT presence in government. In 1938-39, his writings hinted at his loss of heart: the CNT ought not to have collaborated directly with the government, the UGT might not be trustworthy and he even concluded (in *Timón*, October 1938) that maybe the CNT ought to have imposed libertarian communism in 1936 without detriment to its principles, the existing situation assuredly being the result of its having jettisoned its own ideals and style.

162. CANIBELL MASBERNAT, Eudaldo. Barcelona 1838-1928.

Printer with some grasp of French and English, a sketch artist and watercolourist of some quality, he worked in the printshop run by Fargas and, like so many other printing workers, was active in working class

internationalist circles in the latter half of the 19th century. An early recruit to the FRE, he was an office-holder of the Barcelona local federation and a member of the Federal Council in 1882. After the split in the printing union, he sided with the anti-authoritarians: he met Kropotkin in Barcelona and occupied a significant place in cultural life in Barcelona: he ran the Biblioteca Arús, was a great Cervantes scholar, helped Pellicer found the Catalan Institute of Publishing Arts (and was director of its review), had a hand in the foundation of the Excursionist Centre of Catalonia and in the establishment of the Watercolourists' Centre in Barcelona. After quitting the Biblioteca Arús, he took over as artistic director of a publishing house and edited or directed trade publications (Revista Poligráfico, El Mercado Poligráfico, Anuario Tipográfico de Neufville). Within the workers' Federation he was active within the moderate faction, as against the radicalism of Los Desheredados in Andalusia. His efforts in the printing field was added to that of other illustrious internationalists (Farga, Pellicer, etc.) and it might be argued that it was anarchists who brought fresh blood to the printing trade in Spain and the Americas. He wrote for La Asociación, Acracia and La Tramontana. Author of forewords and editions of the classics (illustrations included) such as Don Quijote or Lazarillo. Also wrote many printing-related books and on sundry other topics: Defectos de que Adolece la Imprenta Española Ortoprosódica y Tipográficamente Considerada (1881), Efemérides de la Tipografía Española y Americana (1891), Efemérides del Periodismo Español y Hispanoamericano (1893), Montserrat, Album, Guía, Plano, Historia de la Célebre Montaña y su Monasterio (1899), Heribert Mariezcurrena i la Introducció de la Fototipia i del fotograbat a Espanya (1900), Album Caligráfico Universal (1901), A la Bona Memòria de Marcel·lí Serra i Furnell (1906), Estudi Iconogràfic del Rei Jaume I el Conqueridor (1910).

163. MANO NEGRA.

1. - Everything to do with the Mano Negra is extremely suspect. It probably never existed, but was, rather, a concoction of the Andalusian oligarchy in

cahoots with the State's agencies of repression, the object being to eradicate the growing strength of the FTRE. First reports of it date from 1883 (they were preceded by intense repression), at which time the government made allegations to the effect that it had stumbled upon a criminal organisation with ambitions to overthrow the government and wipe out agrarian caciquismo in Lower Andalusia. On the basis of suspicion and nothing more, the government authorities mounted a wave of arrests: 200 were arrested in February 1883 and upwards of 5,000 in March (2,000 were locked up in Cádiz and 3,000 in Jerez), all on the basis of tracking down those responsible for a few deaths. The FTRE realised instinctively that it was a set-up designed to destroy it and denied that any such society existed. In addition, out of fear, it severed all connections with all victims of the crackdown (see the Federal Council's Manifesto that year) and this disassociation was not unrelated to the conflict by which the Federation was split at the time (with the more radical breakaway elements, Los Desheredados, being located in precisely the district under the government cosh at the time). The tide of repression began late in 1882, but the so-called Mano Negra trials followed in 1883: there were three trials in all: a) the so-called Cuatro Caminos well trial, from the site where the inn-keeper Antonio Vázquez had been murdered. That trial started on 26 May 1883, with four sentences of life imprisonment being handed down. b) The Arcos trial, resulting from the murder of Fernando Oliveras. This ended with one sentence of life imprisonment and another of 17 years' imprisonment. c) The most famous trial related to the death of Blanco de Benaocaz and an attempt was made directly to implicate the Spanish section of the IWMA: it was known as the La Parrilla trial, after the site where Blanco was murdered on 4 December 1882. 15 death sentences were requested and no less than seven granted, plus seven sentences of life imprisonment: several members of the FTRE were implicated (Roque Vázquez, Francisco Corbacho, and Pedro Corbacho - the last-named being the supposed leader of the Mano Negra); the trial showed that evidence was the last consideration: reading the (legal) anarchist press was looked upon as criminal and some

“Mano Negra Regulations and Statutes” were even produced, which had been accidentally discovered “under a rock” by T. Pérez Monforte (a known provocateur in the pay of the caciques, on whose behalf he would set fields ablaze, with the blame then being heaped upon the organised workers), circumstances which made it mind-boggling that a recent female scholar should have peddled it as fact. In charge of the repression was Civil Guard Lieutenant José Oliver and those executed included the Corbachos, Juan Ruiz and Roque Vázquez. The Mano Negra events centred on Jérez have inspired floods of ink. Not until 4 March 1903 was an amnesty granted and it benefitted 8 survivors (J. León, A. Martínez, Antonio Valero, Salvador Moreno, Cristóbal Durán, Diego Maestre, Francisco Prieto and J. Jiménez). The Mano Negra was one of the biggest frame-ups orchestrated by the police, government and reactionaries against revolutionary labour.

2. - Orientation and fighting organ of the Libertarian Youth of Madrid. Periodical publication, Madrid, 1981, 2 issues.

164. ILLERA TEJADA, Macario. Vitoria 1913 -

From a very impoverished family, he spent periods of time in the poorhouse: at the age of 14 he joined the army as a drummer-boy and lived in the Zaragoza Military Academy in the days when Franco was its director: when the Academy was shut down during the republic, he joined an infantry regiment, initially as a drummer and later as a rifleman: posted to stand guard in the prison in Zaragoza, he was jailed for chatting with the inmates and, shortly afterwards, quite by accident, he attended a CNT rally in the city (1932). It made a deep impression on him and he decided to join the ranks of the anarchists. It was not long before he clashed with a sergeant and was cashiered from the army. In 1933 he was living in Vitoria as a CNT member and in 1936, when the fascists succeeded in Vitoria he fled (24 July) over the mountains to Bilbao: he fought in San Sebastián, Tolosa and Irún and later, having signed up with the Bakunin Battalion, in Chiviarte, Sollube and Murguía, until the Bilbao front collapsed, at which point he made for Santander where (due to the treachery of Basque

nationalists) he was arrested along with several thousand others in August 1937 and taken to Santoña: this was the start of long period of calamity (including his being sentenced to death) in the prisons of Bilbao and Burgos, until he was released on licence in March 1943 and banished to near Benicarló (Cervera) where he was a goatherd. After some months he returned to Vitoria, trying his hand at various trades and entering into the clandestine struggle (as a member of the Alava comarcal committee). In 1947 he attempted to flee to France, but was arrested in Navarre and jailed for several months in Pamplona and Vitoria. Sickened by the unresponsive nature of the workers, he made up his mind to change his profession and became a shoe-shine boy, keeping the torch of anarchism alight in Vitoria for many years and becoming extraordinarily popular in the city. From 1967 on, a series of thromboses weakened him, but this did not stop him from being one of the first to offer a helping hand when the CNT began to rebuild in Vitoria in 1976. A Tolstoyan, advocate of a pacifist anarchism, tremendously determined, always optimistic, with strict principles that led him to reject consumerism, he is the perfect embodiment of the indefatigable militant whose ideas are indestructible.

165. LA REVISTA BLANCA.

A highly prestigious publication that survived for two decades. It came into being to carry on the campaign to assist the victims of the Montjuich trials, a campaign initiated by Lerroux's *El Progreso*. Initially it was not avowedly anarchist, given the legislation in force and Soledad Gustavo was the named director, since Urales could not be so named for legal reasons. In its initial stage, 1898-1905, it published 168 issues and was under the direction of Urales and Soledad Gustavo in Madrid. Its second stage saw it based in Barcelona from 1923 to 1936, publishing a total of 338 issues, under the direction of Urales and Federica Montseny. It came out fortnightly (weekly from 1933 on), and met with considerable success (selling some 8,000 copies). It could count upon the contributions of many intellectuals as well as from the cream of world anarchism: essentially, it concerned itself with

scientific, sociological and literary matters. From the vast list of its contributors, we might cite Fernández Mateos, Malatesta, Lazare, Spencer, Gori, Benavente, Corominas, Gener, Mella, Giner, Unamuno, Grave, Guyau, Cunillera, Guerra, Fouillé, Dicenta, Bardon, Tailhade, Chekhov, Dumont, Bonafulla, Rubio, Laguerre, Royer, Brossa, Money, Cano, Tárrida, Reclus, Lorenzo, Prat, Salvochea, Clarín, Lubin, Gorky, Romeo, Ferrer, Büchner, Moreno, Zisly, Layda, Brich, Lagrange, Ribot, Marguery, Huxley, Baroja, Nordau, Lluria, Cortiella, Cornelissen, Malato, Prot, Montagut..

There was a complementary Biblioteca de la Revista Blanca series (in its first stage) that offered works by Haeckel, Urales, Fernández Mateos, Spencer and others. Another complementary publication was the Almanaque de la Revista Blanca, which included writings by Posada, Bonafoux, González Serrano, Cama, Giner, Dorado Montero, Cossio, Unamuno, Apolo, Salvochea, Michel, Reclus, Pérez Jorba and Romeo.

Furthermore, in 1899, the review launched a Suplemento, which struck out on its own after two years as Tierra y Libertad.

166. CASAS VIEJAS.

A village south of Cádiz, known these days as Benalup. There in 1933 incidents occurred that had a great impact upon political developments in Spain. In 1933, Casas Viejas had a population of 2,000 and, come the anarchist uprising in January 1933, which affected several regions, the effects were also felt in Casas Viejas. On 10 January the peasants rose up and seized the village, organising it along anarchist lines. On the afternoon of the following day, the Civil Guard stormed into the village. Most of the CNT militants escaped into the countryside, but the absence of CNT personnel did not prevent the invaders from conducting themselves with extraordinary brutality: commanded by Fernández Artal, they searched the houses and after torturing Quijada, they brought him to the hovel in which Seisdedos and eight others had taken refuge: when an attempt was made to break through the door, one Civil Guard was wounded and those inside refused to surrender themselves, whereupon a gun battle erupted: as night

fell, 90 Assault Guards arrived under the command of Rojas, who assumed charge of the repression: after an intense hail of rifle-, machine-gun- fire and grenades, Rojas ordered that the hovel be set on fire. Six of those inside (two youngsters only managed to escape, one of them the celebrated María Silva Cruz) perished and were burned to death. Whereupon Rojas proceeded to ransack the village houses: an old man died and twelve young men were taken to Seisdedos's burned-out hut and murdered on the spot. Once the extent of the repression became known, the entire country was stunned and accusations flew between the politicians; it proved a telling factor in the election campaign, which was won by the right. The man held most to blame was Azaña, who was credited with the famous instruction that no one was to be left alive and that they were to be shot in the bellies. The repression visited upon Casas Viejas set the seal upon the CNT's disassociation with the republic. After the parliamentary debates provoked by the criminal action and after the trial that followed upon the repression, only one person was held culpable: Rojas, who was sentenced to 20 years. The proceedings at his trial had exposed the hair-raising repression that had descended upon the village in the ensuing days: a further several people had been clubbed to death and terror had been enforced. Among those murdered in January 1933 were Francisco Cruz (Seisdedos), Antonio Barberán, Pedro Cruz, Jerónimo Silva, Francisco García, Josefa Franco, Manuela Largo, Manuel Quijada, Fernando Largo, Rarael Mateo, Balbino Zumaguero - all of them from anarchist and CNT families. The sometime informer, sometime provocateur involved answered to the name of Juan López Estella, who posed as a newspaper correspondent.

Naturally, the anarchist press made great play of these events and pamphlets were published to record the courage of the martyrs and the savagery of the repression (especially on the part of Rojas, Sergeant Marín, Assault Guard García and Azaña). Among the writings from the libertarian and CNT camp referring to the episode, the most prominent were: Casas Viejas (Madrid 1933, by R. Sender), ¡Han Pasado los Bárbaros! La Verdad sobre Casas Viejas (Seville 1933, CNT, by Ballester), Viaje a la Aldea del

Crimen (Madrid 1934, by Sender), La Verdad sobre la Tragedia de Casas Viejas (Barcelona 1933, CNT), María Silva la Libertaria (Toulouse 1951, by F. Montseny), and España 1933. La Barbarie Gubernamental (Barcelona 1933). Casas Viejas represents yet another instance of the savagery with which the Andalusian peasantry has been repressed by government.

167. MONTSENY MAÑÉ, Federica. Madrid 1905-

In 1914 she moved with her father to Barcelona, living in San Andrés, Hospitalet, Guinardó, Horta and Cerdañola (from 1918 on). The self-educated daughter of anarchist intellectuals (Federico Urales and Soledad Gustavo), she turned to writing at a very early age on account of the prospects open to her as a member of the Urales family (which published its own reviews). Her first novel dates from 1922, as do her earliest contributions to the anarchist press (Nueva Senda, Redención). From 1923 on she was being published in Solidaridad Obrera and very often in La Revista Blanca, on literary and philosophical themes (e.g. her Breve Ensayo para una Antología de Escritores Españoles de Izquierda, in 1930: or La Mujer, Problema del Hombre in 1926-27). She published lots of novels and novelettes in the Novela Ideal series (1925-1931). Up until the advent of the republic, she had had little political engagement, her time consumed by matters literary and because of her conformity with the family's tradition of not allowing themselves to be confined by a set of initials. It was after she joined the CNT in June 1931 that she quickly gained prestige for her support for radical arguments and her criticisms of moderates (see her celebrated articles against Mira and Pestaña in 1931-32). In 1932 she went on propaganda tours of the Basque Country and Andalusia, as well as Mallorca: in 1935 it was the turn of Galicia and in 1936 Cantabria's turn, as she expounded upon an odd, somewhat antique anarchism (the revolution had to proceed from countryside to city, would be spontaneous but not improvised, stress of individualism etc.) that largely emerged the victor at the Zaragoza congress. On the outbreak of the civil war, she joined the FAI, served on its peninsular secretariat and was the FAI's delegate on the CNT regional committee; in the early months of the war she addressed rallies on

behalf of the FAI and took part in important CNT meetings: at the September 1936 national plenum of regionals she was part of the working party that drafted the motion suing for the establishment of a Defence Council and, shortly after that, 94 November) she served as Minister for Health in the republican government: in the months that followed she simply wallowed in the revisionism by which the CNT was afflicted during the civil war years. In December 1936 she addressed a rally calling for discipline, in May 1937 in Barcelona she urged moderation, she served on the working party which , at the Libertarian Movement plenum in April 1938, set up a CNT Executive Committee and she held meetings with the UGT designed to arrive at a compact or amalgamation.. After the civil war ended, she left for exile in France, where she served on the SERE and Libertarian Movement General Council (1939); the Nazi victory in France led to her being jailed in Limoges (1942) and after that she was confined in Salon for a few years. During the early months in exile she experienced some ideological vacillation (she, along with her husband, Esgleas, is credited with a scheme to establish a party) but by the time of the 1945 congress she, and Esgleas, headed the orthodox, purist current which criticised the war-time collaboration policy of the CNT. From then on she stayed loyal to anarchist and CNT orthodoxy, holding positions of the utmost importance in the majority faction of the exiles (serving on the Inter-Continental Secretariat several times and acting as director of CNT for several terms too), becoming, over the years, the CNT's greatest symbol, something not unconnected with her belonging to a staunchly anarchist family, her regular contributions to the press and her undoubted readiness to speak at CNT meetings and conferences. A very controversial woman in CNT circles, she had lots of supporters and a sizable number of detractors too, the result of her having been forty years in the upper echelons of the CNT. She published articles in lots of newspapers: *Etica*, *El Luchador*, *Solidaridad Obrera*, *Cenit*, *Umbral*, *Nueva Senda*, *Redención*, *CNT*, *Espoir*, *La Revista Blanca*, *La Tierra*, *Tiempos Nuevos*, *Inquietudes*, *Acción*, *Prismas*, *Tierra y Libertad*, *Mi Revista*, *Nosotros*, *Mujeres Libres*, *Catalunya*, *Timón*.

Author of numerous books and pamphlets, including: Horas Trágicas (Madrid 1922), El Anarquismo Militante y la Realidad Española (Valencia 1937), Anselmo Lorenzo; el Hombre y la Obra (Barcelona 1938), La Commune de Paris y la Revolución Española (Valencia 1937), La Comuna, Primera Revolución Consciente (Barcelona, undated), España, su Lucha y sus Ideales (Buenos Aires, 1937, with others), Cent Dies de la Vida de una Donna 1939-1940 (Barcelona 1977, previously published in Spanish in 1949), El Éxodo Anarquista (Barcelona 1979), El Problema de los Sexos (Toulouse 1969), María Silva , la Libertaria (Toulouse 1951), Pasión y Muerte de los Españoles en Francia (Toulouse 1969), Qué es el Anarquismo (Barcelona 1976), Crónicas de CNT 1960-61 (Choisy 1971), Cuatro Mujeres (Barcelona 1979), Florecimiento, Las Santas, El Amor Nuevo,Cuál de las Tres (1925), Los Hijos de la Calle, Maternidad, El Otro Amor, La Última Primavera, Resurrección, (all from 1926), Martirio, La Hija del Verdugo, María de Magdala, El Rescate de la Cautiva, El Amor Errante (all 1927), La Vida que Empieza, Sor Angélica, La Ruta Iluminada, El Último Amor, Nuestra Señora del Paralelo, El Derecho al Hijo, Los Caminos del Mundo, La Hija de las Estrellas (all 1928), Frente al Amor, El Juego del Amor y de la Vida (both 1929), La Infinita Sed, Sonata Patética, Pasionaria, Tú Eres la Vida, El Ocaso de los Dioses, La Mujer que Huía del Amor (all 1930), El Amor que Pasa, Un Hombre (both 1931), Una Vida, Aurora Roja, Ana María, Heroínas, Vampiresas, La Aventurera, La Sombra del Pasado, Sinfonía Apasionada, Amor de un Día, etc., etc.

168. LA ESCUELA MODERNA.

1. - Boletín de la Escuela Moderna. Periodical publication subtitled "Scientific, Rational Education". Mouthpiece of the aforementioned Modern School founded by Ferrer. Monthly. Barcelona, 30 October 1901 to 30 July 1907 (it did not appear between June 1906 and July 1907): a second phase covered 1 May 1908 to July 1909: the last issue was No 62. It ceased publication due to the imprisonment of Ferrer. It was a publication widely distributed around the rationalist schools, freethinkers and anarchists: its

contents were virtually exclusively devoted to educational matters and analysis of experiences. Contributors included Cancellieri, Dubois, Columbié, Key, Chtchedin, Eugen, Robin, Myrial, Eysinga, Jacquinet, Poltawsky, Lagardelle, Yvetot, Faure, Lorenzo, Michel, Grave, Ferreras, Berthelot, Spencer, Gorky, Vulguis, Reclus, Guillaume, Haeckel, Nacquet, Albert, Chaughi, Eislander, Flammarion, Bonnard, Meslier. etc.

2. - Periodical of the Samuel Torner Modern School. Valencia, 292 (?) issues produced from 1910 onwards.

3. -Publicaciones de la Escuela Moderna. A publishing imprint set up by Ferrer. It was essentially designed to furnish the aforesaid school with reading matter and text books. It operated from 1902 to 1910 and published works written by Bloch, Paraf-Javal, Pargame, Engerrand, Nergal, Letourneau, Lluria (Evolución Superorgánica, La Humanidad del Porvenir), Odón del Buen (Nociones de Geografía Física, Las Ciencias Naturales, Geografía, Historia Natural, Mineralogía), Reclus, Saverweir, Edmund, Rube, Laberne, Ferri, Pellicer (Análisis de la Cuestión de la Vida), Kropotkin, Pert, Pi i Arsuaga (Preludios de la Lucha), Estévanez (Resumen de Historia de España), Pataud, Pouget, Grave, as well as Canciones (by Estévanez, Codina, Salvochea, Bersá and Ferrán).

4. - An educational experiment begun in Barcelona with the establishment of a school with thirty pupils in the Calle Bailén on 8 September 1901. The Boletín, Publicaciones series and so-called Conferencias dominicales (Sunday Lectures) were associated with the School. Founded by Ferrer, it had a panel or board of patrons that included Rodríguez Méndez, Odón, Ramón y Cajal, Lluria, Martínez Vargas and Anselmo Lorenzo, with Prat serving as administrator. Prominent among the teaching staff were Salas, Corominas, Maseras and Jacquinet. The School expanded rapidly: in January 1902 it had 70 pupils, in 1904 the figure was 126 and by 1906 it had expanded to include fifty centres around the province of Barcelona: in 1908 the number of Schools in Barcelona city had risen to 10, with an enrolment of a thousand pupils and there were associated centres in Madrid, Seville, Granada, Málaga, Cádiz, Córdoba, Las Palmas, Valencia etc., and had even

expanded into Brazil, Portugal, Switzerland and Holland... The Modern School's decline began in 1906 (with the arrest of Ferrer) when the government ordered that the school in the Calle Bailén shut down, and was already very pronounced when Ferrer was shot. After his death the Torner school in Valencia was one of the few that dared to soldier on.

Much opposed by government figures, reactionaries and the clergy (opposition that did not rest until Ferrer had been executed), Ferrer's achievements have been embraced by anarcho-syndicalism which has looked upon these things as part of its own experience. The features of the Modern School were: co-education of the sexes and social classes, emphasis on the ethical status of teachers, non-use of a punishment and reward system, comprehensive (manual and intellectual skills) education encouraging rebelliousness, respect for the personality of the pupil, schooling for liberation, critical rather than neutral teaching, teaching that was libertarian, anti-State, anti-authoritarian, secular, rational, idealistic and scientific.

5. - Libertarian review published in Calgary, Canada. Founded by the Spaniard Félix Álvarez Ferreras (with help, initially, from the Italian Luigi Maida), its first issue appeared in July 1963 in Italian and Spanish, in a print-run of 400 illustrated off-set editions, its title a tribute to Francisco Ferrer. No 2 appeared in Montreal (where Álvarez Ferreras was living at the time), in Italian, French and Spanish, in March-April 1964. From No 3 it was based in Calgary (December 1964) where it lasted for six years, publishing a total of 28 issues at bi-monthly intervals. It was wound up in 1969. It published texts by Malatesta, Nettlau, Kropotkin, Berneri, Mella, Lorenzo, Faure, Flores Magón, Reclus, Ferrer and other classic authors and enjoyed the collaboration of Redondo, Lamela, Deogracia, Fernández Leys, G. Polanco, Solano Palacio, Relgis, Álvarez Ferreras, Campio Carpio, Frutos, Sol Ferrer, Nosir, Greenwood, Fabio Luz, Víctor García, Ibero Galo and others.

169. OARE. Initials indicative of two organisations with anarchist leanings.

1. The Organización Anarquista de la Región Española (Spanish Regional

Anarchist Organisation). Set up in 1888 at the last congress of the FTRE, it was short-lived and of minor importance, or at any rate was little known, since the decision had been taken at that congress that the FTRE sections and trades branches were to be disbanded (and replaced by unorganised groups) and that no congresses should be held. Rather than as a trade union organisation, it may well be better considered as an extension of the Alliance and a fore-runner of the FAI: this view may be endorsed by the fact that considerable numbers of its members also held simultaneous membership of the Pacto.

2. - Initials of the Organización de Agricultores de la Región Española (Spanish Regional Farmers' Organisation). Founded in 1891 (at the Córdoba congress, 30 November-1 December) as an anarchistic organisation. It appears to have been a continuation of the UTC which failed to resurrect the old organisation. The aforementioned congress was attended by delegates from 21 localities in Andalusia, representing some three thousand members and it called for an orchestrated uprising and tried to launch a recruitment campaign directed at share-croppers and farm labourers, but fell out when it came to coordinating inter-locality solidarity and failed as a result. The initials UARE, with the U standing for Union, appear to refer to the same organisation. A congress in August 1893 adopted the statutes of the old UTC from 1882 and called upon Andalusian workers to organise along solidarity lines.

170. LIQUINIANO, Félix. Mondragón 1909-

In his youth he worked alongside his father (a contractor) up until he was called up into the army. In San Sebastián, he organised a protest over the rations issued to troops and this earned him a 15 year prison sentence. Released under amnesty in 1933, he joined the CNT and was again sentenced to 15 years. He was released from prison under the 1936 amnesty and when the civil war started he fought bravely in the Commune of San Sebastián, directing operations against the rebels: after the loss of the North, he fought on in Madrid, Aragon and Catalonia. When the war ended

he joined the clandestine struggle. In exile in France he was one of the most outstanding militants from the Basque regional and was implicated in some controversial matters: together with Armesto and others he signed up to the Bayonne Pact which gave rise to a lot of problems but survived. A very good friend of Chiapuso.

171. ORTÍZ RAMÍREZ, Antonio. Born in Catalonia, 1907.

A carpenter by trade, he joined the CNT early on and by 1926 was a member of the Los Solidarios group, its youngest member, and in that capacity he had a hand in many of its activities. During the republic, he was in charge of the CNT defence cadres in Barcelona and after the uprising of January 1933 was jailed and beaten. Very active in snuffing out the fascist revolt in July 1936, he left Barcelona shortly after that for the Aragon front at the head of the Sud-Ebro Division and played a crucial role in the Bujaraloz meeting (October 1936) that led to the establishment of the Council of Aragon and to appointment of Ascaso as its president. For two years he commanded the 25th Division (before and after its regularisation) until he was accused of abusing his authority and complicity in certain obscure activities credited to J. Ascaso. He was stood down and sent to the Pyrenees where several attempts were made on his life before he escaped to France and contacted Ascaso, which triggered a tidal wave of vehement objections from the CNT (who accused him of desertion). After the defeat, he passed through French concentration camps (Vernet and Djelfa): in 1942 he left Djelfa after enlisting with the Allied army, with which he saw action in several countries, was decorated and was promoted to sergeant. After the Nazis were defeated he settled in Saverden (Ariège department) and was still living there when, at a summons from Ceradda Santos (another CNT member fallen into disgrace), he took part in the abortive airborne attempt on Franco's life (1948). Later he moved to the Americas where he was living (in Venezuela) as of 1979, working in a saw-mill.

172. PALLÁS LATORRE, Paulino. Cambrils 1862-Barcelona 1893, shot.

Son of a stonemason from Maella, he had a tough childhood: he learned the trade of compositor and became a great reader and dyed-in-the-wool anarchist. He travelled a lot in France, Argentina (accompanying Malatesta) and Brazil. On returning from the Americas and unable to find work, he acquired a sewing machine and did sewing work for a factory, as well as buying and selling clothes: this was very taxing work. Later, he settled in Barcelona and was a member of the Benvenuto Salud anarchist group. On 23-24 September 1893 he attempted the life of Barcelona's Captain-General Martínez Campos by way of retaliation for the deaths of several anarchists and even though the general did not die, Pallás was executed. He explained his assassination bid by stating that he deemed the appointment of his intended victim as captain-general of Catalonia to constitute an offence to humanity. Ideologically, he seems to have been of the anarcho-communist persuasion. His act of vengeance created a great sensation and the Chicago anarchist congress that year gave its approval to his action. The great integrity with which he faced execution made a great impression and the anarchist press of the day all hailed him (e.g. *El Oprimido*, *La Controversia*, *La Revancha*, *El Corsario*, all in 1893). A letter of his was published in *El País* of October 1883.

173. TIERRA Y LIBERTAD.

Title of several anarchist newspapers. This is the quintessential Spanish anarchist title and it frequently acted as the spokesman for the anarchist groups and faístas.

1. - Anarchist fortnightly published in Gracia from 2 June 1888 to 30 April 1889. Director, Sebastián Suñé. Anarcho-communist, 23 issues published. Contributions from Apolo, Montseny, Gustavo. The title was borrowed from the (19th century) Russian movement *Zemlya i Volya*.

2. - Publication produced in Madrid, first as a *Suplemento* to *La Revista Blanca* (20 May 1899) and then, two years later, independently as *Tierra y Libertad*. Directed by Urales, it survived until 1904. Later it moved to Barcelona where it was to survive lots of ups and downs over many years

as the mouthpiece of the anarchist groups. It was banned in 1919, only to reappear in 1923. Among its directors were Herreros, Cardenal, Basón, Soledad Gustavo.. and its many contributors included Bueno, Urales, Tárrida, Lorenzo, Moco-roa and Reclus. Normally, publication was weekly, but occasionally (as in the latter half of 1903) it went daily.

3. - Launched in May 1930. Organ of the FAI, Barcelona, publishing weekly (daily in 1936). It endured various ups and downs and was frequently suspended and re-launched. From April 1931 on, it was subtitled "Organ of Spain's Social Revolution". Its directors included Alaiz, Juanel and Abad de Santillán and its administrators Peirats, Juanel, Cuscó and Escorza. It achieved a print run of thirty thousand copies (more than any political group's newspaper). Published very violent, radical writings. It vanished in the wake of the military defeat, only to resurface clandestinely in Madrid and Barcelona in June 1946 and then, sporadically at least, in 1955, 1956, 1957 and 1958.

4. - Publication of the Spanish anarchists in Mexico. Founded in June 1944 by Hermilo Alonso, Marcos Alcón, Domingo Rojas and Cano Ruiz. A monthly, it has published upwards of 400 issues (and was still publishing in 1982). Under the successive direction of Cano Ruiz, Floreal Ocaña and Severino Campos, Guilarte, Adolfo Hernández, Ismael Viadiu-José Viadiu and Guilarte again. It counts upon the ready assistance of Liberto Callejas who looked after the editorials up until his death. Over the years, its format shrank and it assumed a more timeless, American flavour. Its myriad collaborators have included: Lladó, Viñuales, Lazarte, Papiol, Iniesta Pérez Gaona, Carranza, Severino Campos, Magriñá, Ocaña Sánchez, Alaiz, Vallina, Baciú, Carpio, Samblancat, Villar, Carbó, Ródenas, Andrade, Figola, Pintado, Pacheco Vargas, Solano Palacio, Nettleau, Alberola, Borghi, Costa Iscar, Carsi, Fresneda...

5. - Mouthpiece of the Catalan FAI and later of the Spanish FAI. Clandestine. Barcelona? 1977-1982, a total of 17 issues.

Newspaper, organ of the Canaries CNT. Three separate phases, the first, in 1934 , as a weekly that survived for two years up until the fascist revolt. A second phase came in 1947 when publication was clandestine and fitful: it ended in a wave of repression that swept its publishers into exile in the Americas. The third phase was 1977 to 1980 when 5 issues were published.

175. LOS MAÑOS.

Anti-Franco action group that operated essentially in and around Barcelona in 1949-1950. Its best known fighter was Wenceslao Giménez Orive and the group included Simón Gracia Fleringan, Plácido Ortiz, Rodolfo and one or two others. Its formation grew out of the disagreements that Wenceslao had had with Facerías in late 1946/early 1947, at which point Wenceslao decided to strike out on his own and set up his own guerrilla group, which he did, in Zaragoza and Barcelona in February 1949. The group was involved in the abortive attempt on the life of the head of the anti-terrorist police, Quintela, and in similarly unsuccessful attacks on Franco in La Muela and in El Pardo, as well as in several expropriations. It enjoyed the support of Saborit who unfortunately put the group in touch with Aniceto Pardillo who proved to be a planted informer. Following the police crackdowns of 1948-49 which smashed the clandestine structures of the fighting groups, Los Maños entered Catalonia via the Pyrenees (December 1949) and on reaching Barcelona found that they had been followed. A gun-battle erupted in which Wenceslao was left seriously wounded and he took his own life (9 January 1950). Gracia and Ortiz were arrested and later sentenced to death and shot (24 December 1950).

176. HOYOS VINENT, Antonio. Madrid 1886-1940.

From an aristocratic family, educated in Vienna and Oxford and a student at the University of Madrid and having gone on a grand tour of Europe, it seems that he joined the FAI in the late 1920s and may, although this is less certain, have belatedly joined the Pestañist grouping. During the civil war, he wrote revolutionary articles for *El Sindicalista* and, once the war was

over, he was jailed and died in prison. A curious, high-minded individual with ambitions to be a liberator, he grasped the truth and justice behind the wishes of the people. Hoyos occupies a not inconsiderable position in turn of the century Spanish literature; a precocious writer (his first novel dates from 1903) he published a lot of writing at the rate of several books per year until he had written some thirty substantial novels, about fifty short stories, several volumes of stories and numerous journalistic pieces (initially in the conservative, and later in the revolutionary and anarchist press). There are three main strands to his novel-writing: social criticism, eroticism and sensual mysticism: a writer of artistic prose of an overwhelming, baroque lyricism, a touch romantic and a neo-modernist, he blends eroticism with mysticism and a certain obsession with death and cruelty, as well as with a political conservatism. All of these elements gave way around 1930 to an anarchistic messianism to which he was to remain loyal and which cost him his life: however, his anarchism is hardly reflected in his novels, although it is intensely present in his journalism. He was the director of several reviews (*Gran Mundo*, *Sport*) and author of: *Cuestión de Ambiente* (1903), *Mors in Vita* (1904), *Frivialidad* (1905), *A Flor de Piel* (1906), *Los Emigrantes* (1908), *Del Huerto del Pecado* (stories, 1909), *La Vejez de Heliogábalo* (1912), *El Pecado y la Noche* (stories, 1913), *El Horror de Morir* (1914), *El Monstruo* (1915), *El Oscuro Dominio* (1916), *Los Cascabeles de Madame Locura* (stories, 1917), *El Árbol Genealógico* (1918), *El Pasado* (1918), *Las Ciudades Malditas* (1920), *Llamarada* (1917-19), *Oro, Sed, Sangre y Sol* (1914), *Novelas Aristocráticas* (1917), *El Secreto de la Ruleta* (1919), *La Hora de la Caída* (1921), *La Pasión, la Sangre y el Mar* (1921), *Las Señoritas de la Zapateta* (1922), *El Momento Crítico* (1918), *La Casa de Modas* (1916), *Las Hetairas Sabias* (1916), *El Remanso* (1917), *La Curva Peligrosa* (1925), *El Sortilegio de la Carne Joven* (1926), *Meditaciones* (1918), *La Trayectoria de las Revoluciones* (Madrid 1919), *América: El Libro de los Orígenes* (1927), *Las Hogueras de Castilla* (1922), *Las Lobas del Arrabal*, *Obscenidad*, *El Encanto de Envejecer*, *El Acecho*, *El Promer Estado* (Madrid 1931), *La Hora de España* (Madrid 1930), *Mi Testimonio* (Madrid,

1962?), Transformación Social (Madrid 1937).

177. BROTO VILLEGAS, César. Zaragoza 1915-

A clerical worker by trade, he lived in Madrid and was active in the CNT even before the civil war (he was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment at the end of the war). On his release from prison, he threw himself into the underground struggle inside Spain, holding dangerous posts of responsibility: in 1945 he was secretary of the Catalan CNT which he represented at the famous Carabañas plenum (July 1945) from which he emerged as national secretary of the CNT; shortly before that, he had been sent by the interior to the Paris congress, but, after he was arrested by the French gendarmerie, he arrived in time for the closure session only and was unable to deliver a report on the determinations of the CNT of the interior, and this undoubtedly was a factor in the split in the CNT. As CNT general secretary, he headed the tenth clandestine national committee which lasted for half a year: arrested at the end of 1945, he was sentenced to 30 years by a court martial (March 1947); after serving a long time in prison, he moved to France where he was still alive as of the mid-1970s.

178. TIEMPOS NUEVOS. Title of several anarchist publications.

1. - Gijón. Anarchist publication, from 1 December 1905. Director, Suárez Duque. Contributors included Quintanilla, Lorenzo, Valle.. Renée Lamberet insists that publication dates from 1901.

2. - Toulouse-Paris, 1945-46. Published by the Spanish exile community.

3. - Barcelona, 1934-38. First issue dated 5 May 1934. Fortnightly, then weekly (January-April 1935), as a replacement for the suspended Tierra y Libertad, and finally monthly (up until November 1938). Championed a constructive anarchism, eventually attaining a print-run of 17,000 copies. Directed by Diego Abad de Santillán, with contributions from Peiró.

4. - LOS Tiempos Nuevos. Seville, 1901, anarchist.

5. - Anarchist labour organ: also mouthpiece of the FAI of Catalonia.

Barcelona 1979-82, clandestine.,but upwards of 40 issues (to date) as a

weekly or monthly. Contributions from G. Cano and Corsino. Very disputatious (taking a critical line) in the latter half of 1982.

179. BARRIOBERO HERRÁN, Eduardo. Torrecila en Cameros (Rioja) 1880 - executed by garrote vil by fascists in Barcelona 1939.

Lawyer, writer and public speaker of some stature, a philosopher and educationist and at all times a servant of the people. In him, literature and the law went hand in hand and earned his livelihood from both: from early on he had a passion for literature. From the age of 12 he was an enthusiast for Latin literature and within two years was penning stories and poems: a successful civil and business lawyer, he spent his earnings on defending social and political cases. In literature, he was a fan of Cervantes and Rabelais and, in politics, a follower of Pi y Margall. He was a member of the Federal Republican Party and, from 1912 on, of the CNT: he was also a freemason and a regular champion of CNT personnel before the courts over a thirty year period (e.g. García Oliver, Roigé, Figueras, Chato de Cuqueta, Sancho Alegre...), leading to his being jailed himself on several occasions. He spoke at numerous rallies in support of prisoners and freedom (in Gijón in 1911 and 1912, in Madrid at the turn of the century and made a propaganda tour in 1915 in support of the Cenicero prisoners..) . A staunch defender of civil liberties - he refused a ministerial post offered him by Maura - he was jailed in 1920 and in June 1921 (for plotting against Primo de Rivera) and when the fascist revolt erupted in 1936, he placed himself at the disposal of the CNT: for over half a year (beginning in August 1936), he chaired the Popular Court of Catalonia, something for which the fascists could later not forgive him. The end of the war found him ailing and captive in Barcelona and he refused plans by Vallina and Flores to secure his release.

It seems that in the early years of the century hhe he was active exclusively in anarchist circles - in the hope and ambition of becoming Spain's Sébastien Faure - and he was in touch with Vallina and Salvochea (which would account for the conversion of the review Germinal from a literary to

an anarchist review). He was a prolific writer, who contributed to *El Libertario* and to *Germinal* (which he founded), wrote a foreword to Sánchez Rosa's *El Abogado del Obrero*, and wrote numerous literary and legal works: *De Cánovas a Romanones* (Madrid 1916), *Delitos de la Multitud* (Madrid 1934), *Lo Que Será la República Federal* (Madrid 1931) Guerrero y Algunos Episodios de su Vida Milagrosa (1906), *Syncerasto, el Parásito* (1908), *Vocación* (1909), *Matapán, Probo Funcionario* (1921), *Chatarramendi el Optimista* (1922), *Como los Hombres* (1923), *El Hermano Rajao, Grado 33* (Madrid 1924), *Un Tribunal Revolucionario* (Barcelona 1937), *Cervantes de Levita. Nuestros Libros de Caballería* (Madrid 1905), *Dos Capítulos de Don Quijote Suprimidos por la Censura* (Madrid 1925), *El Divorcio y las Leyes Laicas de la República* (Madrid 1932) *Legislación del Trabajo y de la Jornada* (Madrid 1931), *Legislación Hipotecaria* (Madrid 1931), *Los Delitos Sexuales en las Viejas Leyes Españolas* (Madrid 1931), *Todas las Leyes Políticas* (Madrid 1931), *Ganémosle Hoy* (Madrid 1922), *Nuestra Señora la Fatalidad* (1927), *Historia Ejemplar del Caballero de la Mano en el Pecho* (1928), *El Airón de la Torre-Cumbre* (1929), *El 606,, El Hombre Desciende del Caballo, Cómo está Europa* (Trave book), *Don Quijote de la Mancha, Juerga y Doctrina*, and *Hombres de Honor* (these last three were plays). In addition, he translated *Turmeda* and *Metge* from the Catalan, was a music-lover and a bibliophile. A jolly, punctilious man, he looked and was, in terms of his mind-set, refined and elegant; though no anarchist, he stoutly defended anarchism, the CNT and its personnel as an honourable representative of federalism of the Pi y Margall school of thought.

180. SORIANO, Trinidad. At an early age he felt the attraction of revolutionary democracy and in his student days in Barcelona he frequented the *Ateneo Obrero*: he struck up a friendship with Farga and Sentiñón and was among the initial Barcelona core of the IWMA (1868). Later he returned to his native Seville where he was one of the lynch-pins of internationalism and engaged the priest Mateos-Gago in a polemic. He was a popular figure in FRE circles (upwards of 3,000 asked for him to represent the Federation

at the congress in The Hague). He was very active at the Barcelona congress in 1870, the Córdoba congress in 1872-73 and the one in Zaragoza (1872). At the latter he tabled a famous motion on integral education that was to serve as the basis for everything that anarchist labour was to espouse in the field in succeeding years. He represented the FRE at the congresses in Berne (1876) and Verviers (1877) and served on its federal council in 1875, 1876-77 and 1879: he also did outstanding work on the newspaper *La Federación*. He was aligned with the most Bakuninist group, like García Viñas, but after 1880 dropped out of internationalist affairs, probably because of ideological differences, the same as García Viñas.

181. TORRES ESCARTÍN, Rafael. A native of the Ayerbe comarca, he seems to have been born in Sabiñánigo in 1901. His contacts with anarchism date back to his student days (he was a disciple of R. Acín in Huesca) and came through his family as well. He was an early recruit to the case for the action groups: he belonged to the Crisol group in Zaragoza (1922) and then of Los Solidarios. He was a CNT member from at least 1918 in the Foodstuffs Union (he was a pastrycook). As a member of Los Solidarios, he was involved in numerous operations: in 1923, along with Ascaso, he executed Cardinal Soldevilla and within a short time was involved in the robbery of the Bank of Spain branch in Gijón, as a result of which he was arrested in Oviedo (2 September 1923) and tortured. He escaped but was recaptured on the basis of information given by the clergy and was tried in March 1925 and sentenced to death (a sentence later commuted). Jailed in Santoña, he lost his sanity and on his release in 1931 had to be committed to an asylum in Reus. When Barcelona fell to the fascist troops, he was taken out of the asylum and shot in Barcelona on 21 January 1939.

182. RUTA. Title of several periodical publications. Favourite title of Libertarian Youth mouthpieces.

1. - Barcelona, October 1936 to 1939. Mouthpiece of the Libertarian Youth of Catalonia. Characterised by its staunch defence of orthox principles and

tactics of the CNT and MLE at a time of rampant revisionism. Contributors included Miró, Santana Calero, V. Rodríguez..

2. - Newspaper of the Libertarian Youth in exile, Caracas, from 1976. The central figure was Victor García. It carried a famous polemic between Alberola and Leval on the subject of violence.

3. Anarchist publication, Caracas, from 1969. Also directed by Victor García. Published as a series of monograph studies. 40 issues published as of 1980 (and counting).

4. - Publication of the Libertarian Youth, Brussels 1964. Replaced the French Ruta after the latter was banned. Linked with Alberola.

5. - Libertarian Youth weekly. Published first in Marseilles (from 19 September 1944) and then in Toulouse (July 1945) and Paris (November 1947) and finally back in Toulouse. It attained a print-run of 12,000 copies in its time as the mouthpiece of the FIJL (initially it had been only the organ of the Libertarian Youth in Marseilles). Run by a committee (alorda, Botey, L. Gómez), it was later under the direction of Milla, E.E. Rodríguez, Parra and Pintado. Banned in February 1953, its place was taken by Juventud Libre and Nueva Senda. Orthodox and anti-collaborationist in its line, it took a very hard line with possibilists. Contributions from G. Gracia, Téllez, Sarrau, Camacho, Carballeira, Alcácer and others.

6. - Clandestine organ of the FIJL, Barcelona, 15 issues published between 15 June 1946 and the end of the year: later it appeared fitfully up until 1957. Hostile to politicians, it attacked the policy line of the CNT of the interior. Contributors included Sarrau, Carballeira, A. Franco. Especially targeted by the Francoists, several of its editors perished at police hands. It echoed the French publication of the same name.

7. Mouthpiece of the FIJL and ML of the Barcelona comarca. Barcelona 1979-1982, 15 issues.

183. GONZÁLEZ ENTRIALGO, Avelino. Tremañes (Gijón) 1898-Mérida (Venezuela) 1977.

A gifted student, his initiation into politics was with the Federal Party: from

the age of 13 he worked for a living and was a frequent visitor to the Workers' Societies Centre in Gijón where contact with Sierra, Iglesias and Quintanilla won him over to anarchism. In 1915 he was working in the glass industry and met Acracio Bartolomé; in 1916 he was Gijón's delegate to the Spanish Glassworkers' Federation congress in Barcelona. In 1918 he was a great help to the upsurge in the CNT in Gijón and after doing his military service he reappeared in Gijón to help out with the re-launching of the Confederation. During the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, he was very active in the Casa del Pueblo, in the workers' ateneos and in propaganda work in the region, whilst strenuously resisting Communist infiltration attempts. Come the republic, he recognised the merits of the FAI, but, bothered by its designs on hegemony in the CNT - the 1931 congress was a disappointment to him - and by its boycott of the national federations of industry (Enriego was secretary of the Metalworkers' national industrial federation) he sided with the treintistas and gave lukewarm support to the Opposition Unions. The uprising in late 1933 led to his being jailed in Oviedo: at around that time he became a zealous advocate of a compact with the UGT (representing the CNT in the Alliance with the UGT in Asturias). He saw the Asturian commune in 1934 as an endorsement of his pro-alliance policy and as indicating that Asturian anarchism's moderation in no way implied weakness or cowardice: following the rising he lived in hiding in Gijón until May 1935 when he escaped to Paris and Brussels via San Sebastián. He returned under amnesty in 1936 and attended the congress of Zaragoza. When the fascist revolt broke out he served on the Defence Commission in Gijón and was secretary for mobilisation on the war committee (doing sterling work with the militias). From October 1936 on he represented the Asturian CNT on the CNT national committee based in Madrid, serving as defence secretary and arguing in favour of CNT entry into the Largo Caballero government and for militarisation. As the war drew to an end he took over the secretaryship for military affairs on the Libertarian Movement national committee (7 March 1939). When the defeat came, he left Spain via Valencia and settled in England, from where he

moved to the Americas (Argentina, Bolivia, Chile) when the second world war started and eventually settled in Venezuela. In exile he aligned himself with the collaborationist line of the National sub-committee and was active right up until he died, convinced of the need for a single, united CNT that embraced the precepts of the 1936 congress. He was not a man for writing, but did contribute to Asturias (Paris 1964).

184. SANS, Regional congress of the CNT of Catalonia in (1918).

Even though it has gone down in history as a congress, this was, strictly speaking, a regional plenum of the unions of Catalonia: even so, in view of its importance, it is not going too far to describe it as a congress. The holding of this plenum signalled the implementation of the accords reached at the foundation congress in 1910, accords that had gone by default because of the repression targeting the CNT and the natural organisational disarray flowing from it. The precise number of associations represented is not quite clear, although it seems that 164 delegates met, representing 153 associations with 73, 860 members (some claim that there were 153 to 164 delegates representing 173 to 198 associations); adding up the delegates indicated below looks like arriving at a likelier figure.

Badalna (8 associations: delegates Bussot, Marsal, Peiró, Eno, F. Borrás, Robert, Cabanas).

Barcelona (55, delegates Martorell, M. Grau, Monteagudo, Escandell, Botella, Rubinat, Butsems, Miró, Benvingut, Bonet, Santacana, Massoni, Rico, Ilorach, Saura, Comas, Piñón, Rueda, Buenacasa, Escofet, España, Puig, Batlle, S. Figueras, Agustí, Prius, Ullod, S. Ferrer, J. and R. Satorra, Olavia, Arnau, Bruguera, Rumia, J. Navarro, Penades, Quemades, Lampomanes, Tomás, Ferré, Vives, Domingo, Hosta, R. Martínez, Ballach, M. Ruiz, Silvestro, Pedrerol, Larosa, Collado, Miralles, Arbós, F. Martínez, Solsona, Pestaña, Peanca, Jorge, Rovira, Maestre, Vendrell, Torres, Seguí, Elías, L. Miguel, Basart, Vilarroya, J. Benet, Morera, J. Bonet, M. and F. López, Nin, Farrés, Marín, Barberá, Sola, Gil, Pastor, Cruz, Piera, Soler, Saura, Ullod, J. Puig, Mas, Ramón, Saenz, Fornells, Mira, Lleonard, Sanz, Viadiu).

Blanes (1 association, D. Ruiz).
Calella (1 association, Llorens and Burcel).
Cornellá (1 association, Pagés and Casas).
Figuera (1 association, Archiaga).
Granollers (1 association, Serrats).
Igualada (4 associations, Vilanova, J. Ferrer, Damián Fabregat, Busqué).
Lérida (2 associations, Roig and Arbonés).
Manleu (2 associations, Mateuu).
Manresa (1 association, Saroca and Batet).
Mataró (2 associations, Arnó, Comas and Vagés).
Olot (1 association, Ferrés and Canal).
Palafrugell (6 associations, Barthe).
Reus (16 associations, Manresa, Rius, Pilás, Pallejá, Mestres).
Ripoll (3 associations, T. Viñas).
Rodas (2 associations, Dam and Crespi).
Sabadell (11 associations, Catalán, Pich, Badía, Bertrán, Lladó, Daví, Verdejo and Comas).
San Feliu de Guixols (1 association, T. Claramunt).
Sitges (5 associations, Durán).
Tarragona (17 associations, Francesch and Llavería).
Tarrasa (1 association, Sarrate and Bruno).
Valls (1 association, Mateu).
Vich (7 associations, Caballé, Sala, Journet and Suriñach).
Villanueva y Geltrú (3 associations, Colomer).

Plus seven individual members. Of the associations represented, twelve had in excess of a thousand members (roller-makers, wheelrights, bricklayers, manufacturing, tanners, marble-workers, lamp-makers, woodworkers, mechanics and dyers in Barcelona: manufacturing in Mataró, manufacturing in Badalona), with the Barcelona manufacturing union having eleven thousand members.

They came together in the Ateneo Racionalista in Sans from 28 June to 1 July 1918 (a day more than anticipated). Careful preparations had been laid

for the congress, notably through advertising in *Solidaridad Obrera* and *Tierra y Libertad* which, in the days leading up to the gathering carried the views of many prestigious militants. The interest demonstrated by the membership was mirrored in the 55-item agenda. The number of items led to a get-together of Barcelona delegates (26 June), the upshot of which was a proposition (drafted by Pereña, Buenacasa, Mira, Mercé and Seguí) which grouped the items into batches of eight on the basis of similarity (many of the motions being variations upon a theme). Not that this prevented the congresses from examining each one of them individually. The most interesting items related to: publication of *Solidaridad Obrera* and strengthening of the press, social prisoners (prisoners' aid, prisoners' support committees, prisoners' support cards, releases and amnesty), whether the CNT should be organised along union lines or in federations, whether or not the regional secretary should be a *pais* position, direct action (or manifold or mixed action), establishment of CNT cards and stamps, *sindicatos únicos* and industrial unions, ways of unifying the proletariat (amalgamation with the UGT), bolstering the unions, resistance, organising women and peasants, relations with politicians (delegates and accommodation), school in the unions and rationalist schooling, abolishing piece-work (under-age workers, overtime, the eight hour day) and militarisation of the proletariat.

The congress appointed eight working parties, each of which drafted a proposition for further scrutiny by the assembled delegates. Proceedings opened with Pey greeting those attending the congress and closed with a rally involving Ullod, Mestres, Pestaña, Rueda, Peiró, Fornells, Seguí, Pallejá and Roca. As with the entire proceedings of the congress, that rally had to contend with a strong police presence. The CNT emerged from Sans reinvigorated (and would very shortly demonstrate its effectiveness), the emphasis being on the tactical and practical rather than the theoretical. Whilst this implied an apparent marginalisation of ideology, it also paved the way for the priority of the day: strengthening labour solidarity, boosting the unions and organisation and setting up structures which made it

possible to embrace huge masses of workers without any feeling of being swamped. This marginalisation of ideology (in the sense of unbending principle) was visible in the flexible approach to direct action and, even more plainly, in the absence of any declaration of principles: on the other hand, there was a spectacularly warm welcome afforded to the principle of a-politicism. The most significant legacy of the Sans congress was the *sindicato único* (it was agreed that "industrial or sectoral unions are to be the basis of the organisation" and " those branches which have yet to do so should join the industrial unions where these are already established"), putting paid to the existence of duplicated unions and bringing numerous trade associations together into single bodies. Other resolutions were: that women be organised; that they press for reduced working hours; that piece-work be rejected; that overtime be resisted so long as there were workers without employment; that the exploitation of minors be resisted; that they should campaign for the eight hour day and the standard wage; that Pestaña be appointed director of *Solidaridad Obrera* and that its editorial staff be paid; that the regional secretaryship carry an emolument (Ulod was elected to this post, although some sources insist that the appointee was Seguí); that all members be required to buy a confederal stamp and a 10 céntimo stamp (2 céntimos of which would go to each of the Local Federation, the regional committee, the national committee, *Solidaridad Obrera* and the prisoners' aid committee); that a propaganda tour and organising drive be mounted throughout the region; that they campaign against the repression on the railways; that the number of newspapers be reduced; that collective workshops be established and helped to distribute their products; that a campaign be mounted against labour militarisation; that a labourers' union be established; that direct action be employed (albeit that it was left open to use other tactics wheresoever circumstances made this advisable); a-politicism (political parties were condemned); unions were placed under an obligation to join their local federation; that a pact be sought with the UGT; that it was felt that national federations of industry were not appropriate, although arrangements were made for this matter to

be considered at a forthcoming national congress. Stress was also laid on the importance of rational schools, which the unions ought to support. It was apparent from the congress that it represented a gathering of the cream of anarchism and revolutionary syndicalism, in the shape of Peiró, Seguí, Piñón, Pestaña, Piera and the like.

185. FSL, initials of the FEDERACIÓN SINDICALISTA LIBERTARIA (Libertarian Syndicalist Federation)

Organisation launched in January 1933 inside the CNT by CNT personnel opposed to the radical line of the FAI: its members meant to beef up the trade union side of the CNT. It had a number of press mouthpieces: *Sindicalismo* (Barcelona), *El Combate Sindicalista* (Valencia) and *Vertical* (Sabadell), which carried on the tradition of *Cultura Libertaria*. It was closely bound up with the Opposition Unions and intended to have the same (albeit that the line was different) impact on them as they alleged the FAI was having on the CNT. The general secretary of the FSL was Pestaña: when he quit the FSL he was replaced by Juan López who, together with Peiró, was the FSL's ideologue. The FSL survived from 1933 until 1936, in which year it was wound up, just like the Opposition Unions were, when they returned to the CNT fold. After breaking away from the CNT, its most enthusiastically pursued aim was to bolster the *Alianza Obrera* and propagate syndicalism: the FSL representative on the *Alianza Obrera* in Catalonia was Juan López, whereas the Valencia group, set up later on (March 1934) was headed by Farra. After the defection of Pestaña, the FSL's sole aim, like the Opposition Unions, was to rejoin the CNT. Thus at the beginning of 1935 the FSL in Valencia (where it held the majority) was to resurrect the *Alianza Obrera* and its mouthpiece, *Sindicalismo* (published from July 1934 in Valencia) launched a campaign in favour of reunification of the Confederation. This rapprochement with the CNT continued without interruption until they finally came together at the Zaragoza congress in 1936. The sole FSL congress (in Barcelona in July 1934) rejected electoralism and condemned the Pestañist deviation. In terms of its activities

and principles the FSL was identified with the Opposition Unions.

186. BUESO, Adolfo. Valladolid 1889-Barcelona 1979.

At the age of three he moved to Barcelona. A type-setter by trade, he belonged to the Arte de Imprimir association and was involved in the Tragic Week. He did his military service from 1911 to 1914 in Africa and, immediately upon his return to Barcelona he set up a defence committee and came to prominence as a public speaker alongside Pestaña; shortly after that he joined the Socialist Youth and, in 1917, under the influence of a brother, the PSOE. He took part in the August 1917 strike, which led to his being forced to flee to Valladolid. As the CNT expanded he rejoined the Confederation (joining its printing union) and by 1919 he was his union's delegate to the Catalan regional committee; at around this point he was caught up in the Sallent incident (which was to create lots of problems for him up until the republic arrived) and came under pressure from the "free" trade unions and was obliged to earn a living at all sorts of trades (once acting as assistance to a boxing promoter, which widened his circle of acquaintances). In 1921 he joined the anarchist groups (the Redención group with Cueto, Bernal, etc.) which he found a disappointment and a year later he was an editor with Solidaridad Obrera in Valencia; that same year he returned to Barcelona and worked in Premià and Barcelona city. At around this time he distanced himself from the specific groups and was in touch with the Communists of Pérez Solís and Maurín; he wrote regularly for La Batalla and spent time in jail from March 1925 to July 1927. He rejoined the CNT, this time to carry out donkey-work for Maurín and Nin and he attended the clandestine national plenum of regionals in Mataró (June 1929); when Nin and Maurín joined forces, he joined the BOC and its trade union offshoot, the FOUS. When the latter failed, though, he had no inhibitions about helping to draft the manifesto of the Catalan regional CNT committee setting out its position on the republic (according to his own admission). Later, his activism diminished. Author of: *Recuerdos de un cenetista* (Barcelona 1976), and *Cómo fundamos la CNT* (Barcelona 1976).

Bueso was an anti-FAI CNT member a friend of Pestaña and Seguí, and bounced from party to party, in and out of the CNT and eventually became hostile to anarchism even though he had been a member of an anarchist group and towards the end of his life he wrote some books openly hostile to anarchism and trying, willy-nilly, to justify his tortuous record.

187. PEY, Juan. Catalan. Anarchist carpenter and CNT member who had been active in anarchist organisations prior to the foundation of the CNT. He was frequently jailed from at least 1909 onwards (the Tragic Week) and his renown derives from his work as CNT treasurer from 1916 to 1919. A purist, methodical and an organisation man, he nevertheless never lost sign of the practice of direct action in its fullest sense (disarming two policemen during the 1918 strikes), operating in concert with V. Carmona. In 1916 he addressed the glassmakers' congress held in Barcelona and two years after that, at the Sans congress (at which he gave the welcoming address) he was appointed to the Catalan regional committee and was retained on it in 1920 (as organising secretary). He has been credited with playing a part in laying the groundwork for the assassination of Dato and in the organising of the Reus unions through García Oliver. In 1921 he was murdered by members of the Somatén.

188. MATEU CUSIDÓ, Pedro. Catalan anarcho-syndicalist who died in exile in France (Cordes, 1980).

A kindly, measured sort, he nevertheless joined the action groups at a very early age to defend the CNT from the outrages of the employers. He came to fame due to his part, alongside Casanellas and Nicolau, in the attentat that cost the life of Dato (March 1921) - an assassination he described as a "humanitarian inevitability" - following which he was arrested and sentenced to death: when his sentence was commuted he turned into a cultivated man and a secular saint in prison. Released after the advent of the republic (1931) he worked in Barcelona and did sterling work in the ateneos (especially the one in Gracia). After the civil war broke out in 1936

he fought with honour and after the defeat left for France. In exile he held positions of responsibility: serving as a member of the Intercontinental secretariat (elected at the congress in Toulouse in 1947) for several years as co-ordinating secretary. In 1959 he was arrested in France as part of a police campaign to discredit the CNT. Very active in Lyon and Grenoble, he later settled in Cordes (around 1958) and was obliged to earn his living as a mechanic until he was well into his seventies. In his latter years, by which time he was a very old man, he retained his interest in the anarchist ideal and was still a CNT member at the time of his death.

189. RODRÍGUEZ GARCÍA, Vicente. Born 1911 and died in 1941 (in Gerique forest France).

From a very early age he lived in Barcelona; he studied at the Industrial School there and by 1934 had joined the FAI (the Trabajo group) and was prominent among the original youth groups that set about launching the Libertarian Youth alongside Miró, Martínez and Cabrerizo: the following year, 1935, he set up the Student Freethought Federation which reached into educational centres in Barcelona and aimed at the removal of incompetent teachers and bureaucrats and in this he had the support of Cabrerizo, Monterde, Rosa Lahoz, Emilio Vaqué and others. At around that time he wrote for the anarchist press (using the nom de plume Viroga). After the fascist revolt in 1936 he established the People's Institute and disappointed, like many another member of the Libertarian Youth, by the progress of the revolution and CNT compromises, he joined the editorial board of the purist *Acracia* in Lérida, striking up a friendship with Peirats. After the defeat of the republic, he went into exile in France, working as a woodcutter and helping to reorganise the Libertarian Youth. A champion of anarchist purism, he condemned the theses of H.M. Prieto and confederal revisionism. Wrote for *Ruta*, *Tiempos Nuevos*, *Juventud Libre*, *CNT*, *Solidaridad Obrera* and *Tierra y Libertad*. Author of: *Juventud e Ideas* (Barcelona, uncredited, Libertarian Youth publication).

190. PÉREZ MONTES, José. Known as Pepín. Born in Santander (1917) - 1947.

Under the republic he was a member of the Libertarian Youth's affinity groups, a regular attender at the Ateneo Obrero in Santander and involved in agitational and propaganda efforts leading up to the revolutionary uprising in October 1934. After the outbreak of war in 1936 he enlisted with the first CNT column and served on the Libertarian Youth committee in Santander: in 1937 he returned to the Burgos front and later turned up on the local, comarcal and inter-regional committees of the Libertarian Youth in the North region and wrote for the newspaper Adelante. With the collapse of the front in the North, he moved to Catalonia until the end of the war. In exile in France he sampled life in the concentration camps (Barcarés and Gurs) and quickly rejoined the struggle. After the liberation of France he stepped up his activity and joined the FAI's liaison committee and made repeated incursions into the Spanish interior. By the start of 1946 he was the FIJL delegate in the interior and in pursuit of his tasks he traveled to Santander and the Basque Country to reorganise resistance: that same year he was also in Spain as the delegate of the FAI (he seems to have attended a meeting in Valencia). His last clandestine trip was in 1947 (as delegate from the MLE) and ended badly; in October he drowned in the Bidasoa river en route to France. Pérez Montes is a fine example of the steadfast militancy of the Libertarian Youth in Cantabrica.

191. PÉREZ BERNARDO, Celedonio.

CNT militant born in Zamora but active in Madrid from the days of the republic. He had been a faceworker in the mines in Asturias before being forced to go into exile during the Primo de Rivera era. In exile he worked as a miner in Belgium and France and returning to Spain settled in Madrid where he came to the fore in the construction sector and later (after suffering a heart complaint) in less arduous activities. A member of the FAI (belonging to the same group as Melchor García and García Pradas) he fought in the 1936 war and after it ended threw himself very courageously

into the clandestine struggle eventually heading the third clandestine national committee of the CNT up until he was arrested in 1942 (he managed to rescue a lot of CNT personnel from execution). Sentenced to thirty years, he was released on licence early due to the confusion reigning at the time and rejoined the ranks of CNT fighters, becoming a lynch-pin of the Centre regional committee until arrested again in 1953: tried in February 1954, he was sentenced to 15 years (he was the Centre's representative on the national committee) of which he served a part in Guadalajara. He emerged from prison severely impaired (having suffered an embolism) and died in Madrid in 1965. An outstanding militant, kindly and optimistic, unwavering in the face of disappointment, he had an innate capacity to believe: one of the men who did most to sustain the CNT in the Madrid area.

192. RAYA GONZÁLEZ, Antonio. From Granada.

Joined the CNT metalworkers' union before he was fifteen years old and was prominent in the action groups of the Libertarian Youth and FAI during the republic, during which time he was involved in lots of urban guerrilla operations and in the 1933 uprising, without mishap. After the outbreak of the civil war he founded the CNT column based in Antequera that bore his name and fought on the Málaga front until it collapsed: later he served as commissar with the 88th Brigade and fought in Pozoblanco and Extremadura. After the fascist victory, he carried on the fight, first in the sierras above Málaga, where he organised rural and urban guerrilla bands that struck in Málaga, Córdoba and Madrid, and, later, in the Granada area (1941) where he was in touch with Los Querros and carried out an intensive campaign of sabotage, reprisals against informers and Falangists and robberies. Tracked down by the police, he was killed in an ambush on the streets of Granada on 24 June 1942.

193. FRANCO CAVERO, Máximo. Alcalá de Gurrea (Huesca) 1915 - Alicante 1939.

Brought up in a conservative home, his libertarian leanings brought him problems with the family: a good student and reasonably well-educated autodidact he contributed to the libertarian press. From early on he belonged to the FAI and was involved in the uprisings in 1933, as a result of which he was jailed and, although he managed to escape from jail in Huesca, he was recaptured and jailed again until the success of the Popular Front in the February 1936 elections. Almost immediately after his release he was to the fore at the congress in Zaragoza that year. The fascist revolt found him in his native village and, after resisting against impossible odds, he managed to get out to the republican zone: he immediately joined the militias there, first as group delegate and later as commander of a centuria of the Roja y Negra column: following regularisation he commanded the 127th Mixed Brigade up until an attempt was made by Modesto's Communists in 1938 to bring him to trial (following the collapse of the Aragon front), possibly because they could not forgive him his pronounced anti-communism: after rehabilitation he commanded the 71st Division. After the civil war was lost he committed suicide together with his friend Viñuales on 1 April 1939 in the port of Alicante, in a gesture not without a certain tragic grandeur. As far as Máximo Franco was concerned the revolution took priority over the war and he was convinced that the members of the PCE had been engaged in counter-revolution in May 1937 (in a coup de force against the CNT in Barcelona), so he marshalled a column to annihilate the Stalinists but its march was intercepted in Binéfar by Juanel who persuaded him that his action had not been thought through. The same anarchist conscience accounts for the failure of his column ever fully to embrace regularisation and for its serving as a safe haven for anarchists fleeing from republican repression.

194. GALLEGO CRESPO, Juan. Torreperogil (Jaén) 1885 - Mexico 1974.

From his youth a prestigious militant of Andalusian anarchism. A fine article-writer, public speaker and lecturer of some stature, he was a passionate debater. In the teen years of the century he toured Córdoba and

Seville: in 1911 he was living in Bujalance, from where he fled after he was accused of having circulated anti-militarist propaganda material in the barracks. In 1913 he settled in Seville, earning his living as a photographer, helping out at the workers' centre and lecturing on the anarchist ideal: in 1915 he began on a pilgrimage through Córdoba district and three years later was in Seville where he founded and directed Acción Solidaria: that same year, he attended the FNA congress in Valencia and moved to the Levante region: there he was to contribute to Solidaridad Obrera (Valencia) and would represent some of the local unions at the La Comedia congress. He remained active into the years of the republic as a respected militant (in 1938 he represented the CNT at meetings of the MLE committees). In 1939 he served on the controversial General Council of the MLE (Paris February 1939). Later he moved to Mexico where he remained up until his death.

195. CULTURA Y ACCIÓN. Title very characteristic of the anarchist and CNT press of Aragon. Several newspapers and reviews were published under this title and they can be regarded equally as separate newspapers or as separate phases in the life of the same newspaper.,

1. - Zaragoza 1910-1914. Directed by Buenacasa. Mouthpiece of the group of the same name, founded by the CES (Social Studies Centre): later it became the organ of the Aragonese CNT. It was distributed free of charge and its editors and contributors were well known Aragonese anarcho-syndicalists: the Chuecas, Lacort, Guallarte, Domingo, Maymón and Canudo.
2. - Again in 1915, in Zaragoza, Anarchist and pro-Entente.
3. - Zaragoza, from 1920. From 1921 on it was directed by Buenacasa, Carbó and Arturo Parera. It appeared as the press organ of the Zaragoza federation: and later as a regional organ.
4. - Alcañiz, 1936-37, organ of the CNT of Aragon, Rioja and Navarre.
5. - Resurfaced clandestinely in 1946-47 as organ of the regional confederation of labour in Aragon, Rioja and Navarre. Not more than three issues and up to 18,000 copies were published. Also appeared sporadically in 1955-57.

6. - Zaragoza 1977, one issue. Organ of the CNT of Valle del Ebro.

196. EL REBELDE. Title of a number of publications.

1. - Granada, 1870 (?)

2. - Zaragoza 1893, 3 issues.

3. - Granada, 1901-08. Anarcho-communist.

4. - Madrid 1904-08, anarchist weekly under the direction of Antonio Apolo and with Camba as editor. Texts from Francisco Soler, Mella, Prat, Artal, Vallina, Claramunt, Azorín, Baroja, Clariá, Navarro, etc. Its line was Nietzschean and literary, but it also carried labour news.

5. - Barcelona 1907-08. anarchist weekly, 35 issues. Texts by Lorulot, Mirbeau, Gómez Fabián.. Opposed terrorism and wary of French-style syndicalism.

6. - New York, 1898. Published by Spanish tobacco workers. Definitely connected with Pedro Esteve.

7. - Paris 1945. Close to the FIJL.

8. - Mouthpiece of the Andalusian CNT in exile in France, 1960. Texts by Pascual.

197. GARCÍA DURÀN, Juan. Galician anarchist and CNT member born in 1915.

A member of the Libertarian Youth from the age of fifteen, he was later active in the CNT on the moderate wing. Fought in the civil war and was jailed when it ended. Released in 1943, he joined the clandestine CNT and soon became a key element in the reorganisation and recovery of the CNT in Galicia, acting as its general secretary (elected at the clandestine regional plenum of unions in June 1943), in which capacity he attended the national plenums of regionals in Madrid in July 1945 and March 1946. Elected by the latter national plenum of regionals to serve as political secretary of the national committee and as secretary of the ANFD. He fell into police hands in April 1946 (having been selected shortly before to travel to France to deal with the republican government-in-exile) and was imprisoned in El

Dueso and later in Yeserías (having feigned illness) from where he escaped on 10 March 1949, reaching France by launch. Later he travelled to many countries and built himself a reputation as a library and bibliography expert. Returned to Spain after Franco's death. Author of: *Bibliografía de la guerra civil española 1936-1939* (Montevideo 1964 - it was the first bibliography on the subject) and *Por la Libertad (Cómo se lucha en España)* (Mexico 1956).

198. PLAJA, Hermoso. Anarchist militant, journalist and publicist of the first order of literature and libertarian theory.

Born in 1888, he died in his native comarca of Palasfrugell in 1982 after many years as a exile. He was in on the formation of the CNT in its heyday but even prior to its foundation he was a familiar figure in libertarian circles: at the age of scarcely 14 , he was involved in the metalworkers' strike in Barcelona in 1902. With the passage of time he became the mainstay of anarchist propaganda, an activity in which he was to persist right up until his death, and simultaneously he was to hold posts of responsibility within labour organisations up until 1939. The only lulls in this were the years when he was performing his military service in Tarragona and in Africa. Around 1917 he was catapulted into the front ranks of libertarians: in 1918 he launched *Acracia* in Tarragona and from its columns he was to campaign successfully to expand the CNT into the Tarragona region. That campaign, mounted with help from Barjau, Viadiu and Alaiz, was to culminate in *Fructidor* (Reus, 1919-20) and in *Los Galeotes*. His efforts in Tarragona, supplemented by talks and rallies, ensured that the CNT made headway into a comarca that had initially seemed inaccessible to it and those efforts inevitably led to his being jailed (in Tortosa in 1920 and 1921) and he was deported during the dark days of Martínez Anido. In the years that followed, he addressed meetings alongside García Oliver and Seguí and was director of *Solidaridad Obrera* (in 1924). By 1928 he was a member of the *Solidaridad* group and served on Peiró's CNT national committee that same year. During the civil war he fought in

the ranks of the militias (suffering a wound in one leg) and later departed for exile in Mexico (1939) where he carried on impeccably with the publicising of anarchist writings. In exile, he argued the anti-collaborationist case (he was a friend of Ferrer, Montseny and Esgleas). In 1976 he returned to Spain. A lecturer of some standing he was a first class newspaperman (in addition to the papers mentioned earlier he was director of *Vértice* in Barcelona in 1923 and of *Crisol* in Sabadell in 1923) and wrote for many newspapers in addition to the above, including *Cénit* and *Tierra y Libertad*... His greatest achievement was in the publishing field in which he had incalculable assistance from his wife, Carmen Paredes over many decades spent in Spain and in Mexico, through what may well have been the finest publishing imprint ever boasted by Spanish anarchism (and of which he was the founder) *Ediciones Vértice*, publishing hundreds of books and pamphlets (frequently with print-runs that appear huge to us today - upwards of a hundred thousand at times), by Ingenieros, Darwin, Michel, Zola, Elías García, Balunin, Proudhon, Maupassant, Malato, Plato, Lorenzo, Nicolai, Ryner, Riera, Faure, Carret, Prat, Marestán, Barcos, Makhno, Kropotkin, Malatesta, Manzoni, Giraud, Hucha, Blanqui, Pestaña, Amador, Segarra, Barthe, Torres, etc. We should also mention the 222 titles published in his *La Novela Social* series, as well as his assistance to Lamberet's historical bibliography and his part in the planned history of the CNT. Author of: *Salvador Seguí, Hombre de la CNT* (Paris 1960, with others), *Charlas con la Juventud* (Mexico 1948), *El Sindicalismo según sus Influencias* (Mexico 1954), *Sindicalismo. Misión Revolucionaria del Sindicalismo* (Tarragona 1921), and *Concepción Federalista de la CNT* (Mexico 1948).

199. EL FERROL, International Peace Congress in 1915.

Anarchist congress held in the aforementioned city in Galicia in 1915 and attended by representatives of anarchism and revolutionary syndicalism. Meeting on 1 May, the intention was to oppose the First World War, secure peace and even make a start on the establishment of a trade union

international (drafting its statutes and publishing them); the final accords were merely that a general strike would be declared in protest against the war and to affirm the revolution, but the congress was of interest in other ways too: from it emerged a serious drive to reorganise the CNT. The climate against which it took place was profoundly anti-war and anti-militarist (with the odd exception such as Mella and Quintanilla, and the delegates from Solidaridad Obrera and Tierra y Libertad). The congress, instigated by the El Ferrol trade union Ateneo (especially Vieyras and Bouza) was attended by 47 delegates representing, among others, the trade union Ateneo of Ronda, anarchist groups from La Coruña (C. Romeo), the Córdoba anarchist federation, the Lisbon Social Propaganda Committee, the Agrupaciones from San Sebastián and Baracaldo (Aquilino Gómez), the unions from Cartagena, Murcia and Mazarrón (M. Ferreira), Solidaridad Obrera in Barcelona (Pestaña, Miranda, Carbó and Loredó), the Catalan regional committee, the Elda labour associations, the Zaragoza local federation, Farmworkers of Jerez, the Córdoba comarcal federation, the labour associations of Andalusia (Sánchez Rosa), the labourers' and farmhands' federation (Bajatierra), the Brazilian Labour Confederation (Vieyres), La Voz del Cantero (López Bouzas), the Gijón federation of labour associations and Acción Libertaria (Pedro Sierra), the French Federation of Syndicalist Youth (Quintanilla), Portuguese trade union circles, the Lisbon USO (the Nogueiras), Aurora from Oporto (Alves), Portuguese anarchists (M. Campos) and other late arrivals from the Americas such as Cuba; in addition there were messages of support from the Italian USI and from Britain. Having been banned by the Dato government, the congress proceeded clandestinely, not that that prevented Carbó and López Bouza from being arrested and jailed. Malatesta and Faure were unable to attend.

200. CENTRO FEDERAL of Barcelona labour associations.

This grew out of the Ateneo catalán de la clase obrera (1861) which was riven in 1965 by internal tensions when a fraction of the membership (including Farga, Pagés and Boguña) opposed the sponsoring of

recreational activity rather than that of activities designed to educate the workers: the frictions resulted in the setting up of the Dirección Central de Sociedades Obreras in October 1868 by those made most uneasy by that policy. On 8 December a commission (Farga, Nuet, Bover, Marsal, Balasch, Trillo, Pagés..) called upon Catalan workers to meet in congress (Farga was the acting chairman at the time). That congress went ahead, attended by 61 labour associations which agreed to defend the federal democratic republic and throw their support behind cooperatives, as well as to resist subversive ideas (so much so that their ranks included a deputy, Pablo Alsina). By the end of 1868 therefore the Centro Federal was plainly leaning towards republicanism. It adopted the title of Centro Federal early in 1869 (23 February) and Farga was still secretary and chairman of a 40-member council that included Balasch, Masrca, Colomer and Quinglas: by August that year the Centro had launched its own newspaper, La Federación which argued the case for a republic, but by September 1869 we find Farga representing the Centro at the IWMA congress in Basle. And, before the year was out, at the instigation of Marsal Anglora, Sentiñón and Farga, the Centro had jettisoned its republicanism and by February 1870 had become an internationalist redoubt. Finally, after the 1870 Barcelona workers' congress, the Centro embraced the decisions reached there and went over to internationalism, turning from the Centro Federal to the Barcelona Federation of the IWMA. The Centro Federal-Dirección Central represents a telling example of how Bakuninism and proletarian internationalism were making inroads into republican circles, how they grappled with that federal republicanism and fought against reformist cooperativism; however, it also explains how there was not a complete breakdown between republicans and labour and that, in the early days, they often rubbed shoulders with one another.

201. MALSAND BLANCO, Paulino. Manresa 1901-France 1980.

Outstanding militant from the Uppper Llobregat. His prestige derives from the 1930s; he was active in the miners' union of the CNT in Sallent (and

was sacked following a strike) and, once the organisation had been shattered by the treintista schism he became a distinguished campaigner for reunification. In 1934 he was connected with the foundation of the Libertarian Youth in Manresa (and a member of its comarcal committee in 1935) and when the fascist revolt came in July 1936 he represented the CNT on the antifascist militias' committee set up in Manresa and left that year for the Tardienta front (with a machine-gun unit) as part of what was to become the Paso a la Idea column. After the civil war he left for exile in France. After the reorganisation of the CNT in France he held positions of responsibility: he was the MLE-CNT representative on the JEL (late 1944), first secretary of the political section of the national committee (at the Toulouse national plenum of regionals in October 1944 when he signed the famous collaborationist motion), general secretary of the Bordeaux Subcommittee, was elected at the 1945 Paris congress as a member of the national committee (political secretary) and re-elected at the Toulouse national plenum of regionals in 1946, etc. He belonged to the orthodox faction among the exiles. Following the reunification in 1960 he drifted away from the Esqulist faction and later, at the controversial Bordeaux plenum, was expelled from the CNT. Thereafter he opted to concentrate on being active within the FAF, most certainly having grown weary of the internal frictions within the CNT.

202. VIDA SINDICAL Manifesto.

A document carried in the newspaper *Vida Sindical* on 16 January 1926, Dated 1 January 1926, it bore the signatures of Adrián Arnó, Corney, Bellavista, Coll, Banet, Pedemonte, Molista, Gascón, Lleonart, Quintá, Peiró, Pestaña, Minguet, Piñón, Calomarde, Bono, Porquet, Marró, Vidal, Renold, Optimo and Abella, all of them militants of the Catalan CNT. Somewhat exaggeratedly, the manifesto has been depicted as a direct ancestor of the treintista phenomenon, although there was an obvious overlap in terms of ideas and personalities.

The manifesto called for the immediate legalisation of the CNT and the

opening of all of the unions shut down in Barcelona and throughout Spain, as well as for reorganisation by the membership. Then again, the manifesto included a definition of the CNT when it asserted that reorganisation must take place on the basis of: a) Neutrality in party political matters Labour federalism and labour solidarity versus capitalism. The unions to be regarded as economic entities. b) Implementation of the accords of the La Comedia congress and Zaragoza Conference. c) New structures to be devised in tune with experience and to be debated at the forthcoming congress. d) Those holding office within the Confederation would be called to give an account of their stewardship. The Manifesto closed with a note from the drafters which stated: "To the workers of Spain who always looked to the unions when the CNT was a proletarian class organ rather than a party political one" - a definition that lends itself to wide interpretation.

203. MARTÍNEZ MARÍN, Enrique. Barcelona 1927-Pyreneean border 1949.

A member of the CNT action groups operating in the Barcelona district during the 1940s. He started out in the Libertarian Youth in Barcelona in the latter half of the 1940s, siding with the most radical militants: arrested in 1947, he was in prison from August 1947 until March 1948, accused of being the Libertarian Youth official in his *barriada*. On his release he took part, usually as part of Facerías's urban guerrilla campaign, in numerous incursions between France and Spain in 1948 and 1949 (planting bombs at a transmitter on Tibidabo) and in lots of attacks and propaganda operations. His most regular comrades were Facerías, García Casino and Franqueza. He was killed on 26 August 1949 in a police ambush.

204. TOULOUSE 1947. Inter-Continental Conference of the MLE.

Scheduled for March 1947, it was postponed until 17 April and lasted until 27 April. Toulouse was the scene for a gathering of the Sub-delegations from Venezuela and Panama (both represented by Peirats), from the MLE in Great Britain (Delso), the MLE in North Africa (Roque Santamaría), the MLE-CNT in France (Milla, Ildefonso González and F. Montseny), the Organising

Commission (Esgleas, Sicart, Santamaría), the IWA under-secretariat for Western Europe (Pou), the Anarchist Liaison Commission (I. González), the Libertarian Youth national committee (Milla) and the Libertarian press in France (Alaiz). Those represented accounted for the orthodox faction among the exiles, the faction opposed to political collaborationism. Notably absent were representatives from the exiles in the United States, Argentina, Bolivia, Uruguay, Chile and Gibraltar (as well as the CNT of Spain) who supported the collaborationist policy line, as well as those from Ecuador, Cuba, Brazil and Mexico whose organisational status was questionable. The conference was remarkable for its abundant condemnations and criticisms of the reformism, collaborationism, politicking, Alfarachismo, Leivismo, etc. on the part of the CNT of the interior and of its supporters abroad. The accords reached were: 1. - Repudiation of the State and support for federalism and libertarian communism. 2. - Acceptance of an Alliance with the workers of the UGT (but not with their leaders), on the basis that the CNT should aspire to representing the revolutionary proletariat in its entirety. 3. - Condemnation of splits (with the commissions being given a free hand). 4. - That propaganda should be stepped up, especially with regard to the interior (Spain), to which end stress was laid on the importance of a transmitter's being established in the Pyrenees. 5. - The MLE's activities were critically analysed. Such an analysis was partly impracticable, not that this prevented a series of conclusions from being reached: that artists and intellectuals should be lobbied, that the errors of 1936-39 be chalked up to abandonment of principles, that the war-time collaboration lay at the root of current conflicts.. on which basis, direct action, opposition to the State and support for revolution were all reaffirmed. 6. - Moral and economic support was offered to the IWA. 7. - An MLE Inter-Continental Commission was established with a conspiratorial remit.

The conference was therefore confined to a condemnation of the split and to a display of confidence that the future would prove them right because they held the patent on the truth: in passing, it confirmed the split in the CNT. At the conclusion rally, Delso, Esgleas, Santamaría, Peirats and

Montseny attacked the breakaways and defended the orthodox line.

205. CNT NATIONAL COMMITTEES.

Strange though it may seem, we do not know for sure the names of all of the CNT general secretaries since its foundation in 1910: for the explanation for such an anomaly, we must look to the repression targeting the CNT for long periods of time, forcing it virtually consistently underground, and to the insignificance of the position of general secretary, except now and again, in that it carries no executive powers. The list of general secretaries is as follows:

José NEGRE (last general secretary of Solidaridad Obrera and first one of the CNT in 1910). The virtually immediate clandestinity into which the incipient Confederation was plunged means that we cannot be certain if, when the CNT was reconstituted (when?) Negre took up the post again in 1913-14.

Manuel ANDREU (November 1915 to August 1916).

Francisco JORDAN (held office until February 1917 when he resigned from his prison cell).

Francisco MIRANDA (up until July 1918: he was temporarily replaced between August and November 1917 by Buenacasa).

Manuel BUENACASA (up until December 1918).

Evelio BOAL (until March 1921).

Andrés NIN (until May 1921).

Joaquín MAURÍN (until February 1922).

Juan PEIRÓ (until July 1923).

Paulino DÍEZ (until March 1924).

GARCÍA GALÁN (until June 1924).

Whether there was a general secretary between June 1924 and September 1925 we do not know.

Avelino GONZÁLEZ MALLADA (September 1925 to June 1926).

* Some confusion still surrounds the holders of the general secretaryship

during the Primo de Rivera dictatorship years. It looks as if PEIRÓ's mandate ended in late 1922, at which point SEGUÍ took up the post until March 1923. Later the CNT national committee moved out of Barcelona, which makes it even harder to trace the holders of the secretaryship: even so, it is virtually certain that MANUEL ADAME headed the Seville' based national committee during the summer of 1923 and that he was replaced by Pedro VALLINA (arrested in December 1923), again in Seville. Some sources, however, think that Paulino DÍEZ and not VALLINA was secretary (from summer 1923 until March 1924), the last general secretary of the Seville-based committee. After D ÍEZ, the national committee relocated to Zaragoza, under José GARCÍA (some say GRACIA, others GRACIÁN) GALAN, who was unable to hold on to the post after he was arrested in June 1924. It may well be that in mid-1924 the national committee moved back to Barcelona with the secretaryship passing to Ángel PESTAÑA (1925), only to be replaced in September 1925 by Avelino GONZÁLEZ MALLADA as the new general secretary, in Gijón. *

Segundo BLANCO (until November 1926).

Juan PEIRÓ (until mid-1929).

Angel PESTAÑA (1929).

Progreso ALFARACHE (1930, replaced momentarily by Manuel SIRVENT. Some sources say the replacement was ARÍN, not SIRVENT.).

Angel PESTAÑA (until March 1932).

Manuel RIVAS (1933).

Miguel YOLDI (1934).

Horacio MARTÍNEZ PRIETO (1935-36, temporarily replaced by David ANTONA and Antonio MORENO during the summer of 1936).

Mariano RODRÍGUEZ VÁZQUEZ (November 1936 to February 1939).

In the last weeks of the civil war, a national committee of the Libertarian Movement was operating in the republican zone under the secretaryship of Manuel LÓPEZ, who later served as secretary of one of the clandestine national committees of the CNT.

All of the secretaries named above had their national committees based in Barcelona, except for Paulino DÍEZ (Seville), GARCÍA GALÁN and H.M. PRIETO (both Zaragoza), GONZÁLEZ MALLADA and BLANCO (both Gijón) and Mariano RODRÍGUEZ VÁZQUEZ (Madrid, then Valencia).

After 1939 (and the loss of the civil war) a new phase was ushered in wherein there were two CNTs, one in the interior (inside Spain) and the other in exile. Let us begin with the one in exile. After the loss of Barcelona, Mariano RODRÍGUEZ crossed into France where the MLE General Council was formed under his leadership (February 1939). When Rodríguez accidentally drowned that same year his place was taken by Germinal ESGLEAS (vice-secretary) who, in 1944, asserted his prerogatives, thereby generating a dispute with the committees established in exile in the interim of exactly who represented the organisation. Given that the aforementioned General Council was virtually non-existent, we must look elsewhere for CNT representation and thus we come upon the Liaison Commission headed by José GERMÁN (June 1943) who was replaced (November) by Juan Manuel MOLINA - together with the Béziers committee headed by Albesa, who was replaced by Francisco CARREÑO (March 1944), who in turn handed over to MOLINA again (September 1944). Following the Paris congress the squabble was settled with the election of Germinal ESGLEAS but at the same time the unity of the CNT in exile broke down; a majority followed the ESGLEAS committee whereas a minority acknowledged the authority of the clandestine national committee of the CNT inside Spain (what was to become the Sub-committee). The majority faction elected, in order (and as secretaries of what was to be described as the Inter-continental Committee and Inter-continental Secretariat) Germinal ESGLEAS (1945-47), José PEIRATS (1947-48), Ildefonso GONZÁLEZ (1948-49), Luis BLANCO (1949-50), José PEIRATS (1950-51), Germinal ESGLEAS (1952-59) and Roque SANTAMARÍA (1959-63). It was under SANTAMARÍA's secretaryship that reunification was achieved and he was succeeded by Germinal ESGLEAS (1969-73), Marciano SIGUENZA (1973-75) and Alejandro LAMELA (1975-77), at which point, the CNT having resurfaced inside Spain,

the national committees appeared there.

Between 1945 and 1960, the minority group mentioned earlier had as the head of its Sub-committee, in this order, Ramón ÁLVAREZ, José Juan DOMÉNECH, Antonio EJARQUE, Ramón LIARTE and Ginés ALONSO. (It was during the latter's mandate that the exile community was reunified). After that reunification, unity among the exiles broke down again unmistakably in 1969, with the emergence of a minority faction (the Comisión Relacionadora de Grupos de Presencia Confederal, otherwise referred to as the Frente Libertario) which was to be headed by Roque SANTAMARÍA. As the reconstruction of the CNT in exile got underway after Franco's death, it was split into two main factions.

On the other hand, inside Spain, a number of clandestine national committees had followed one after another since 1939, under the chairmanship of (in chronological order) Esteban PALLAROLS (1939-40), Manuel LÓPEZ, Celedonio PÉREZ (1942), Manuel AMIL (1943), Eusebio AZAÑEDO, Gregorio GALLEGO, Manuel AMIL, Sigfrido CATALÁ (1944), José E. LEIVA (1945), César BROTO, Angel MORALES, Vicente SANTAMARÍA, Lorenzo Iñigo (1946), Enrique MARCO NADAL (1946), Antonio EJARQUE, Manuel VILLAR, Antonio BRUGUERA (1947), Antonio CASTAÑOS (1948), Miguel VALLEJO (1949) and Cipriano DAMIANO (1949-53). The vast majority of these ended up in jail with long sentences. Later, the CNT presence was drastically reduced, but there still national committees headed by GIMENO, CAMARASA, Ismael RODRÍGUEZ (1960-61), Francisco CALLE (1962), Cipriano DAMIANO (from 1963) and then came the Cincopuntista episode which largely put paid to any real CNT presence in the interior, whereupon the "genuine" representation shifted to the exile community. In the latter years of Francoism the CNT was rebuilding inside Spain, under the general secretaryship of Juan GÓMEZ CASAS (1976-78), from whom Enrique MARCOS took over (1978-79). When the Fifth Congress was held in the Casa de Campo (December 1979) a faction broke away, whereas the majority stuck by the CNT and elected José BONDÍA (1979-82), who also enjoyed the backing of the majority CNT faction in exile. BONDÍA was

replaced in January 1983 (at the 6th congress) by Antonio PÉREZ CANALES who tendered his resignation because he disagreed with the decisions of the 7th congress (in Torrejón in April 1983). The breakaways, who also had the support of the minority faction in exile, elected a secretary of their own (to lead a confederal rather than a national committee) in the shape of CARDENAS (acting secretary in 1980) whose place was taken by Carlos MARTÍNEZ (1980-82) who, after he resigned, was replaced by BERRO (1982). At the Jerez plenum in January 1983, BERRO was confirmed as the secretary of the breakaway CNT.

206. SOLANO PALACIO, Fernando. Asturian libertarian, date of birth unknown, died in Gijón, 1974.

In 1918 he emigrated to the Americas (Panama) and two years later turned up in New York (having worked for a time in shipyards in Virginia). During the republic he was in Spain (where he suffered a savage beating from police in Madrid) and was an eye-witness to the Asturian revolution in 1934. on which he wrote famous reportage (from his prison cell in Oviedo in 1935, at the request of Abad de Santillán). After the republic was defeated he went into exile, most of which was spent in the Americas (Chile). He returned to Gijón as an old an in failing health, to die. A poet and novelist, he is however especially remembered for his books on the Asturian commune: he was also a journalist of some standing and a friend of Javier Bueno. Articles by him can be found in *Tierra y Libertad* (Mexico), *Simiente Libertaria*, *Cénit*, etc. Author of: *Jardín de Acracia* (poetry, Valparaiso 1960), *Aurora* (novel set in Asturias), *El Arreo* (novel set in Patagonia), *Judith* (novel set in New York), *La Mujer y el Ideal* (a novel), *La Revolución de Octubre. Quince Días de Comunismo Libertario en Asturias* (Barcelona 1936), *La Represión de Octubre* (1935, published under the nom de plume of *Ignotus*. Shortly afterwards, when it was supposed that he was dead, it was republished as *El Anarquismo en la Revolución de Asturias* and credited, mistakenly, to Villar), *Ayer, Hoy, Mañana, Siempre* (Buenos Aires), *España en Cruz* (poem, Buenos Aires), *Cultura Hispanoárabe* (poem), *El*

Exodo. Por un Refugiado Español (Valparaiso 1939), Entre Dos Fascismos. Memorias de un Voluntario de las Brigadas Internacionales en España. Novela Histórica (Valparaiso, 1940) and La Tragedia del Norte (Barcelona 1938).

207. NAVARRO PRIETO, José. Córdoba 1852.

A student teacher, meeting with little success in Seville (1869-70), he turned to journalism in which field he was to score notable successes, especially in the field of satire. His political activity began in the Federal Republican Party as a very young man and in furtherance of it he launched the newspaper *El Derecho* which carried numerous articles in favour of republicanism. In 1871 he jettisoned his federalist ideas in favour of internationalism, for which he did sterling work in Córdoba, notably in the organising of the FRE congress in Córdoba in 1872-73, which he attended as a delegate. Shortly after that, in the summer of 1873, after vehemently defending his beliefs from the pages of *La República Federal*, he accepted an official appointment and began a gradual drift towards conservative positions: he contributed to the rightwing press (*La Monarquía*), owned the conservative newspaper *La Verdad* and was editor-director of *La Víbora*, *La Cotorra* and *Botafumeiro*. His time as an internationalist did not exceed two years but that was enough for him and others to lay solid labour foundations in the Córdoba district.

208. PÉREZ ROSA, Antonio. Early 20th century peasant anarchist from Córdoba.

Belonging to a generation that supplied anarchist trade unionism with great propagandists (like Cerdán, Sánchez Rosa..) and laid solid foundations for the mighty Andalusian CNT, his greatest activity occurred between 1908 and 1918, a decade during which he held countless rallies and wrote for the anarchist and trade union press. His activities were concentrated upon the Castro, Espejo, Fernán Núñez, Bujalance, Baena and Córdoba districts: he was especially significant in Castro as the driving force and mentor behind

its labour federation (he even taught at the labour school he opened there in 1915-16 with García Birlán). He attended the first three congresses of the FNA (peasant federation) in Ubeda, Valencia and Córdoba. Around 1918 he gave up his activism to devote himself, with considerable success, to photography. Contributed articles to Acción Solidaria. Appears to have been born in Castro del Río.

209. RODRÍGUEZ GARCÍA, Melchor. Anarcho-syndicalist, 1894-1972.

An advocate of a pacifist and very humanistic anarchism, he was a man equal to the circumstances he encountered. He was director of prisons under García Oliver (1936) and stood out for his decent treatment of inmates and his exposé of the existence of Stalinist Chekas (see the Cazorla case). Very active during the years leading up to the civil war, he was outstanding in the Madrid construction strike of 1936. After the civil war he was one of the mainstays of the clandestine CNT (arrested in 1946-47 and tried the following year on charges of smuggling propaganda into Alcalá prison). At a time when disenchantment was taking its toll of anti-Francoists he kept the CNT torch aloft and opposed Cincopuntista activity in 1965. Used the alias of Manuel Amador.

210. PACTO de UNIÓN y SOLIDARIDAD.

Spanish regional labour organisation, the full name of which was Federación de Resistencia al Capital - Pacto de Unión y Solidaridad. This was the organisation that replaced the FTRE from 1888 and it remained a force up until 1896, although never matching the prestige and size of its predecessors. It was founded on 18-20 May 1888, when a sizable congress of sociedades de resistencia was held in Barcelona: the new federation's structures were in place by the following year. It had a difficult life, in that the period of its influence was marked by labour unrest, the struggle for the eight hour day, agrarian revolts in the south (the Jerez events of 1892) and spectacular attentats (Pallás and Salvador), with the resultant tide of repression (the legislation of 1893 and 1896). It is hard to say if these

things occurred because of the defective infrastructure of the labour organisation (although this does seem to be the case in 1893-96 when the influence of the Pacto was negligible, which is when there was a flurry of attacks on the highest ranking members of society). Its greatest point of impact came in 1891, in which year the anarchists from the Pacto summoned a congress in Madrid (to which the socialists were also invited) from 22 to 25 March. It was attended by 122 delegates, 113 of whom plumped for an anti-political campaign and agreed to throw their weight behind a general strike timed for 1 May to press home workers' demands: the strike was a failure in Barcelona, but met with some success in the south. The aforesaid 188 congress in Barcelona (there had been get-togethers before then: a federation of resistance to capital had been launched in Barcelona in 1886, as well as in Valencia in 1887, and in fact it was these federations that summoned the 1888 congress) was held with the agreement of the FTRE's Madrid congress in 1887 and was convened by its federal council (making its origins quite clear) and drew a fair attendance of delegates. Its accords (which set out the principles governing the Pacto) were preceded by a long introduction registering that the existing social injustice as well as disunity among workers had opened their eyes to the need to overcome this lack of solidarity by means of a compact that had practical, rational purposes that could circumvent the differences existing between the various socialist tendencies and achieve agreement on the basis of some common principles: it also recognised the propriety of workers resisting the bourgeoisie, affirming that such resistance ought to be spontaneous and natural, but also abetted by the solidarity that ought to derive from the workers rubbing shoulders with one another in their trades societies which should come together into resistance federations that would oppose strike-breaking; those assembled there deemed it appropriate as a unifying and mobilising step to affiliate with the worldwide campaign for the eight hour day: after this preamble the congress endorsed the principles underlying the new federation: 1. - Autonomy of the individual, association and federation. 2. - It was incumbent upon signatories of the Pact to match

their ideas with their actions. 3. - Labour unity was to be secured through concerted action to confront capital, recourse being had to the following means: unconditional support for all strikes, support for all striking workers, and any section in a position to do so would be under an obligation to embark upon struggle forthwith. 4. - Meeting in congress, the Federation was to appoint a 5-member commission to collate and receive statistics. 5. - Congresses were to meet as determined by the preceding congress or at the instigation of a sizable number of federation members. 6. - The Pact would be subject to amendment by a congress. 7. - The Pact was binding upon all Federation members. In addition, the congress determined that Alcoy was to be the federation's base, imposed a 3 céntimo monthly levy and scheduled the next congress for Valencia in 1889. There was also talk of holding a worldwide congress: protests were registered against the repression in Riotinto and those who had perished in the construction and preparations for the World's Fair in Barcelona were remembered.

Once the Pact went into decline and virtually petered out, frequent efforts were made (meetings in Haro, Jerez and Manlleu in 1899-1900) to build up a new organisation until a meeting in Madrid (October 1900) inaugurated the FSORE or New FTRE.

211. ZARAGOZA, CNT NATIONAL CONFERENCE in 1922.

In spite of the crucial significance of this conference to the progress of the CNT and even though its influence and accords were more interesting than those of some full congresses, we have only patchy knowledge of this Conference. After constitutional guarantees had been restored across the country, the CNT national committee determined to put the problems of the day to the unions, emphasising the very issues raised by the far from anarchist line posited by the previous pro-Bolshevik national committee. To this end the national committee sounded the Aragonese regional committee about the chances of holding a secret conference in Zaragoza with representations from all of the regionals: the Aragon regional

committee (Aldanondo and Buenacasa) took charge of the preparations for the meeting, sending out the invitations and the agenda (drafted by Peiró), with all due caution, given the secretive nature of the planned gathering (as the CNT was still outlawed). Apparently there were some problems over its being held, but trade union pressure and threats from the Zaragoza workers managed to prevent its proceeding (leaks having reached the authorities). In the end it did proceed, without reference to the trade union's initials (later, during the course of the proceedings, the government observer again tried to have the meeting cancelled). The conference met in June 1922, with 38 organisations (mostly local and comarcal federations) present: it was left to Peiró to inaugurate the proceedings (11 June) and greet the (42) delegates. prominent among them Seguí, Abós, Pestaña. Galo Díez, Quemades, Juan Rueda, Zabaraín, Cano Ruiz, González Mallada. P. Díez, Alaiz, Viadiu, Arenas, Anguiano, etc. After several working sessions, it concluded with a great rally in the bullring. Many matters were discussed and the following was agreed: 1. - That the Confederation's national committee should continue to be based in Barcelona. 2. - That a great propaganda campaign be mounted as the fittest and most effective means of boosting the membership. 3. - That, particularly in the countryside, all non-aligned wage-earners be encouraged to take out membership so as to boost CNT influence. 4. - That the unions should be left free to cope as they saw fit with the employers' offensive. (This matter was debated at some length, the speakers including Buenacasa, who favoured a general strike, and Seguí, who urged moderation.) 5. - A campaign would be mounted for the release of prisoners. Subsidies would be paid to CNT prisoners and the families of murdered members. An amnesty would be lobbied for. 6. - Immediate disassociation from the Moscow International (effectively withdrawing from the Comintern and Profintern) and affiliation to the IWA (to which end a referendum would be held in the unions). Mallada and Galo Díez would be sent to the IWA foundation congress. 7. - "Where we stand with regard to politics": being an openly revolutionary organisation bluntly and expressly rejecting parliamentary activity and collaboration with the parties, the CNT

was at once wholly and absolutely political in that its mission was to secure its rights of reunion and its right to monitor all of the progressive values of national life and, to that end, had a duty to bring decisive action to bear in the form of pressure deriving from the CNT's dispositions and shows of strength.

In short, it can be argued that the Conference signalled the defeat of the Bolsheviks (who gathered months later in Bilbao and launched the CSR) who were able to see how the CNT preferred the reports from Leval and Pestaña over the reports from Arlandis and thus pulled out of the soviet International. (There were even violent rants against the repression in Russia, particularly from Galo Díez). There has been a lot of dispute regarding the Conference's authority to amend the accords of the 1919 congress, but it seems reasonable that, taken together, the determinations of the Conference plus the promised follow-up referendum were enough to amend an accord which, it has to be borne in mind, was for "provisional acceptance" of the Russian International until such time as more information became available (as was now happening). Much more controversial and criticised was the political resolution entitled "Where we stand with regard to politics" (the working party here included Seguí, Pestaña, Viadiu and Peiró, with the latter framing the text): many CNT members saw this motion as a breach of the confederal tradition, in that they saw it as signalling the birth of a political CNT which had nothing good to add to the classical CNT and anarchist a-politicism: it was a controversial declaration that triggered lengthy debate later about whether a distinction had to be made between a-politicism and anti-politicism, between parliamentarism and CNT-style politicism. (As we know, the argument pretty much subsists within the CNT). It also seems that there was talk of setting up a well-paid committee, although approval was not given to this, seemingly because of the stinging criticisms voiced by Galo Díez).

212. POSYOL, José. Spanish internationalist of the first vintage.

A member of the Madrid section, he was one of those who listened to

Fanelli. A type-setter by trade, there has been a lot of dispute over how active he was, but there is no doubt that he belonged to the FRE and stuck with the FTRE, even when it was driven underground: like many another internationalist of the time he saw no incompatibility between his membership of the International and membership of the federal republican militias. A collector of anarchist newspapers and documents, he appears to have been the printer of the clandestine *El Orden* and also did notable propaganda work (running a social studies circle and funding publication of pamphlets in spite of his meagre means). It seems that he engaged Pablo Iglesias in debate. He remained faithful to his ideas until death.

213. PUERTAS, José. CNT member born in Granada in 1902 but based in the Upper Llobregat.

He was a miner in Figols and fought bravely during the civil war. After the war he spent the usual periods in prison where he contracted lung disease and then rejoined the underground struggle, operating in particular in the Pyrenean districts as a liaison with the libertarian anti-Francoist guerrillas (very definitely with Massana from 1944). He died, following torture, on 14 November 1949 in the vicinity of Berga, a victim of the anti-terrorist round-ups in those years.

214. LA PROTESTA. Title of many anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist reviews and newspapers, some of them of enormous significance and influence.

1. - Organ of the FORA of Argentina, Buenos Aires, from 1897 (first as a weekly, then as a daily). Initially the title was *La Protesta Humana*. Founded by the Spaniard, *Inglán Lafarga*, it was at all times greatly influenced by Spanish immigrants and its own ideas, in turn, had a very considerable impact in Spain (especially in the 1920s, through *López Arango* and *Abad de Santillán*). In 1904 it switched to daily publication, was much harassed and frequently shut down (eventually disappearing as a result of persecution under *Uriburu*). Its directors included *Inglán*, *Basterra*, *Valenzuela*, *Creaghe*, *Ghiraldo*.. and it boasted editors of great prestige,

including Fueyo, Silva, Altair, Vázquez, Leopoldo Rodríguez, Panizza, Santillán, Arango, Ravel, Calcaño, López Maturana, Layda, Bianchi and P.B. López. It also published famous Suplementos.

2. - Algeciras, 1899-1901, 84 issues.

3. - La Línea, 1899-1902. Director, Ernesto Álvarez.

4. - Valladolid, 1899-1902, anarchist, 132 issues. Articles by Apolo, Lorenzo, Sárraga, Tárrida, E. Álvarez, Mella, Bonafulla, Laben, Marquina, Arenal, Lidia, Azorín, Gener, Fabbri..

5. - Igualada, 1919-1920, organ of the Igualada workers' federation, 7 issues. Anarcho-syndicalist. Directed by Diego Alonso: editorial staff included Ramón Bonjoc, Juan Ferrer and Josep Gardeñes.

6. - Barcelona, 1912, weekly.

7. - El Ferrol, 1920-1921, anarchist and CNT mouthpiece.

8. - Madrid, 1935, weekly mouthpiece of the anarchist groups.

9. - Madrid, 1901, 2 issues. Texts by Mella.

10. - Santander, 1980, 3 issues, mouthpiece of the CNT of Cantabrica.

11. - Hospitalet de Llobregat, 1980, 3 issues. Libertarian review.

215. OPPOSITION UNIONS (Sindicatos de Oposición)

Name given to a group of unions which broke away from the CNT in 1933-34, most of them returning early in 1936. Their emergence was a result of the struggles between the FAI and moderate trade unionists over the line to be imposed on the CNT: their origins can be traced to the latter years of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship and especially to 1931, over differences of opinion regarding the attitude to be adopted with regard to the nascent republic (whether certain allowances should be made for it or it ought to be directly confronted and faced down). Up until the breakaway came about, there was a protracted process that culminated in defeat for the moderates (who had initially been well ensconced in positions of responsibility and influence). The contest broke cover at the August 1931 regional plenum of the unions of Catalonia, at which harsh criticisms were made by Durruti and García Oliver of the line taken by Solidaridad Obrera

(which was then in the hands of the Peiró group): those criticisms were staunchly resisted by Peiró and Pestaña (the latter being an officer of the national committee at the time). Then again, the faïsta tendency gained the upper hand in the Barcelona local federation, from where it was to wage fierce battle against the reformists. The frictions escalated shortly after that with the publication of the Manifesto of the Thirty, which directly targeted the FAI, and the tide started to turn in the radicals' favour at the regional plenum of unions that October: Peiró quit the post of director of Solidaridad Obrera (which then passed to Alaiz): on the other hand, the republican government sided with the treintistas (jailing only the faïstas) and in the long run this worked to the advantage of the FAI which seemed to be being victimised by the State. The reformists began to regroup with the publication in November of a platform of their own, Cultura Proletaria. By the end of 1931 there was a distinct impression that the two factions were moving towards reconciliation, but the Upper Llobregat revolt in January 1932 made a separation inevitable: The April 1932 regional plenum of unions brought the downfall of another moderate lynch-pin when Mira (the CNT's regional secretary) stood down and was replaced by the faïsta, Gilabert... The reformist collapse worsened with the resignations of Arín and Pestaña from the CNT national committee. The radicalisation of positions peaked with the expulsion from the CNT in September of the Sabadell local federation (Mira's stronghold), an expulsion endorsed in March 1933. Faced with the prospect of defeat, the moderate faction reorganised itself from 1932 on (launching the newspaper Sindicalismo) and by early (January) 1933 had launched the FSL, a sort of counter-FAI: when it became plain that the expulsion of Sabadell would not be overturned, the moderates severed their links with the CNT of Catalonia in June 1933, at which point there was a regional plenum of unions held by the Catalan Opposition Unions: it was attended by 53 delegates representing 26,000 members. This resolved to pay no more dues to the CNT, to publish a daily newspaper, summon a national conference and request the CNT regional committee to call a joint national congress to condemn the faïsta policy.

(Out of the plenum came the dictum: A step back in the face of faísmo). In July, the unions of Huelva threw in their lot with the breakaways. A second Catalan regional plenum of opposition unions was held in Mataró (13 August) and it drew delegates from Valls, Mataró, Badalona, Sabadell and Manresa, representing 26,000 union members: at the plenum the decision was taken to elect a separate regional committee, but the door was left open to the possibility of a joint national congress. In the ensuing months, positions hardened and ushered in a turbulent period of accusations and threats emanating from both sides (there was talk of the 'Judas treintistas, the 'sons of St Ignatius', 'Father' Pestaña, 'uncontrollables', etc.), , in spite of attempts by Buenacasa and Quintanilla to act as mediators. At the end of 1933, the Opposition Unions (in the wake of the right wing victory in the parliamentary elections), like the FSL, adopted a policy favouring the Alianza Obrera, which (due to lack of CNT support) met with meagre success. Early in 1934, the rupture was also finalised in the Levante region: a regional plenum of the opposition unions in Levante (11-12 February), representing 23,258 members, particularly from Alcoy, Cartagena and the bigger Valencia unions (metalworkers', transport and woodworkers'). Furthermore, the oppositionists successfully recruited the Madrid railwaymen and could count upon a lot of sympathy in Asturias and Galicia. The trend went into a radical U-turn when, in January 1934, Pestaña (secretary of the FSL) resigned from the group and, a short while later, announced the establishment of the Syndicalist Party: indeed, a regional plenum of the FSL showed the supporters of reunification (Juan López and Peiró) grappling with those who were calling for it to embrace pure syndicalism or marxism (Fernells, Robusté, Fenollar), with the victory going to the former who nevertheless allowed the latter to stand in elections. The foundation of the Pestañist Syndicalist Party clarified matters and from then on the oppositionists confined themselves to looking for some way of returning to the CNT fold: thus, the FSL congress (Barcelona, July 1934) condemned electoralism: the following year, the FSL refused to amalgamate the Opposition Unions with those previously expelled from the CNT: in

December 1935, Juan López became their general secretary and lobbied for reunification (which was favoured by the conciliatory policy stance adopted by an extra-ordinary regional conference of the CNT in January 1936)> Thus, oppositionists attended the CNT's regional plenum of unions in Alcoy, at which it was resolved that the former and current CNT membership would amalgamate, should the forthcoming congress so decide. On 7 March 1936, the CNT national committee invited the oppositionists to attend its Zaragoza congress: on 29-30 March, a national Opposition conference in Valencia decided to accept the invitation, a decision applicable in Levante, Murcia and Huelva, but not to the Catalans who had yet to reach their decision (only Badalona returned to the fold): the Catalan oppositionists, finding themselves isolated, split again: one faction sent Mascarell to the CNT congress, whereas Sabadell and Manresa affiliated to the UGT. The May 1936 CNT congress greeted reunification with cries of "Long live the CNT!" At their peak, the opposition unions numbered some 60,000 members (a total of 60,621 were represented at the 1936 congress) and their membership included Juan López, Pestaña, Peiró, Mascarell, Domingo Torres, S. Català, Farra, D. Martínez, Francisco Gómez, Francisco López, Figueras, Robusté...

216. EL PERSEGUIDO. Title adopted by several publications.

1. - Badajoz, 1901.

2. - Gijón, 1902.

3. -Buenos Aires, anarchist, published by the Los Desheredados group made up of Spanish exiles. It appeared from 18 May 1890 until 1895. A launch manifesto by Rafael Roca: contributions from Roca, Inglán, Salbans, Cenambrade, Beltrán Orsini, Quirole, Serantoni, Requesa.. It put out a hundred issues with a print-run of up to 4,000 copies. It opposed organisation and trade unionism, occasionally defended violence and was critical of socialists. Anarcho-communist in outlook.

217. PASCUAL PALACIOS, José. Anarchist and CNT figure from Aagon, born

in 1916. Died in exile in Paris in 1970.

Remembered for his activities in exile in France following the defeat of the republic in 1939. After the fascist victory he crossed into France where he passed through the inevitable concentration camps and worked as a miner (it was silicosis that killed him). He enrolled early on in the CNT reconstruction groups identified with the orthodox, anti-collaborationist tendency, within which he represented the fact most determined to embark upon direct confrontation with Francoism, even to the extent of creating fighting groups in Catalonia from his position as co-ordinating secretary of the Inter-Continental Secretariat (1949-52). In the 1960s we find him connected with Interior Defence and the most active wing of the FIJL. In 1951 and 1963 he was jailed in France for his advocacy of direct confrontation (the latter six month term undermined his health). An activist rather than a writer, he nevertheless wrote for *El Rebelde* and was administrator of the review *Presencia*.

218. PARÉS ADÁN, Jaime. Barcelona 1910-1946. Known as El Abisinio. Joined the CNT at a very early age and by 1926 was a member of the clandestine confederal defence groups. He served with the Durruti Column and was bodyguard to Vallejo (the secretary for armaments in Catalonia) and participated in operations to free anarchists jailed by the Stalinists. After the end of the civil war, he joined the urban guerrillas based in France but fighting in and around Catalonia, almost always serving alongside Francisco Sabaté and participating in numerous operations to release prisoners, carrying out sabotage and expropriations. He perished on one raid in a clash with police in Barcelona on 9 May 1946.

219. PROMETEO. Title of various libertarian publications.

1. - Madrid, 1926, anarchist. Only appeared in February and March.
2. - Algeciras, 1920, mouthpiece of the CNT in Algeciras. Anarcho-syndicalist weekly, increasingly anarchist. Director: Salvador Cordón.

220. PAREDES, Félix.

Born in Madrid towards the end of the 19th century, he made his name in the pre-civil war period as the writer of couplets and songs and up until 1935 was editorial secretary of La Tierra. He contributed to leading commercial newspapers (El Liberal, El Heraldo, La Libertad..) With the outbreak of civil war, he joined the editorial staff of Fragua Social (Valencia) and was prominent in the writing of war-time romances (published in a variety of CNT newspapers such as CNT Manchega, El Crítico, CNT, Fragua Social..). At the war's end he was arrested in Alicante and sentenced to death and eventually released from prison in 1944. Whereabouts unknown since 1945. Author of: Mientras Aúlla la Hiena Fascista (Valencia 1938), and Dans la Tourmente (Paris 1938, in collaboration with others).

221. RODRÍGUEZ FERNÁNDEZ, Julio. Known as El Cubano, a nick-name derived from his having been born in Havana, Cuba in 1918.

He fought in the civil war and achieved the rank of commander of the 39th Brigade (March 1938) in spite of his youth, having earlier distinguished himself with the Del Rosal column (on the Madrid front in November 1936). When the civil war ended, he carried on fighting, this time as one of the guerrillas in the Almadén comarca, until in 1946-47 he made contact with Mera in Madrid and a short time after that moved to France. In France he joined the Catalan guerrilla groups with which he operated in Barcelona and its environs. He perished in a clash with the fascist police in Barcelona on 21 October 1949.

222. MANIFESTO OF THE THIRTY (Manifiesto por los Treinta).

Document drawn up in Barcelona in August 1931 by thirty CNT militants, including some members of the CNT's regional and national committees and editors from Solidaridad Obrera. Their aim was to head off the dynamic that the FAI was trying to foist upon the CNT, by invoking more syndicalist principles and tactics. Distribution of it kicked up a real storm and its signatories were dubbed by their opponents "the thirty Judases". The title is

a reference to the number of signatories and the ideas it spelled out were the ones that subsequently gave birth to treintismo, to the Opposition Unions and to the FSL. The government saw its emergence as offering a chance to control the CNT and steer it towards moderate positions, to which end it facilitated the task of the treintistas while stepping up its repression of the FAI and describing the manifesto's signatories as the "sensible element of the Confederation". The idea of issuing a manifesto appears to have emanated from Arín and Pestaña who was charged with the drafting of it, but in the end the signatories endorsed a re-drafted version by Gibanel, Alfarache and Fornells that incorporated Pestaña's draft plus suggestions made by the signatories over several meetings. The signatories were: Gibanel, Juan López, Fornells, Girona, D. Navarro, Jesús Rodríguez, Villabriga, Pestaña, Portolés, Roura, Lorente, Alfarache, Peñarroya, Piñón, Cortés, Gabin, Massoni, Arín, Cristià, Dinarés, Roldán, Cortada, Carné, S. Clarà, Peiró, Ramón Viñas, Mariano Prat, Espartaco Puig, Marcó and Jenaro Miguel.

The manifest opened: "To the comrades, to the unions, to all" and it argued that Spain was then in intense turmoil which, with the king having fled, had impoverished the country (the flight of capital) .. to which must be added clerical conspiracy.. the country was in the throes of economic crisis .. and the republic, with unduly legalistic procedures, seemed more concerned to repress the people than to bring the speculators, landlords and monopolists to heel .. had betrayed the people by wriggling out of revolution and plunging them into poverty. A revolution is needed. That said, the signatories turn to what they term "One Interpretation": How is this revolution to be tackled? There is one theory, to the effect that it is up to daring minorities to bring about the violent convulsion leading on to revolution, whereby one had to trust to a few for success and to the problematical intervention of the multitudes to back them up.. According to that theory, there is no need to take precautions or make any provision in order to defeat the mastodon-State. This - they stated - is what is happening now, with everything trusted to chance: that view of revolution is

demagogic and yet it has its supporters within our ranks. Next, the signatories asked: Should the CNT take this catastrophic notion of the revolution to its bosom? Their answer is headed: "Our Interpretation": the groundwork for revolution must be laid in terms of aggressive as well as moral factors: the revolution does not trust to daring minorities, but must belong to the entire people. Personal initiative is needed but so too is the methodical and orderly approach. "In contrast to the chaotic or incoherent notion of revolution entertained by the former, there is the orderly, far-sighted, coherent vision of the latter. The former amounts to playing at riot, upheaval and revolution, and in effect amounted to postponement of the real revolution." Pestaña and the other signatories closed with some "Final Words" in which they argue the case for the latter view and claim that they are revolutionaries but not aficionados of the "myth of revolution", and that they too seek the abolition of the State and contend that the revolution must emanate from the people rather than from a handful of people who may turn into dictators the day after the revolution. They close by calling upon the CNT to make up its mind, insisting that an organisation should be able to manage its own affairs, act on its own initiative and make its own decisions .. and they recall that "just as the act of revolution may lead on to success, and ought to fade away with dignity in the event of its not succeeding, every random act of revolution leads on to reaction and to the success of demagogy". In spite of all of which they are adamant that they will stick to their objective even should they be overrun by the rival trend.

223. ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Secret society founded in Barcelona in 1870 by Farga and Sentiñón, its aim being to keep alive the old Bakuninist Alliance (officially disbanded in April 1869 after the General Council in London granted all its members entry into the IWMA). A number of Spaniards (Pellicer, Farga, Sentiñón, Gomis, Rubaudonadeu, Córdova, F, Mora, González Moraga, Cenegorta) had been members of the Geneva-based Bakuninist Alliance and it ought to be regarded as an organisation in the 19th century conspiratorial tradition, a

sort of secret Brotherhood made up of hand-picked personnel, one that spread into Switzerland, Italy and France, bound together by bonds of friendship with Bakunin: which explains why the whole thing has been interpreted as a predecessor of the FAI. In Spain, even after it was structured in 1870, its origins go back to the arrival of Fanelli, because the Italian left its programme and statutes behind for the first Spanish internationalists: the vast majority of the Spaniards embraced the principles spelled out therein by Bakunin and, as a result, for many years, the flavour of Spanish labourism was anti-authoritarian and Bakuninist. Initially the internationalists of the country were of like mind in accepting the Alliance programme, but that unanimity later broke down due to the marxist presence (Lafargue). Lafargue was to embark upon an intense campaign (of nuanced calumnies) against the Alliance which, at times, bordered upon police-like denunciation (the marxist flagship, *La Emancipación*, urged dissolution of the Alliance and even published a list of Alliance members). This strained relations and in the long run led to a split inside the FRE (The Alliance replied with "The Question of the Alliance".)

How long the Alliance survived is not known, but it has been credited with the survival of the FRE through the years from 1874 to 1881 (the clandestine years) and also with the emergence of the FTRE. What is certain is that it grew very quickly and had a dyed-in-the-wool following in Barcelona, Palma, Seville, Córdoba, Cádiz and Madrid prior to 1872: prominent among its militants were Castellón, Lorenzo, Busquets, Simancas, Oliva, Morago, Montoro, Rosell, Francisco Martínez, Nácher, Gasull, Vidal, Lluas, Alier, Albarracín, García Viñas, Sentiñón, Farga, Alerini, Balasch, García Meneses, Pamiás, the Albagésés, Riva, Bové, Casals, Alonso Marselau, Soriano, Muñoz, Tomás, Navarro, Suárez, López, Córdova and Rubaudonadeu .. There has been a lot of controversy about the influence it wielded at the first Barcelona congress (1870). Some see it as having been set up specifically to prevent that congress from adopting a co-operativist reformist line: there seems to be no doubt, either, that it played a crucial role in the congress in Córdoba.

The most salient points in the Alliance programme were: 1. - Abolition of classes: social and economic equality for the sexes: abolition of individual private ownership and rights of inheritance: collective ownership of the land and the instruments of labour. 2. - Equality access for children to educational resources and requirements for development (food, training..) as a means of working towards intellectual equality. 3. - Rejection of the State under any form; rejection of any revolutionary action not designed to secure a workers; victory over capitalism: the State was to be whittled down to simple administration of public services: there was to be a universal union of free agricultural and industrial associations. 4. - All politics rooted in patriotism and rivalry between nations was condemned: the solution of the social question lay in the international solidarity of labour. 5. - Atheism, abolition of religion, replacement of faith by science and divine justice by human.

To these principles, the Spanish International added some of its own, pertaining essentially to administrative and internal operational matters: 1. - The Alliance was to comprise of IWMA members and its object was to be the spreading of its programme and the emancipation of the workers. In addition, influence should be brought to bear in the local federations of the International to avert their falling into the hands of the reaction and counter-revolution. 2. - Members were to be admitted on the recommendation of existing members and only those with a majority in favour of their being admitted could be valid members. 3. - The membership undertook actively to propagate its principles. Meetings would be held on a weekly basis, with proper minutes and agenda. There was to be solidarity between members: accords were binding upon all and the members would look out for one another like brothers. 4. - Expenses would be borne by all. Motions would be carried by majority vote: a two thirds majority of the membership was required for amendment of statutes.

224. EL TRABAJO. Title of several publications connected with anarchism and revolutionary syndicalism.

1. - El Ferrol, 1871-72, organ of the Spanish IWMA.
2. - A newspaper that replaced La Federación, Barcelona, 1872, 4 issues.
3. - Málaga, from July 1882, some 20 issues. Anarchist newspaper.
4. - Seville 1904 (There may have been an earlier run.)
5. - Logroño, 1908.
6. - Mouthpiece of the CNT in the Soria comarca, Soria, 1933.
7. - Cádiz 1899-1900, 8 issues. Texts by Abayá, Lorenzo, Prat, Gustavo, Cavia, Merlino, Grave..
8. - Sabadell, 1898-1908, almost 300 issues published. A fortnightly newspaper, mouthpiece of the Sabadell labour federation. Also resurfaced in 1909 and 1914-16. Texts by Bakunin, Lorenzo, Pi, Reclus, Alarcón, Nordau, Ristori, Harduin, Zamacois, Castillo, Mella, Faure, Gorky, Herreros, Strindberg, Zola, Camba, Kropotkin, Malato, etc. Also carried labour news and important articles on French syndicalism (by Pouget) and on the eight hour day (by Pahissa, Hommes, Garin).
9. - Manresa, from 1922 (some sources say from 1920). Issued on the say-so of a comarcal plenum of CNT unions with the sub-title "Organ of the Manresa-Berga Comarcal and Mouthpiece of the CNT". The first phase, May 1922 to September 1923, saw 55 issues published under the direction of Espinalt, with Argelés and manager. It reappeared in 1931, from May 1931 until September 1934, publishing 157 issues and under the management of María Porta and José Anselmo, in that order. Its last phase, under the direction of José Cuevas, lasted from May 1937 until June 1938. It had mixed fortunes: it was suspended by government order from January to April 1932 and targeted by the bishops (who excommunicated it twice).

225. NIEVA, Teobaldo. Intellectual from the old IWMA days. Although living in Madrid he participated actively in intellectual affairs in Barcelona. Articles by him appeared early in the libertarian press (La Solidaridad, La Federación, 1870-71) and he was outstanding for his championship of collectivism against anarcho-communism, something he carried on with into the 1880s (see his polemic with Tárrida del Mármol) when collectivism was

losing ground to Kropotkinist principles. He took part in the socialist symposia in Reus and Barcelona (1885 and 1890) and his writings appeared in *Bandera Social*, *El Productor*, *Acracia*, *La Revista Blanca*, etc. A staunch defender of collectivism, he also displayed interest in feminist topics and in the aftermath of the Paris Commune. Author of: *La Química de la Cuestión Social, o sea, Organismo Científico de la Revolución* (Reus 1885) and *Las Pasiones Humanas. Capacidad Revolucionaria de la Clase Obrera* (Barcelona 1890).

226. ROIGÉ, Juan. Catalan anarchist and self-educated teacher. He ran a rationalist school, a very famous one, in the Ateneo in Sants, where meetings were held that drew attendance from the elite of Catalan syndicalism (Seguí, Arín, Boal, Quemades, Pestaña) prior to the Primo de Rivera dictatorship. His educational work was no obstacle to his leading the life of an anarcho-syndicalist militant (he was jailed in 1919 in El Pelayo in connection with the Canadiense strike, and addressed meetings in Tarragona in support of Folch in 1921..) Under the dictatorship he plotted against Primo de Rivera who had shut his school down in 1923 and he was imprisoned in 1927. A friend of Foix and Pestaña, he helped them launch the weekly *Acción*. Under the republic his commitment was to his school (the so-called Luz rationalist school); his educational approach gave priority to moral training over instruction and favoured self-education. After the civil war he went into exile and died in France.

227. (EL) COMBATE. Title of several newspapers. The first entry below is for "Combate", the remainder for "El Combate".

1. - Revolutionary syndicalist daily, organ of the Opposition Unions, Barcelona, March 1934: its publication was suspended by the authorities in the month of its launch. Contributions from Peiró.
2. - Caspe, 1936-37. Mouthpiece of the confederal militias of the Ortiz Column. Directed by Juan Zafón.
3. - Bilbao, November 1891, two issues. Anarcho-communist. Dealt with the

labour situation in Vizcaya.

4. - Figueras, 1906.

5. - Mouthpiece of Francisco Sabaté's Grupos Anarcosindicalistas, it was published in France and distributed inside Catalonia by the aforementioned groups. Clandestine, four issues published, 1955.

228. BARCELONA 1870, Spain's first labour congress.

The proposal that a national congress be held came from the Madrid section of the IWMA (in its newspaper Solidaridad) which suggested Madrid as the venue: the Barcelona group (from La Federación) indicated its agreement but requested a referendum on the venue. The outcome of that referendum indicated a preference for Barcelona (91 associations and 10,030 members against the 42 associations and 3,737 members favouring Madrid and the lesser figures for Zaragoza, Reus, Valencia and Alcázar de San Juan. A total of 149 associations (with 15, 216 members) participated. It appears that what tilted the balance in Barcelona's favour was economic factors (the bulk of the associations were Catalan). The congress proceedings lasted from 18 to 24 June 1870: on 18 June, a preliminary gathering laid down the agenda: 1. - The state of the associations represented. 2. - Associations and fighting funds. 3. - Co-operation. 4. - Social organisation. 5. - Attitude to politics. 6. - General business.

From 19 June, the congress sat in the Circo theatre. It opened with a few words from Farga (acting chairman) who described the exploitation to which the worker was subject: then the congress proper got underway. There is no agreement on the number of delegates and societies represented at it (due to mistakes in the minutes) but it is obvious that there was a Catalan preponderance (74 out of some 90 delegates), and indeed a Barcelona preponderance (with 33 delegates). In addition to Basterra who was there representing the French sections, at a minimum the latter were present: Alcoy (Valls), Almadén (J. Viñas), Arahal (García Viñas and Herrán), the Balearics (Payeras, Sentiñón and Tomás), Barcelona (J. Rovira, Rabassa, Balasch, Solé, Flamarich, Corduñels, Jornet, Illa, Bargalló,

Hugas, Romeu, Balcells, Gras, Bochons, Franqueza, Janer, Marsal. Esteve, Nuet, Balaña, Roca, Bové, Sans, Nabot, Sarlat, Farrés, Ballvé, Capdevila, Estany, Botán, Torruell, Pagés, Albert, Jubany, Riera, Saborit, Perelló, Abelló), Cabañas (Soler), Cádiz (Sentiñón, Farga, Hugas, García Meneses), Cambrils (Roldós), Cambrós (Coll), Cartagena (Farga), Ezcaray (T. Soriano), Gracia (Perramón), Granollers (Tapias), Igualada (J. Rovira), Jerez (Cobeño), Madrid (Borrel, F. Mora, Lorenzo, González Morago, A. Mora), Manlleu (Targarona), Manresa (Illa), Pueblo Nuevo (Grau), Reus (Vergés, Garriga, Cardona, Grases), San Andrés (Ribó, Durán), San Feliu de Guixols (Gevilli, Umbert), San José Fonts (Oriol), Sants (Torns), Sabadell (Sampera, Rosell), Sallent (Codina), Sarriá (Valls), Tarragona (Amat, Corbellà), Tayá (Durán), Tortosa (Adelly, Cordones), Ulldecona (Adelly), Valencia (F. Soriano), Valladolid (Cea), Valls (Caixal), Vich (Solá), Vilasar (Sirera), Villafranca de los Caballeros (Rubaudonadeu), Villanueva y Geltrú (Trilla).

This being Spain's first ever labour congress, there had been no prior clarification of ideologies which is why, throughout the proceedings, different (and opposing) tendencies surfaced: the best defined of these were three in number: a) Bakuninists (the successful majority), b) labour republicans and c) reformist advocates of cooperativism. Prominent among the republicans were Rubaudonadeu, Sarlat, Balaña, Torns, Rovira, Capdevila, Sirera and Vergés: among the cooperativists there were Perramón, Trilla, Estany and Fornells, and among the anarchists were many of the legends and founding fathers of the IWMA: Morago, Fargas, Lorenzo, Borrel, García Viñas, Soriano, Meneses and Tomás..

By the time that Francisco Tomás wound up the proceedings with a demonstration and rally on 25 June, Spanish labour had decided to embrace the principles of apolitical and anarchist internationalism. The accords were as follows: 1. - Repudiation of political action (although individuals were free to take part). 2. - Condemnation of government in any form, be it monarchist, republican or labour. 3. - Abolition of rights of inheritance. 4. - Creation of fighting funds. 5. - Cooperativism was acceptable as a lesser evil but was without any revolutionary usefulness. 6. - The labour movement's

organisation must be founded upon trades branches, federation across the nation (trades federations) and locally (local and regional federations). 7. - The new thinking was to be spread. 8. - The ultimate aim was to be social revolution that would be anti-State, anti-corporatist and anti-reformist. In addition it was agreed that the IWMA federal council's base should be in Madrid (with Lorenzo, Borrel, Morago and the Mora brothers as secretaries) and a congress held in Valencia in April 1871. The most outstanding accord was the social organisation proposal offered by Morago and Meneses, which has virtually survived in the anarchist labour movement to this day; there was also the rejection of the reformist case of the cooperativists and a distancing from the federal republicans.

229. NOT, Pepita. Torregrosa (Lérida) 1900 - Barcelona 193*.

A daughter of peasants, she lived in Barcelona from her early girlhood, working as a servant and cook, on her father's insistence. Her engagement with social matters was directly connected with her meeting with Ricardo Sanz (whom she would go on to marry) in 1918. She was a trusted auxiliary of Los Solidarios (transporting money, weapons and messages for them..) and in this capacity travelled Asturias, the North, Aragon and Catalonia. She was also prominent on the prisoners' aid committees (together with Dolcet and Ródenas) during the republic. She died prematurely in childbirth.

230. PARTIDO LIBERTARIO (LIBERTARIAN PARTY)

Although confirmed at congress after congress, the CNT's characteristic apoliticism was not always acceptable to all CNT personnel. In the early days, disillusioned CNT personnel opted to forget about their anarchist beliefs and defected to socialism or republicanism, without attempting to amend the CNT line. When Pestaña kicked over the traces in 1934 and set about establishing a party (the Syndicalist Party) which aimed to be the political voice of the union, the taboo was broken but it also transpired that the vast majority of CNT members were against such ventures. Pestaña was to have imitators in this ambition to found a political party that might

articulate the essence of anarchism, or rather, of the CNT: some such ventures were construed as outright betrayals (e.g. the Partido Laboralista of the 1940s) whilst others derived from the post-war exiles and were the result of the disenchantment created by defeat. The best known such venture and another failure, was the Partido Libertario. Its origins go back to Martínez Prieto's articles in *Timón* (1938), when he called for the FAI to be converted into a political party, a call rejected by the national plenum of the Libertarian Movement (Barcelona, October 1938) which explained away the policy of collaborationism as an exceptional occurrence. Ten years later, in exile in France, a document appeared on 23 January 1948 bearing the signatures of 17 CNT militants (the collaborationist faction of the national Sub-committee) in favour of a Libertarian Party: Horacio Martínez Prieto, José E. Leiva, Berbegal, Liberto Ros, Arce, V. Bel, Pedro Rey, Aurelio Pernia, Armesto, Chiapuso, José Castillo, F. Royo, J. Bernat, Avelino Roces, C. Calpe, Valldeperas and Miñana. They were disowned by the Sub-committee which stripped them of their posts and duties in the organisation. Even when the signatories tried to spell out their thinking inside Spain, their efforts foundered and the plan for a party collapsed in the face of indifference from the CNT membership and was dismissed as just Horacio up to his old nonsense again (Prieto's scheme had already been rejected at a plenary session of the national committee of the MLE in France in December 1944, as well as at a national plenum in the Interior in July 1945).

H. M. Prieto, the inventor and theorist behind the scheme, set out his intentions thus: The PL would place itself at the disposal of the CNT which it would defend in parliament and in government against potential reactionary measures, fighting for a radical change in society with capitalism being destroyed, but taking a realistic approach: it would be revolutionary but possibilist and libertarian (in that it would be organisationally federalist, resort frequently to referenda, reject standardisation, resist State encroachments upon the economy, curtail the bureaucracy and undermine State power): the Party would abide by the recommendations of a Political Guidance Council (which would be an

umbrella for all four wings - the CNT, the FAI, the PL and the FIJL, each of them independent). According to Prieto, the CNT would carry on being apolitical and keep faith with its past and would concern itself with the economic and social matters. The FAI would operate as the ideological, apolitical, anti-parliamentary vanguard, an intellectual and moral elite dedicated to cultural, educational and propaganda matters. The FIJL would bring the young (the politically-minded puritans) together as a standing debating centre. The PL would bear sole responsibility for political successes or failures.

What was never clear was how one could have an electioneering party, if its supposed tenets were anti-parliamentary, as Martínez Prieto himself was claiming.

231. The Second, 'LA COMEDIA' CONGRESS of the CNT in Madrid, 1919. So called after the theatre where delegates gathered for the congress. It took place from 10 to 17 December 1919 and the very fact of its being called in Madrid shocked the socialists and the government which had not been expected CNT personnel to be ready to make inroads into a territory which had hitherto been more at home with the reformist approach of the UGT: perhaps for that very reason, there were attempts at sabotage and boycott (a newspaper black-out). Organisation of the congress fell to Buenacasa, Bajatierra and Moisés López, and right up until the very last minute there were doubts that it would proceed (after Catalonia, whose unions were beset by the employers' lock-out, requested that it be suspended). Expectations were running high and 511 unions attended, represented by 437 delegates (128 from Catalonia, 73 from Andalusia and Extremadura, 71 from Levante, 30 from Aragon, 28 from Galicia, 55 from Castile, 28 from the North, 19 from Asturias, plus one Portuguese and 8 members of the national committee), and they included many of the most famous CNT personnel and anarchists in history: Galo Díez, Bajatierra, Carbó, Arlandis, Avelino González, Pestaña, Peiró, Nin, Acín, Aquilino Moral, Sousa, Boal, Seguí, Quintanilla, Canudo, Alaiz, Quemades, J.M. Martínez,

Orobón, Isgileas, B. Pascual, Anguiano, Juan Fernández, Ortega Castriz, Barreiro, J. Suárez, Josefa López, Rueda, Parra, Miró, Molina, J. Guerrero, Oliva, Chacón, Jurado, C. Carrión, Roque García, Garcés, Cordón, Canela, Meca, Mira, Fornells, David Rey, Monteagudo, Francisco Martínez, Rovira, Amador, Domingo, Calleja, Marcén, Cejuela, Ibáñez, Gómez, Sirvente, Blanco, Bozal, Torreiro, Fandiño, Villaverde.. which says a lot about the interest displayed in and importance credited to the congress.

It was inaugurated by Pestaña and Boal, Carbó, Gallego Crespo, Buenacasa, J.M. Martínez, Seguí and Galo Díez took turns at chairing the proceedings (with Galo Díez presiding over the closing session). As at every congress, the opening sessions amounted to uninterrupted chaos and pandemonium, but in the end the congress began to work effectively. Its main accords were: 1. - Direct action to be employed as the likeliest means of achieving the workers' aims and unity of the proletariat. 2. - Rejection of the mixed commissions, agreements and findings emanating from the government, with sabotage being used intelligently. 3. - Amalgamation with the UGT was rejected because of the differences between the tactics and goals of the CNT and the UGT. Instead, efforts would be made to absorb the UGT, in that the CNT had three times the number of members. (The UGT came within an ace of being proclaimed a "yellow" union.) 4. - The Russian revolution was praised and a provisional decision made to join the Red International because of its revolutionary character, until such time as the CNT might lay the groundwork for a worldwide congress.)Even so, on the advice of Quintanilla and others, a wait-and-see attitude was adopted and it was agreed that Pestaña would be sent to Russia on a fact-finding visit.) 5. - In the larger cities, sindicatos únicos for each sector would be the required organisational format (as agreed the previous year in Sants), with general trades unions in the smaller ones. National Industrial Federations were rejected. (In spite of case put for them by Quintanilla and support from the Asturians, only 14,000 members voted for them, with 651,437 voting against. 6. - The CNT would comprise of Regional Federations, themselves made up of Local and Comarcal Federations and these ,in turn, of unions. 7. - An

attempt would be made at amalgamation with the Portuguese CGT (on a motion from Sousa). 8. - Journalists and writers in the pay of the reaction and bourgeoisie were to be boycotted. 9. - Carbó would be sent to the USI congress in Milan (in a secret sitting a number of militants were chosen to hold talks with unions around Europe - thus Boal was sent to Portugal, Quemades and Carbó to France, Piera to Holland, and Pestaña to Germany and Russia). The congress was wound up to great enthusiasm.

232. MIRÓ SOLANES, Fidel. Spanish anarchist and CNT member born in Pla de Cabra (Tarragona) in 1910.

The earliest reports of his activity came from the Americas: in 1928-29 he was in an anarchist group in Cuba with Baella and Pallarols: shortly after that he turned up in Barcelona where he joined the Nervio group (1934) and later the Z group in the FAI, becoming a leading influence in the FIJL and outstandingly condemning the Nosotros group. That same year he was indicating that he favoured alliance with the UGT. In 1936 he was a member of the Catalan regional committee of the FAI, as well as that of the FIJL (where he headed the moderates in opposing Peirats's line). A little later he was appointed general secretary of the FIJL and over the ensuing months signed agreements with the JSU and participated in rallies (including one with Faure in Barcelona in 1936). During the civil war he championed political collaboration, and was to the fore in the MLE (as general secretary of the FIJL in 1937-38, secretary of the executive committee of the Libertarian Movement in Catalonia in 1938, chair of the AJA (Antifascist Youth Alliance) and, in 1939, a member of the General Council of the MLE set up in Paris). When the civil war was over he went into exile, settling in Mexico. He sided with the breakaways in 1945, supported the ANFD, joined the New FAI in Mexico in opposition to García Oliver (1942) etc. In Mexico he set himself up as a book-dealer and publisher, running and financing the review *Comunidad Ibérica* for a number (9) of years. From 1958 on he travelled regularly to Spain, keeping in touch with CNT personnel in Barcelona, Valencia and Madrid. In 1960 he was the representative of the

breakaways at the talks that led up to the reunification of the CNT. Later his trajectory became somewhat confused: he was regarded as close to the Cincopuntistas and by the 1970s was holding talks with Martín Villa and Socias with an eye to refloating the CNT, whilst keeping in touch with CNT veterans in the interior (Ferrer Villamala, Lera, Gómez Casas..). In 1974 he was very close to the Liaison Commission set up in Barcelona (which survived up until the CNT was relaunched once and for all at the gathering in Sants in 1976, at which he was also present). After the reconstruction of the CNT he criticised its radicalism and embraced the moderate, reformist and even revisionist theses of Abad de Santillán's line. A very controversial figure in CNT and anarchist circles, sometimes violently upbraided for what were seen as his efforts to build a tame, reformist CNT. He wrote quite a lot: articles in *Sindicalismo*, *Historia Libertaria*, *CNT (Mexico)*, *Solidaridad Obrera*, *Veü Catalana*, *Excelsior*, *Comunidad Ibérica*, etc. Author of: *Cataluña, los Trabajadores y el Problema de las Nacionalidades (Mexico 1967)*, *Revisión de las Tácticas de CNT de España (Mexico 1956)*, *¿Y España Cuando? El Fracaso Político de una Emigración (Mexico 1959)*, *El Anarquismo, los Estudiantes y la Violencia (Mexico 1969)*, and *Anarquismo y Anarquistas (Mexico 1979)*.

233. RODRÍGUEZ VARELA, Ramón. Known as Curuxas after his birthplace. Galician CNT member who acquired legendary status in the Francoist years after the civil war. Prior to the war in 1936 he had been a miner in La Coruña, and scarcely had the fascist revolt begun and succeeded in Galicia than he fled into the mountains where he organised long-lived rural guerrilla bands that operated in the upper Ulla (the mellid-Monterroso-Palas area). When the civil war ended he carried on with his guerrilla campaign up until 1952, wriggling out of unbelievable difficulties. (Thus, surrounded in 1941, he shot his way to freedom). What became of him later is unknown (there is a chance that he made a living as an itinerant tailor), until in 1967 his corpse turned up in Villamor (near Compostela). Curuxas was to the guerrilla wars in the north what Bernabé was to the ones in the south,

albeit less organised but shrewder. (It is worth remarking that the guerrilla wars in the north dated from 1936).

234. SABATÉ LLOPART, José. Hospitalet de Llobregat (Barcelona) 1910- Barcelona 1949. Killed in a shoot-out with police on 17 October 1949. A member of a dyed-in-the-wool CNT family connected with the anti-Franco action groups, several members of the family paying with their lives for their die-hard line. Even before the civil war he was active among the most pugnacious CNT circles and when the civil war started in 1936 he enrolled in the Los Aguiluchos column bound for Aragon (hitherto he had belonged to the CNT defence groups and in July 1936 had served on the revolutionary committee in his native town). Defeat found him in the Levante area and he was arrested in Alicante (1939). He passed through concentration camps and prisons (Albatera and Cartagena) up until 1945. In 1946 he was in Barcelona and shortly after that crossed into France where he joined the libertarian action groups fighting in the Barcelona area: he acted as roving secretary of the Catalan CNT and, together with Ballester Orovitg, was prominent in prisoners' aid efforts. At the beginning of 1949 he made contact with Los Maños and his brother Quico in Barcelona, but was wounded shortly after that in a skirmish (following the capture of the underground presses of Solidaridad Obrera) and with his brother's help he managed to have his wounds tended in Martorell and Abreras and then cross the frontier into France. In France he took part in organisational business (as secretary of the Catalan region of origin) until he resumed the struggle inside Spain after some months and perished in a clash with police. An open, constructive, practical militant, a risk-taker and battler, he was less of an organisation man than his brother and, perhaps for that reason, less controversial.

235. SANTANA CALERO, Juan. A libertarian who appears to have been born in Adra.

A CNT member from early boyhood as he had been obliged (having lost

his father) to work for a living from early on. In 1932 he turned up as one of the founders of the FIJL in Málaga and around the same time was touring the province (as a traveller in lace and iron-mongery) peddling anarcho-syndicalism to the peasantry. After the civil war broke out in 1936 he was the FIJL representative on the Committee of Public Safety in Málaga and he raised a column to send against Granada, It was scattered by enemy aircraft. In the early months of the war he was the lynch-pin of propaganda work (and was also a very notable labour agitator in Málaga), eventually founding and directing the weekly Faro. When the Málaga front collapsed, he joined the editors of Ruta in Barcelona and later went south again in Maroto's 147th Brigade (as field commissar), for which he launched the review Nervio. During the war he attended the Andalusian FAI's regional congress, directed its weekly paper, FAI, and clashed violently with García Oliver (Santana being against the CNT in government). Come the end of the civil war he took to the sierras (March 1939) with Millán, Lozano and others but was intercepted and wounded in the province of Almería and later murdered in April that year. A great public speaker (as witness the big Madrid rally with Durruti and García Oliver) and an acute polemicist he contributed regularly to the CNT and libertarian press (famously crossing swords with Sender in CNT) and was an exceptionally determined and kindly sort. Author of: *Afirmación en la Marcha* (Barcelona, no date).

236. FSORE or New FTRE

Initials of the Spanish Regional Federation of Resistance Societies (Federación de Sociedades de Resistencia de la Región Española). It replaced the Pacto, after the demise of which anarchist labour had been left bereft of organisation. The necessity for a new workers' Federation was sensible immediately after the demise of the Pacto, so there were frequent attempts to rebuild the organisation: these efforts were stepped up towards the end of the century: there was the International Working Woman's manifesto (Haro, 23 December 1899), the Ter comarcal manifesto (Manlleu, 24 January 1900), until, in the summer of 1900, F. Tomás's bricklayers' association (El

Porvenir del Trabajo) issued an invitation from Madrid to a congress at which the FSORE, or New FTRE was established (Madrid, 13-15 October 1900), on foot of a straightforward pact or alliance: the congress (attended by between 150 and 157 associations, plus 50 affiliates, boasting a total of 52,000 members - some historians argue that 257 associations from 70 localities attended) produced a manifesto whose anarchist content is unmistakable. A second congress (summoned by secretary Francisco Soler from Barcelona) was also held in Madrid (1901) and signalled the success of the nascent federation (with 73,000 members represented): its most outstanding accord was to embrace the general strike as the weapon best suited to worker emancipation. The third congress (Madrid, 14-16 May 1903) drew 30 delegates from around a hundred labour associations and opted to champion secular education, to use the strike weapon with moderation and to boost the sentiment of solidarity. By the fourth gathering in Seville (15-18 May 1904) it was obvious that the organisation was in decline and in addition to relocating the committee to Madrid, it agreed to condemn political methods and defend the general strike as the way to proletarian emancipation. Its fifth congress (Madrid, 16-19 May 1905) merely registered the inevitable dwindling away of the Federation, which died out after the regional committee was relocated to La Coruña (a promised sixth congress never materialised). The FSORE's life-time was dominated by frequent use of the general strike especially in pursuit of the eight hour day, as well as by recourse to direct action against the State and employers. It achieved its greatest take-off in Andalusia (with lots of strikes in the Andalusian countryside in 1902), but there were also famous strikes in Gijón, La Coruña and Seville in 1901 and in Barcelona in 1902. Over the ensuing years (1904-05) this social agitation dwindled and eventually petered out. These, by the way, were years during which anarchism was securing a considerable hearing in intellectual sectors (Unamuno, Azorín, Baroja, Camba, Insúa, Gener, Dorado, etc.. all wrote for anarchist publications). In the wake of the FSORE came years of decline in the labour movement, but by 1907-08 another greater phase - the era of Solidaridad

Obrera-CNT - had arrived.

237. NATURA Anarchist review, Barcelona 1903-05, 48 issues.

It ceased publication due to internal differences among anarchists. Under the direction of José Prat, it enjoyed regular contributions from Mella (who published worthwhile essays such as 'In Defence of Anarchy', 'The Great Works of Civilisation', and 'For Anarchy'). Carried texts by Hamon, Gorky, Myrial, Bruguera, Reclus, Ristori, Fabbri, Letourneau, Pellicer, Lorenzo, Albert, Vallina, Picón, Carvalho, Guyau, Ugarte, Baroja, Malatesta, Stirner, Comas, González Serrano, Lidia, Blasco Ibáñez, Jacquinet, Cornelissen, Gori, Grave, Merlino, Molinari... One of the great anarchist reviews of its day.

238. SECOND SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA CONGRESS/CNT FOUNDATION CONGRESS, Barcelona 1910.

Although scheduled for September 1909, it was held over 30-31 October and 1 November 1910 in the Bellas Artes hall in Barcelona. There is disagreement about the number of associations represented (estimates vary from 96 to 114, to which must be added 43 affiliates and a few individuals), for it appears that the figures do not tally with the numbers actually in attendance (maybe because of late arrivals) and also because no distinction was made between affiliates and attenders, not does it seem to have been taken into consideration that several of these were local federations (Tarrasa, Sabadell, Zaragoza, Badalona, Villafranca del Panadés, Valls). What follows can be stated with greater assurance:

A) Number of affiliated associations, 43, drawn from Alcoy, Algeciras, Almería, Badalona (5), Castro, La Coruña (9), Ecija, Felguera, Gijón, Lérida, Málaga (2), Murcia, Palma, Pedralba, Santiago, Seville (5), Sueca, Valencia (4), Vigo (2), Vitoria and Zaragoza.

B) Associations represented at the congress: from Alcoy - between 1 and 3, represented by Bernabeu and Cantó: from Algeciras - 1, Health: from Badalona - 6, represented by Casillas, Garriga, F. Prat, Minguet, Regordosa and J. Costa: from Barcelona - between 36 and 49, the gap seemingly

explicable in terms of the inclusion of several adjacent areas under the description 'Barcelona', represented by Gironé, Magrinyà, Puig, Ymbert, Liern, Cañellas, Vernet, Salas, Martí, DuVal, Canalda, Torrent, Romia, Escorza, Herrer, Rabella. Túnica, Jaumán, Albert, Casals, Cabanes, Brillas, Córdoba, Moreno, Gallinat, Torro, Rico, Piñol, Clos, Jové, Martín, Gisbert, Pons, Ubach, Julve, Crespo, Maestres, Cuscó, Cabal, Gelí, E. Gelí, Rull, Ullot, Graña, Busquets, Lostau, Castillo, Herreros, Costa, Vidal, J. Sala, Palacio, Izquierdo, Mañé, Farrés, Esteban, Catalá, Plaza, Pérez, Alemany): from Bujalance - 1, represented by Esteve: from Cervera de Río Alhama - 1, Gil: from La Coruña - 1, Avila: from La Felguera - 4, represented by P. Sierra: from Gijón, between 13 and 16, represented by P. Sierra: from Igualada, 1, represented by Prat: from La Línea, 1, represented by Negre: from Loja, 1, represented by Negre: from Málaga, 1, represented by Rico and Avila: from Palma, 1, represented by Ordinas: from Pinos Puentes, 1, represented by Grau: from Pueblo Nuevo, 1, represented by Suciachs: from Sabadell, 13, represented by Merced, Escudé, Bernabeu, Vallés, Cuni, Fabá, Serra, Ustrell, Munsech, Salvador, Vicente and Marcet: from Salamanca, 1, represented by Carítico: from San Feliu de Codinas, 1, represented by Rovira: from San Martín de Provensals, 2, represented by Licro, Corominas, Fusaluz, Manarro and Carreras: from Sants, 1, represented by Suburats and Escalona: from Seville, 1, represented by J. Bueso: from Sitges, 3, represented by Durán, Rosé and Tapdot: from Tarrasa, 8, represented by Javierre, Farré, Monrúa, Prat, Mayol, Castells, Jorba, Boada, Colomina, Olivert and Ripoll: from Valls, 2, represented by Martí and Matheu: from Vigo, 1, represented by Plaza: from Villafranca del Panadés, 3, represented by Claramunt, Junyen, Rovira and Menacho: from Villanueva y Geltrú, 1, represented by J. Ferrer; from Zaragoza, 6, represented by Zuferrí, Marén and Francisco Vidal.

Some of the associations represented had yet to affiliate to Solidaridad Obrera and four of them belonged to the UGT (and insisted in opposing the foundation of a new national organisation).

Congress opened under the chairmanship of the Solidaridad Obrera council, with a few welcoming words from Negre. After a commission was appointed

to authenticate credentials, five working parties were chosen to draft resolutions on these concrete matters. 1. - Turning Solidaridad Obrera into a nationwide organisation. Organising trades and federations (Cincó, Durán, Belis, Farré, Puig, Carreras and Zuferrí served on this working party). 2. - Publication of a daily newspaper. Stepping up propaganda. Schools in the trade unions (working party made up of Sierra, Rovira, Mayol, Sala, Magrinyà, Satorra and Pérez). 3. - Trade unionism in its many manifestations. The use of under-age labour. Piece-work. Boosting the membership (this working party included Grañá, Suciachs, Marcet, Ordinas, Mora, Xercavins and Serra). 4. - Syndicalism: means or end? Rents and deposits. The watchword of the IWMA (this working party was made up of Herreros, Gil, Terroni, Vilanova, Martín, Plaza and Marcet). 5. - The eight hour day. Minimum wage. The general strike, peaceable or revolutionary? Police brutality (this working party included Bueso, Serra, Jaumer, Benet, Mañé, Cantó and Costa). Later, during the 6th session, a further three working parties were chosen. 6. - The provisional regulations of the Federation (Mora, Sierra, Plaza, Gil, Negre and Farré). 7. Working women (Carreras, Ponz, Pérez and Bernabeu). 8. - Organising the peasants (Durán, Claramunt and Junyer). Among the various debates sparked by the motions tabled - some of them were very hard and bitter, especially the debates regarding the launching of the CNT when the UGT was already up and running; this led to clashes between Negre and Sierra on the one hand and (PSOE member) Durán and Puig on the other: and the debate about the presence of intellectuals, which Herreros and Negre opposed, but which was defended by Sierra, Navarro, Ciuró and Corominas. Eventually the following accords were thrashed out: 1. - A Spanish CGT (= CNT) was to be launched by non-UGT-affiliated associations and amalgamation sought with the UGT. 2. - There was a need to set up trades federations and the like. 3. - There was a need for a daily newspaper and, until such time as one was available, the existing Solidaridad Obrera would be given support. 4. - Syndicalist propaganda groups to be set up. 5. - Commissions to be set up inside the committees with a view to setting up schools in the unions. 6 -

Every member was to recruit his family members to the union and boost the association. 7. - Piece-rates would be rejected and resisted through direct action (boycott, sabotage, etc.). 8. - Syndicalism was a means and not an end, a struggle to achieve comprehensive economic emancipation through revolutionary expropriation of the bourgeoisie. 9. - The watchword of the IWMA was to be construed as a repudiation of intercession and oversight. Affiliation of intellectuals should be accepted, conditionally. 10. - There would be a campaign against rents and deposits. 11. - There would be a campaign for the eight hour day. 12. - The general strike must be revolutionary, in that a peaceable one was impossible: it was to be employed with care so as to avoid misinterpretations and for the sole purpose of effecting change in society, rather than to achieve wage increases or reductions in hours. 13. - The police were never neutral (rather "the armed might of the bourgeoisie"); brutality had to be met with a proper response, not accepted passively. 14. - The peasant organisation was to be similar to that of the workers in general: in order to boost recruitment, non-unionised farm labourers were to be shunned. 15. - Work making excessive demands upon women's strength was to be done away with. Equal pay for men and women. A recruitment drive among women. Two months' maternity leave. The redemption of women lay in labour. 16. - The new federation's committee was to be based in Barcelona. This congress signalled the foundation of the CNT, initially described as the CGT. Its first secretary was Negre who wound up the congress at a closure rally which also heard speeches from Farré, Gil, Ordinas, Mora, Plaza, Bueso and Sierra.

239. PRESENCIA

Spanish libertarian publication, Paris, 1965-68. "Tribuna libertaria juvenil". Quickly gained prestige in France and Spain for its revamping, but orthodox, line. It welcomed debate with marxism and dealt with violent tactics, the collaborationism of 1936, the propriety or otherwise of joining the incipient workers' commissions in Spain.. Very much connected with

Alberola, Pascual and Mera. There was a second, unsuccessful, series in 1973, toeing the Frente Libertario line.

240. DURRUTI COLUMN.

Name given to the first confederal militias organised to fight on the Aragon front in 1936.. The decision to launch it was taken at the first meeting of the Central Antifascist Militias' Committee in Barcelona on 21 July 1936 and it was designed for use on the Aragon front, where it was to arrive no later than 24 July, under the command of Durruti and with Pérez Farrás as military advisor; initially, the view was that it should number twelve thousand men and seize Zaragoza, but neither of these was achieved. Recruitment was handled by the barrio defence committees, with Abad de Santillán taking charge of organising the various militias, to which end he established himself in the Pedralbes barracks and could count upon the assistance of Sato, Edo and Ricardo Sanz. The column set off from Barcelona on 24 July with 3,000 men, the vast majority of them convinced anarchist volunteers, marching under the CNT flag borne by José Hellín and arranged into several groupings - the ones from Aris, the miners from Sallent, the seamen headed by Setonas, the Pancho Villistas of El Padre and other groups commanded by Corte, Muñoz, etc. After halting in Bujaraloz, the column deployed over a wide front (from Velilla de Ebro to Leciñena) and proceeded to reorganise.

The militias column (like subsequent columns) was split up into 25-militian groups, 4 of which constituted one centuria; five centurias made up one agrupación and each agrupación had its own medical team and machine-gun unit; in addition, the column was boosted by artillery (under the command of captains Carceller, Cole and Batet) and, a little later, quartermaster, health and transport sections were formed. The column boasted a Technical Military Council chaired by Pérez Farrá and composed of professional soldiers - it took charge of signals and map-making; on the other hand, there was a Delegate-General of the column and the rank and file were consulted, through centuria committees (made up of the group

delegates), agrupacion committees (made up of centuria delegates) and a column war committee (made up of the agrupacion delegates plus the degelate-general, with the technical military council sitting in). Also, there was a propaganda section which published the bulletin *El Frente*, and this was later boosted by a radio station, all under the supervision of Francisco Carreño. The column was augmented by "special groups", sort of guerrilla units (like, say, the *Hijos de la Noche* or *La Banda Negra*). Their representative was Ponzán. The column remained on the Aragon front until, as the fascists closed on Madrid in November 1936, Durruti reluctantly agreed to rally to the capital's defence together with a select group: in fact he left Aragon with a thousand men and, via Lérida, Barcelona and Valencia, made his way to Madrid (his detachment was then increased to 4,000 men) where he fought in the *Casa de Campo*. But unexpectedly, on 20 November 1936 Durruti was shot dead and the column, badly hit by enemy fire, wanted to quit Madrid, its members being convinced that this was a trap designed to do away with anarcho-syndicalists: the hurried arrival on the scene of F. Montseny managed to persuade some of them of the need to fight on, but not even the appointment of Ricardo Sanz as the new column commander prevented a sizable section of the column from returning to Aragon. On the basis of the 300-odd left behind in Madrid, the column was reorganised and it returned to the Aragon front in April 1937. Sometime between the end of 1936 and the start of 1937 the column was militarised (apparently this regularisation was very marginal and applied only to single command and a tightening-up of discipline) and came to be known as the 26th Division (rather than its former designation of the Durruti-Farrás Column) under the command of Ricardo Sanz, with Rionda as commissar. The militarised version of the column boasted three brigades: the 120th, under Gil de Montes (with Flores as commissar), the 121st under Joaquín Morlanes (with Cubell as commissar) and the 119th under Belmonte (with Gental as commissar). In addition, Roda was the commissar for health and Santamaría the divisional chief of health. When Pérez Farrás left the column, his place was taken by Manzana and Miguel

Yoldi. Once regularisation was complete, the make-up of the unit was very different from what it had been originally (virtually all Catalans), because, following several reorganisations, it had been bolstered by groups of different provenance, notably the several hundred members from the CNT of the Centre "the "Madrid group") who returned to Aragon with Sanz in 1937: be that as it may, it was at all times an emphatically CNT unit. After serving on the Aragon front in 1937, it found itself by the beginning of 1938 in Cona de Tremp (after the collapse of the Aragon front), manning the 14 kilometres from Camarasa to Mayà: shortly after that it was involved in the May offensive and came under heavy fascist attack that December: eventually, with defeat imminent in February 1939 it crossed the border into France, mustering in La Tour de Cavol, after an orderly withdrawal through Oz de Balaguer and Artesa de Segre, and later in the Mont-Louis castle, before being interned in the camps at Septfonds and Vernet. The column, a motley collection, included some very prestigious anarchists in its ranks, such as: Cantarero, Rionda, Flores, Pasanau, Gil, Gental, Morlanes, Liberto Ros, Mira, Mariño, Mora, Ramón García, Carreño, Yoldi and others.

241. THE IWA, SECOND PHASE: FROM RECONSTRUCTION UP TO 1938

The initials IWA stand for the International Workers' Association. Following the disappearance of the First International, many workers entertained the desire to set about reconstructing it: this process, though, was to prove a long and thorny one. The principles by which any new International would be inspired were visible in the French CGT, but, oddly enough, the main difficulties emanated from that French confederation. Like the NAS, the French CGT was affiliated to the reformist-minded Berlin secretariat and could not get the latter to debate the issues of the general strike and anti-militarism, leading to the NAS's breaking away in 1907 and to the CGT's absenting itself from the conferences in 1905 and 1907. And in 1909 its proposal that a congress be held was rejected. Thus, there were unions that could see the need for a new organisation, but that was as far as it went. 1913 saw the start of the overtures that were to lead to the emergence of a

new International: in fact, from 27 September to 3 October 1913 a number of revolutionary unions met in London - the USI (De Ambris, Rossini, Coria), the SAC (Jensen), the FVDG (Kater), the NAS and other unions from Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Cuba, England, Germany, Holland, Poland, Sweden and Spain: in all, 65 federations represented by 38 delegates (the CGT of France was a notable absentee). Little came of this get-together: there was a declaration of principles (class struggle, international solidarity, free association, anti-capitalism, anti-Statism, direct action, administration of ownership) and an information bureau was set up in Holland (together with publication of a Bulletin that was to come out in April 1914). The venture looked to be underway, but the outbreak of the First World War forced postponement of the planned congress in Amsterdam (scheduled for 1915) and undid all the preceding preparatory efforts (the peace congress in El Ferrol in 1915 was one attempt to revive it). After the war ended, Sweden, Norway and Denmark pressed for a congress in 1919 (the invitations were sent out by the NAS). But this added up to nothing more than an encounter between Dutch and German groups. The Russian revolution prompted many revolutionaries (cf. the FAUD and CNT congresses of 1919) to look to Russia, but the Russian congress (Moscow 1920) opened most of their eyes to the different emphasis that the Russian were intending to give syndicalism. so the NAS and the FAUD summoned a trade union conference (Berlin, 16-21 December 1920), at which there were representatives from the IWW, the FAUD, the FORA, the CGT minority, the Shop Stewards' Movement, the SAC and the NAS, with the Russian Belensky attending as an observer and messages of support from the USI, the CNT, the Norwegian Syndicalist Federation and the Trade Union Opposition from Denmark. The CGT walked out as it was not in favour of a new international. A commission made up of the IWW, the FAUD and the NAS drafted (and secured approval for) a declaration of principles (a revolutionary workers' international, class struggle, anti-capitalism, anti-Statism, revolutionary direct action, independence from political parties, internationalism). It also asked for attendance at the forthcoming congress

in Moscow (May 1921) with an eye to the establishment of a united international. And an information bureau was set up (Rocker, Tanner and Lansink) to smooth the way to the Moscow congress. At the Moscow congress, the Portuguese CGT and the FAUD failed to attend on the grounds that they rejected that international. The rest were able to discover for themselves the repression targeting anarchists and, as a result, the last few weeks set the seal upon their alienation and distancing from the Profintern.

In October 1921, the FAUD held its 13th congress in Dusseldorf. It was attended by foreign delegates (Swedish, Dutch and IWW) who, at a little parallel conference, agreed that the Moscow-based Red International of Labour Unions - RILU (Profintern) had nothing to offer revolutionary syndicalists and they called for a syndicalist congress. Such aspirations, plus their increasingly improved knowledge of developments in Russia led to many unions' (the IWW, USI, CNT and Uruguayan FORU..) pulling out of the RILU and others (the Dutch and French) dithered. Not until 1926 was a third version of the French CGT founded, whilst the Dutch split, with the NVS affiliating to the IWA and the NAS hanging on with the RILU until 1927). Against this backdrop, along came the Berlin conference (16-18 June 1922), attended by the French CGTU, the FAUD, the SAC, the USI, the NSF, the Russian minority, the FORA (Orlando and Abad de Santillán), the CNT (whose delegates, Galo Díez and González Mallada showed up on the final day) and messages of support were received from the IWW, the Portuguese CGT and the Danes. There was also a Russian observer who walked out of the meeting when subjected to attacks; approval was given to a motion from Rocker concerning the character of syndicalism (six months later, it would serve as the IWA's statement of principles) which signalled the shift from earlier revolutionary syndicalism to anarcho-syndicalism: the RILU was also rejected and a bureau appointed (Rocker, Pestaña, Borghi, Jensen and Schapiro) to oversee the organisation of a congress in Berlin on 22 November.

The IWA foundation congress was eventually held in Berlin from 25

December 1922 to 2 January 1923 and support was forthcoming from Germany, Argentina, Chile, Denmark, Spain, Italy, Mexico, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and Czechoslovakia, as well as from the councillors of the AAV, a Russian minority and a handful of observers from the opposition within the French CGTU: it endorsed the accords reached at the preceding conference, rejecting the (reformist) Amsterdam international and the Moscow one and launching this new international which, at the suggestion of Abad de Santillán, took the name of the IWA, indicating its connection with the defunct IWMA. The presence of unions from the Americas, a novelty, seems to have been an achievement of Santillán's. Many old guard syndicalists showed up at the congress - people like Jensen, Lindstan, Severin, Lansink, Lehning, De Jong, Borghi, Orlando and Santillán...

1923 saw the holding of the so-called Innsbruck conference, designed to facilitate the attendance of the Italians. In 1925, a second congress met in Amsterdam: the organisation was strengthened and the IA's ideological stance (pro-libertarian communism) prescribed and approval was given to the six hour day (as something to be striven for). Rocker, Santillán, Schapiro, Souchy, Lansink, Jensen and Borghi made up the IWA secretariat come the third congress (Liège, 27-28 May 1928) which dealt with war and anti-militarism, international aid funds and the six hour day: the problems that the rise of fascistic and dictatorial tendencies across Europe posed for revolutionary syndicalism were also registered.

The fourth congress met in Madrid (16-21 June 1931), attended by 38 delegates from 25 countries: it reaffirmed principles, dealt with international federations of industry, touched up agrarian themes and condemned nationalism. A subsequent Conference (Amsterdam, April 1933) agreed to relocate the IWA bureau from Berlin to Barcelona (up until the repression in Asturias in 1934, whereupon it was moved again to France). The fifth congress (Paris, 24-31 August 1935) adopted measures to counter fascism and dealt with revolutionary violence.

From 6 to 17 December 1937, the IWA met in extra-ordinary congress in Paris to examine the CNT's struggle in Spain, most especially the very serious

matter of the Confederation's entry into the government: the CNT's delegates (Antona, Xena, Prieto and Marianet) sought to justify the unjustifiable: the CNT emerged unscathed from the congress, simply because it was much bigger than the rest of the IWA-affiliated unions: in fact, but for the CNT, the IWA would have been nothing. That fact, registered in 1937, was manifested in the accords of the sixth congress (Paris, 29 October to 7 November 1938): affiliates were given great scope in the choosing of their own tactics and proportional voting was introduced .. it was also agreed that the IWA secretariat should be relocated to Sweden (at the suggestion of the CNT) with Andersson as secretary.

With the end of the civil war in Spain, and the consequent defeat of the CNT, the IWA turned into a shadow, with only a minimal presence in worldwide trade union circles.

242. EL PROLETARIADO. Title of several newspapers of anarchist persuasions.

1. - San Feliu de Guixols, 1890, 10 issues, fortnightly. Texts by M. Martínez, G. Fernández and Sánchez Rosa. Certainly continued into 1891 and resurfaced in 1906-7, 17 issues.
2. - Cádiz, 1902-03, anarchist, 21 issues. Texts from Millán, Soteras, Martínez Barrios, Alarcón, V. García, Torralvo, Suárez, Zaragoza, Claramunt, Grave ...
3. - We also have note of a newspaper of this title in 1904, but no indication as to place of publication.

243. PÁGINAS LIBRES. Title of several newspapers.

1. - Anarchist newspaper, Seville, 1918-23 (several phases), monthly. Published by the Hombres Libres libertarian group. Directed by Pedro Vallina.
2. - Seville, 1978, one issue, CNT Education Union.

244. MURET, 1944. Joint plenum of the CNT-ML regionals in exile in France. In the reconstruction efforts made by the CNT and ML in exile in France,

this plenum was one of the milestones. The holding of it had much to do with the internal squabbling discernible at the national plenum of regionals held in Saint Henri-Marseilles (December 1943) which largely obliged Juanel to convene this follow-up plenum (in Muret, 12 March). It is described as "joint" because it was also attended by the so-called Béziers national committee (Albesa). Representatives from six regionals in the German-occupied zone (3 delegates) attended the plenum along with those from the Béziers committee (another 3), Brittany (2), The Libertarian Youth (3) and Marseilles-Béziers (1), as well as delegates from another six regionals from the free zone (1 delegate for each of regionals Nos 1, 4, 5 and 6 and two from regionals Nos 2 and 3). In addition observers were present from Toulouse, Lyon and Saint Etienne. The accords reached were as follows: 1. - That the two existing committees (Albesa and Juanel) should amalgamate. (This ensured that, for the first time, the committee emerging from Muret came to be described as a national committee). 2. - Carreño was appointed the new general secretary, with Angel Marín and Evangelista Campos as members of the secretariat (to be complemented by a further two elected by No 2 regional and the Toulouse Local Federation). 3. - The new committee would be resident in Toulouse. 4. - The work of the outgoing committee was endorsed. 5. - A new national sub-committee was to be formed in the occupied zone (this would be Malsand). 6. - The monthly dues were set at 35 francs. 7. - Relations with the UGT would be kept up. 8. - The Libertarian Youth would be received back into the MLE. 9. - Confederal principles and tactics were reaffirmed. 10. - A motion on the current stance of the MLE-CNT would be looked into.

As in all of the plenums held over the 1943-45 period, it became apparent that there were two schools of thought, one possibilist and reformist/collaborationist (stressing the necessity of joining the French resistance, favouring anti-Francoist unity and calling for the CNT in exile to abide by the decisions of the clandestine CNT inside Spain, which was tantamount to accepting political collaborationism) and a maximalist, orthodox one (which insisted that the groundwork be laid for a popular

uprising in Spain, was dismissive of engagement in the French resistance, most likely greatly pained by the treatment meted out in 1939, and calling for a reversion to pre-civil war ideological orthodoxy). The latter school of thought carried a lot of clout within the Libertarian Youth and the Béziers committee. Muret witnessed a break with the hitherto dominant approach, so the supporters of collaborationism received their first (though not definitive) setback (the work of the outgoing committee was endorsed and the controversial political resolution was shelved, but not rejected). The reasons underlying this setback appear to have been down to the presence of Carreño and, to a greater extent, to the vigour with which Amador Franco, on behalf of the Libertarian Youth, spelled out the orthodox line.

245. SOTO, Antonio. El Ferrol 1897-Punta Arenas (Argentina) 1969.

A Galician anarchist who emigrated to Argentina; early on he took an interest in the anarchist and labour struggle there, being much to the fore in the Rio Gallegos labour association (from 1921 on) and at all times abiding by the most anarchist strand within the (fifth congress) FORA. He was particularly prominent in the Patagonian strike and after it was defeated he left for Chile, having refused to yield up his arms. He came in for defamation at the hands of the leaders of the (ninth) FORA but retained considerable prestige in labour circles. What subsequently became of him, we do not know. He appears to have had very close ties to the Spanish faction within the FORA (Abad de Santillán, Villar, López Arango, Torralvo, ec.)

246. TORRENS ROS, Jaime. Barcelona anarchist concerning whose life we have information only for a time.

In 1888 we find him in Barcelona addressing a rally at which he was assaulted: at the time he was a member of the Barcelona-based Arte de Imprimir and belonged to the same anarchist group as Pedro Esteve and C. Oller. Deported from Spain (following the Montjuich events) he arrived in Buenos Aires in December 1897, only to be expelled immediately from there. After securing permission to settle in Argentina, he was prominent in

the ensuing years in the Argentinian labour movement as an anarchist. He did important work on the building of the Casa del Pueblo (1900), was Buenos Aires delegate to the FOA congress in 1901, played a telling role in the founding of the FOA (drafting its statement of principles and was elected on to the nascent federation's first ever committee). His efforts to establish the first ever Buenos Aires docks union were utterly decisive (he had outstanding organisational gifts). In 1902 he attended the FOA second congress and was again elected on to its steering committee (taking the greatest number of votes) and at the end of that year (with Cabello) represented the dockers in talks with the government (following the big docks strike). That same year he got the workers of the Buenos Aires central market to join the FOA. Late in 1902 he fled to Uruguay ahead of the repression.. after which time we have no further notice of his activities. A radical, uncompromising anarchist (at the 1902 congress he locked horns with Gori when the latter argued in favour of arbitration). He translated Albert's book, *Amor Libre* (Buenos Aires 1900). One of many Spanish anarchists who arrived in Argentina between the end of the 19th and start of the 20th century to leave their indelible mark upon the march of Argentina's workers (much like Pellicer, Inglán Lafarga, Prat..)

247. MARBÁ COLLEL, Pedro. Known also as Poble P.Patiràs. Born Igualada 1861, he was still alive in 1938, albeit a broken man (especially after the death in 1915 of his son Federico Fructidor, another very prestigious anarchist).

From age 9, he worked as a shepherd and, from 1882, as a weaver; from 1876 he was a member of the underground FRE and did sterling work in labour and specifically anarchist circles (as a member of one of the anarchist groups alongside Pallás and Archs) and he appears to have completed his education at the Centro de Añigos in Igualada. The highpoints of his trade union activity came in 1883 (when he was a delegate to the Unión Manufacturera congress) and 1885 (delegate to that group's other congress in Sans) and he founded the freethought fraternity

in his native town and from 1883 to 1886 served as an editor with the Federación Igualadina. In 1886 he moved to Barcelona, beginning a stage of his life which hoisted him into the forefront of revolutionary labour and earned him persecution: he was arrested in 1883 (over the Pallás outrage) and again in connection with the Liceo outrage and was jailed again in 1896 on suspicion of terrorism. In 1891 he took charge of the organising of the Pacto congress in Madrid and was acting secretary of that Federation. With the new century he dropped out of the front rank of trade unionism but retained his ideas. An unselfish, understanding man convinced of the rightness of his beliefs, a serious sort not given to cafe gossip, he came to his anarchism through considered thought and experience: having a taste for culture, in the 1890s he sang with the Clavé choirs. He was a friend of José Moles. Author of (unpublished) memoirs.

248. MLR (Movimiento Libertario de Resistencia - Libertarian Resistance Movement)

Sometimes known also as the Movimiento Libertario Revolucionario (Libertarian Revolutionary Movement). The former was the name for which the MIR settled at the instigation of Liberto Sarrau, who was keen to stress the libertarian element, but this led to the departure of sizable numbers of its supporters and to opposition from the CNT in exile (which looked upon it as the emergence of a new body that would generate confusion and dissipate energies). It grew out of the MIR and the MIR was the creation of a working party report drawn up by the Barcelona Libertarian Youth (at the request of their Catalan regional) and endorsed by the Catalan regional youth federation. The report endorsed suggested the establishment of a CNT-FAI-FIJL conspiratorial agency enjoying autonomy and with a three-man steering committee. The MIR project came to nothing after Facerías (its general secretary) was arrested in August 1946. It was relaunched after Sarrau's clandestine arrival in Spain (Barcelona, March 1947). Sarrau was the real creator of the MLR in that he secured the backing of militants ready to give a firm commitment: González Sanmartín, Pedro Adrover, Facerías,

García Casino, Francisco Ballester, A. Gil, Pareja, 'Tom Mix', etc... in 1947. Sarrau's efforts to stabilise the new organisation were not to meet with much success because opposition to the scheme was unanimous in the libertarian camp (with the exception of the Catalan Libertarian Youth. In July 1947 a regional plenum of the Catalan Libertarian Youth warned the MLR off organisational matters, whilst spelling out its essential mission as hitting out at the State economy, not restricting itself to street activity, but extending to the publicatio and circulation of propaganda in line with MLE policy.. albeit operating with complete independence). With this support from the Catalan Libertarian Youth, the MLR promptly embarked upon its activities: it executed the traitor Melis. In spite of the popularity of this move it was unable to soften the overall line espoused by the Libertarian Youth and the FAI (at their national plenums of regionals on 15 and 18 July respectively). These rejected the MLR approach and, by way of a response, decided to set up a national committee over the three traditional organisations to pursue aims akin to those the MLR had set itself. Moreover, the second MLE congress (Toulouse, 1947) severed connections with the MLR and this meant dropping Sarrau from the MLE's delegation inside Spain. By the end of the year the FIJL national committee had followed suit. The upshot of all this rejection was that many of the original supporters quit the MLR (Gil, Adrover, García Casino), opting instead to carry on with the armed struggle from within more traditional organisations. The MLR finally faded away in February 1948, when Sarrau and Joaquina Dorado were arrested by the police.

In a document addressed to libertarian prisoners (September 1947), the structure and operational principles of the MLR were spelled out: 1. - The MLR comprises flying squads in the mountains and cities, their delegates coming together under the umbrella of a revolutionary committee. 2. - That committee is a sort of general staff drawing up plans and deciding upon their implementation. 3. - Its members are libertarians of excellent grounding and immaculate moral standing, in that quality must take priority over quantity. 4. - There are active members and passive members: the

formerlive outside the law and are in receipt of financial subsidies. 5. - It is independent of the CNT, the FIJL and the FAI. 6. - Its chief task is to resist the fascist terrorby turning its own weapons upon it. 7. - The obviously real danger of its turning into an authoritarian organisation can be overcome only its members are people of moral integrity.

249. VILLAVERDE, José.

Well-known Galician anarchist and CNT member (born in Compostela) who carried out extensive work in Galicia. A pugnacious public speaker (see the famous rally in Gijón in 1923), with the gift of the gab and a tough, dogged delegate (present at the 1919 and 1931 congresses) he was especially to the fore in the CNT in Vigo where he was active in the 1920s (as delegate for the transport workers to the Santiago regional assembly, as founder and editor of *Despertad* from 1922 onwards and as one of the editors of the Galician edition of *Solidaridad Obrera*.) The CNT's expansion in Galicia was largely due to his efforts. Under the republic, he espoused a line close to treintismo. Come the civil war, he was murdered by fascists in La Coruña (1936) after he refused to go over to the Falangists. He wrote a foreword to Peiró's book *Ideas sobre Sindicalismo y Anarquismo* (1930).

250. MORRAL ROCA, Mateo. Sabadell 1880-San Fernando de Henares (Madrid) 1906, died by suicide.

Son of a Sabadell textile industrialist, he was marked down by his family to be educated for his future as a leading industrialist: at the age of 15, he was sent to work in several business houses in Barcelona and later lived for a time in France and Germany, to learn the languages and become a specialist in textile matters (it looks as if he studied textile engineering in Germany). At the end of the century he returned to Barcelona, by then a convert to anarchism and this caused him a lot of family problems, until, late in 1905 he quit his father's household and started work at Ferrer's Modern School (where he took charge of the library and bookshop). He was an active anarchist from his arrival in Barcelona up to his death and friend of Vallina

and Rossell. From 1903 on he was linked with Ferrer and Soledad Villafranca (whom he wooed unsuccessfully). In May 1906 he travelled to Madrid and on 31 May hurled a bomb as the royal coach passed by with the royal family on board. As a result 24 people perished and 107 were injured. After the outrage he approached Nákens for help in going to ground and managed to get out of the capital (via Daganzo, Ajalvir and San Fernando de Henares) until, confronted in San Fernando de Henares by a suspicious special constable, he took his own life after killing the policeman. Later, it was given out that Morral had also had some sort of involvement in an earlier attempt on the life of Alfonso XIII in Paris (1905) and also that he was a member of a violent faction within the anarchist movement: in any event, it seems absurd to put the 1906 bombing down to unrequited love for Soledad Villafranca. According to Abad de Santillán, he had for a time served with the French Foreign Legion in Algeria. Morral's bombing had a considerable impact: basing themselves on the connection between the suicide and Ferrer, reactionaries mounted a sensational trial that ended with the shooting of Ferrer and the final elimination of the entire Modern School venture.

251. VÍA LIBRE. Title of several anarchist publications.

1. - Zaragoza, 1906, anarchist fortnightly, at least 12 issues.
2. - Almería, 1906, anarchist fortnightly.
3. - Almería, 1918, anarchist paper directed by Noja.
4. - Peñarroya, 1918, anarchist and syndicalist paper, every ten days, under the direction of Noja, who launched it with Diego Alonso.
5. - Villanueva y Geltrú, 1933-34.
6. - Badalona, 1936?

252. La VOZ DEL CANTERO. Fortnightly paper, organ of the quarry workers and allied trades society of Madrid and "champion of all the oppressed". Madrid, 1899-1922. Espoused a syndicalist line, publishing articles favouring the new revolutionary syndicalism, the El Ferrol international congress

(1915) statutes and numerous writings from Unamuno, Acracio Progreso, Cabello, Kropotkin, Pouget, Malatesta .. Very influential in Andalusia.

253. YOLDI, Miguel. Pamplona CNT activist, birthdate unknown, died in Mexico (near Tamaulipas) in 1961. He gained popularity under the republic when he served as CNT general secretary (1934); after the outbreak of civil war in 1936 he fought in the ranks of the Durruti column, as adjutant to its commander: later, along with Manzana, he replaced Pérez Farrás at the head of that column (by then the 26th Division). On the Aragon front he put up dogged resistance to the fascist onslaught (1938) and, after the front collapsed, his life was attempted and he was arrested (as part of a Stalinist campaign). In exile, he endorsed the collaborationist line and thus served as advisor to Martínez Prieto in the Giral government-in-exile (1945). He lived many years in Mexico and experienced all of the ups and downs of the CNT exiles in that country.

254. INGLÁN LAFARGA, Gregorio. Catalan cabinet-maker of anarchist leanings. Died in Buenos Aires (?) in 1929.

Essentially his activism occurred in Argentina, where he was a figure of prime significance in the labour movement. The earliest reports of him find him there in 1896 when, together with Reguera he launched the newspaper La Revolución Social. The following year he stepped into anarchist history when he founded the legendary La Protesta Humana (later simply La Protesta) which he directed up until 1900 at least, at which point he moved to Bolivar (which is why he resigned the directorship, but remained an influence. Basterra was forced to resign his post due to Inglán's opposition to him). Towards the end of 1898 he was involved in the statement of principles drafted by the foundation assembly of the Libertarian Federation of Anarchist-Socialist Groups in Buenos Aires. He was very active in the foundation congress of the FOA (May 1901) where he put the case for a liaison committee's being set up, voicing opposition to labour legislation and fighting funds, as well as arbitration and championed proportional

representation.

In April 1902 he attended the second FOA congress (serving on the commission verifying credentials) but later seems to have dropped out of labour activism. Advocate of a hard-line, anarchistic labourism, he defended the anarchist presence in the workers' movement, opposing politics and compromises, but at the same time was completely in favour of organisation (see his controversy with the anti-organisationists in *El Rebelde*). Wrote a lot for *La Protesta Humana*.

255. EXILE. From the exodus in 1939 to the split in the CNT in 1945.

The emergence of a sizable CNT and anarchist exile community began with the collapse of the northern front in 1937, at which point many CNT members successfully reached the French border. However, the vast majority of these escapees returned via the border between France and Catalonia to carry on the fight. So that first wave of defeated can be regarded as having been of minimal importance. In fact the existence of a substantial CNT exile community can be traced to the collapse of the Aragon-Catalonia front and the loss of Barcelona (late 1938-early 1939). For instance, that was when the 26th Division settled in France, and it was also when the Libertarian Movement's General Council was founded in France (in Paris on 25 February). Come the final defeat, half a million people loyal to the republic (and most of them CNT members) were forced into exile. This figure would dwindle over time as some of the fugitives made their way back into Spain, but in the 1940s the numbers grew as many others who had initially not been in a position to do so quit Spain for France. The influx represented by that exodus in 1939 was very poorly received in France: the French government hurriedly set up a series of concentration camps in the south of France and in N. Africa (Argelès, Barcarès, Adge, Saint-Cyprien, Vernet, Djelfa, Hadjerad, Djieniem, Oved-Zem, Sidi-el-Ayachi, Setat, Ibfoud, Oved-Akroud, Bou-Arfa, Tandara, Berguient, Ain-el-Ousat, Guettar, Gafsa..) where conditions were sub-human and these soon became centres of disease and death (not until July 1939 would there be any sensible improvements in the

camps). By the start of 1940, a second phase had begun: the recruitment of labour companies and companies of specialists for the war industries, and thuis in turn, following the resounding defeat of the French at the hands of the Germans, led on to still another phase: the inmates of the concentration camps were scattered, some joining the Foreign Legion, others the Allied armies (especially in N. Africa), whilst still others were assigned as slave labourers to the peasants in the zone and others joined the French partisans. Some were taken to Germany to work in the war industries there. Some wound up in the concentration camps and, finally, others were handed over to Franco. A minority of CNT personnel managed to reach the Americas, particularly Mexico, which accounts for the early reconstruction of the CNT in Central America.

It was inside the French concentration camps that a start was made on the reconstruction of the CNT in the face of enormous difficulties. Initially, two organisational formats were considered: 1) one based on the regional federation to which members had originally belonged and 2) one based on the situation inside the camps, based on huts, sub-sectors, sectors, etc. The latter formula won through. After the camps were abolished, a token coordination was maintained through the labour companies (depending on place of residence and worksite) until a structure based upon departmenta, regional and nationall committees was worked out, but this too was beset by difficulties (sometimes there might be two committees on the same site, each oblivious of the other's existence). The MLE General Council, established at the start of 1939, achieved very little (except initially) and was swept along by unfavorable circumstances worsened by the outbreak of the second world war. Which is why the reconstruction had little to do with that General Council which, on occasion, came in for open criticism. Indeed an attempt was made to censure its members for their inefficiency.

MEXICO was to prove the first area where the CNT and the MLE achieved some semblance of structure. Early in 1940 a substantial batch of CNT members arrived in Mexico (quite a number of them figures of some standing) and, not having the war in Europe to worry about, set about

rebuilding the CNT. Initially, their discussions were bitter and harsh: some saw defeat as the logical consequence of departing from anarchist ideology, whereas others reckoned that the blame lay with the ideological scruples with which the CNT had been hobbled (the same debate would erupt in France once the practical problems of the war were out of the way). The gulf between these two viewpoints explains how the exiles in Mexico came to be split into two schools of thought by 1941: one school was politicised and collaborationist and the other orthodox and anti-collaborationist...

However, formally, there was only one organisation, known as the Delegación del ML. A split came the following year when Cardona moved and it was agreed that one group be formed exclusively as the CNT (rather than the more general MLE), with a national committee and regional committees and a newspaper of its own (to wit, the monthly CNT). The split had earlier been heralded by the so-called Proposition (Ponencia) which complained about lack of organisational control, referred to cliques and demanded recognition of "the supreme authority of the existing Spanish republic". on the basis, the signatories stated, that the war was not over yet: The signatories to this Proposition were Luis García, González Benítez, Fernández Posada, García Oliver, M. Rivas, Pastor, Cardona Rosell and José Prego. The opponents of the Proposition rallied around the Nueva FAI of Alfarache, Miró, Carbó, Alcora and Cortés. The "propositionists" (ponentes) took off so powerfully as to make a split inevitable (they published CNT, issued Solidaridad Obrera in May 1942 and organised a number of regionals based on place of origin - Catalonia, with García Oliver as secretary, the Centre with Martínez Pastor, Asturias with Fonseca..) especially as they stressed continuity of government and elected a national committee headed by Aurelio Fernández. After that, nothing very remarkable occurred: the collaborationists carried on appointing general secretaries (Prego in 1943, García Oliver in 1944) until, after the CNT in Spain regained its strength, they acknowledged its authority and, following a national plenum of regionals, agreed to wind up their existence as the CNT national committee and become the Liaison and Aid Committee (headed by Jover). Likewise, the

opposing faction scored little in the way of success and finally, on 19 August 1945, reunification was achieved in Mexico (they were reunited as the CNT of Spain's Sub-Delegation in Mexico). Everyone acknowledged the authority emanating from Spain and thus also accepted the governmentalist approach. Later, the rot set in: there were communist adventures, bourgeoisification, etc. (Jover, Rivas, Aranda, Aliaga, Abella, Ordovás..), robbing the Mexican exiles of any chance of making their presence felt. In FRANCE the road to reorganisation was much the same, albeit with a few differences: A) War-time difficulties delayed restructuring. B) The struggle between collaborationists and orthodoxes eventually tilted in favour of the latter. The core CNT reorganisation group in France was located on the L'Aigle dam where CNT personnel from the Saint-Cyprien camp were thrown together. The core group (Galera, A. Román, Dositeo Fernández, Bruguete, Luna, Heredia, Suñer, Quiquet, Asens, Rico, Oliver, Berruezo and Morey) began its meetings as early as 1940 in in 1941 held several meetings to lay the groundwork for clandestine activities and grapple with propaganda matters: Germán (the driving force) took it upon himself to issue their first circulars in November 1941. By the beginning of 1942 their numbers had grown to eighty and they had contacted the French resistance, simultaneously setting the wheels in motion to form a national agency (to which end Germán and Galera toured several departments). In September 1942, a national plenum of regionals in L'Aigle proposed that a meeting be convened of delegates from all the organised groups in France. When this proposal was taken up, the outcome was the Mauriac plenum (6 June 1943), out of which came an MLE Liaison Committee in France, based in L'Aigle and manned by Germán, Asens and Berruezo and the decision to broaden contacts and draft a Proposition on future CNT action (that proposition, entrusted to Alaiz and Juanel, would generate great conflict). The reorganisation proceeded at an accelerated rate and then came the Tourniac plenum (19 September 1943), which was a lot more representative than the preceding one, and at it a reading was given to the Proposition (dated August 1943, it came to be described as the Juanel Proposition)

entitled "Report on the Tactics of the Spanish Libertarian Movement". It declared that anarchist tactics and principles were in need of updating and it asked for a comprehensive programme of practical action and recommended participation in future constituent Cortes: a reading was also given to the Alaiz proposition entitled "Findings of the Working Party on the Foundations and Tactics of the Spanish Libertarian Movement": it drew a distinction between a-politicism and anti-politicism and argued for participation in municipal politics. The Juanel-Alaiz Report was endorsed, but, realising the seriousness of the contents, it was agreed that it should be scrutinised by all militants. Juanel came away from the plenum as the appointed general secretary residing in Montpellier and it was further agreed that they should ignore the existence of the MLE General Council (a further source of friction).

It was obvious that a report such as the one they had approved, implying a break with anarcho-syndicalist tradition, must provoke opposition: in fact, the Béziers committee issued a document condemning the politicking and reformism that had been witnessed in Tourniac and this attracted some support from the FIJL. Even though the first few months of the Juanel committee's existence were uneventful, and effective work was done to make remarkable progress with the reconstruction throughout France (many local federations were set up, plenty of regional plenums of unions were held and a national sub-committee established under Berruezo in Bordeaux.), a national plenum of regionals in December 1943 (in the environs of Marseilles) reported on the Juanel committee's record of achievement (relations with anti-Francoists, the Libertarian Youth issue, the existence of dual committees - e.g. the Béziers committee - attempts to establish contact with the national committee inside Spain, the final drafting of the Proposition) and agreed to resist Communist proselytisation, to recommend joining the French resistance, to bolster links with the UGT and confirm Juanel in his post: be that as it may, it was apparent that a strong opposition to the secretariat's line had been organised by that point (especially in Béziers, Bordeaux and the Libertarian Youth). To smooth over

the internal differences it was agreed that a further plenum would be called: this was the celebrated Muret plenum (March 1944) which, on the one hand, finally did away with the existence of two competing national committees and applied a brake to the independent line of the Libertarian Youth, and, on the other hand signalled the pressures brought to bear by the orthodoxes. There was a reaffirmation of principles, tactics and aims, the controversial Report was put on ice.. and, all in all, this was victory for the orthodoxes and the FIJL and it involved the committee's being relocated to Toulouse for the first time it was described as national committee), with the secretaryship going to Carreño. This new national committee did a lot of work, to some effect, to expose the Communist sham of the UNE and clarify the thinking of the amalgamated membership (publishing the newspaper Exilio). In addition it signed an Alliance with the UGT, strengthened relations with the French resistance and the French CGT, in spite of the obstacles placed in its way by Batista's sub-committee in Bordeaux. A plenum in Toulouse in July 1944 showed up the very strong differences of opinion existing among the CNT personnel in the occupied zone (the Bordeaux committee) and those in the free zone (the Carreño committee). This necessitated the holding of a further national plenum of regionals that October, also in Toulouse, and on this occasion the victory went to the possibilists: the national sub-committee in Bordeaux was wound up, there was to be antifascist unity against Franco, participation in a government that guaranteed the gains of 1936-39, encouragement given to regional autonomy, the exiled CNT was to be brought into line with the CNT inside Spain and Juanel was elected as the incoming general secretary. The purists' counter-offensive got under way a short time later: there was an intense press campaign from the columns of Ruta and Impulso, attacking Juanel and the "politicals": Esgleas asserted his rights as secretary of the General Council of the Libertarian Movement, and several of the most vehement champions of the October 1944 accords now denounced and repudiated them. In view of the intensity of the furore, a congress of local federations was called; invitations were sent out to Spain, the Americas and

North Africa: the congress, which was to be used to prescribe a definitive line of policy, was held in Paris (May 1945); Spain and the Americas were not in attendance and some 25,000 members were represented at it: the outcome seemed acceptable to all sides (assuredly on account of the prevailing enthusiasm which showed itself in the full confidence of an early return to Spain), especially as the accords were rather ambiguously worded and open to a variety of interpretations. The fact is that for several months CNT personnel worked in unison (collaborating in SE and dissolving the CNT component of the UNE), until, in July, differences of opinion erupted once more: the rifts between the exiled CNT and the CNT inside Spain grew, there was a resurgence in the conflict between the national committee and the Libertarian Movement's General Council, the Bayonne Pact fell apart.. and in September/October an extra-ordinary Plenary set the seal on the split. The spark that lighted the fuse had been the clandestine CNT's decision to take part in the Giral government-in-exile. The breakdown between the CNT within Spain and the exiles was complete: 27 October saw the distribution in Toulouse of the celebrated manifesto "Con España o contra España" (With Spain or in spite of Spain), which called for the resignation of the exiles' national committee and acceptance of the interior's theses as the only valid ones: this manifesto bore the signatures of Ramón Álvarez, Val, Armesto, Rey, Pechón, Castelló, Rivas and M. Díaz. A little later, that December, a plenum of the Toulouse regional expelled those signatories: those expelled launched the so-called National Sub-committee, with Ramón Álvarez provisionally in charge. The split spread to other countries and even hit the regional federations based on place of origin as well as the national federations of industry. Some 22,000 CNT members kept faith with the orthodox line whereas some 4,000 aligned themselves with the Sub-committee and accepted the national committee of the interior as the sole legitimate authority (which is why it described itself as the national Sub-committee).

1. - The first newspaper to bear this title appeared in Madrid (as agreed by a plenum of 16 April 1932). It published during 1932-34 and 1936-37 and was frequently suspended and confiscated. During the civil war it achieved sales of 35,000 copies (as the mouthpiece of the CNT) and published on a daily basis. It was under the direction of García Pradas and González Mallada and prominent among its editorial team and contributors were Ballester, Callejas, Horacio Prieto, García Oliver, Beltrán, Félix Paredes, Agraz, Saornil, Murp, Sagi, Llave and Zambruno..

Under the Franco regime it resurfaced as a clandestine publication for several years after 1944 (taking a collaborationist and pro-ANFD line), fairly regularly to begin with and then on a more sporadic basis (1952, 1953, the 1960s..) and appearing occasionally (1953) in Barcelona. After Franco's death, it re-emerged in 1976 as the CNT's national mouthpiece, publishing monthly under the supervision of Gómez Casas and M. Fernández.

2. - Organ of the MLE-Published in Toulouse from 5 September 1944 until 1961CNT national committee in France (at which point, after it was banned in November, its place was taken by CNT-Espoir) . For some years (1947-50) it published in Paris and for a time it served as an internal bulletin: from 1946 on it was the mouthpiece of the Spanish CNT in exile. It was directed by Alaiz, Juan Ferrer, Peirats and F. Montseny. Initially its print run stood at 30,000 copies, but in latter years this fell to some 6,000. Among its many contributors were: Piedra, Esgleas, Carsí, Patán, Call, Chueca (who served briefly as its director on several occasions) and Viladomiu ..

3. - London, 1960-62, in replacement of the Toulouse paper. It appeared at irregular intervals and was not a success. In 1966 it was amalgamated with España fuera de España.

4. - Mexico 1956-60, monthly. The mouthpiece of the CNT membership in Mexico. Reappeared in 1963 as an internal bulletin.

5. - Toulouse 1959-1960, bulletin of the Catalan regional confederation of labour.

6. - Gijón, 1937 until the collapse of the Asturian front (21 October), Directed by Acracio Bartolomé, with M. Blanco, Sierra, Gollanes, Gonal and

Riera among the editorial team. Organ of the CNT of Asturias-León and Palencia.

7. - Barcelona 1938. Replaced the failed Catalunya. CNT organ, an evening daily directed by Acracio Bartolomé.

8. - CNT Manchega, Albacete, 1936.

9. - CNT Marítima, Valencia 1936. Organ of the national maritime transport union.

10. - CNT de Toledo, Toledo, 1937-38. Organ of the provincial CNT committee.

11. - CNT del Norte, Bilbao, 1936-37, mouthpiece of the CNT of Euskadi-Norte. Some issues were published out of Santander.

12. - Toulouse 1962, external information bulletin. In fact, mouthpiece of the CNT-MLE.

13. - Boletín de CNT, La Coruña, 1977, two issues.

14. - Madrid 1976, one issue, organ of the CRT of the Centre region.

15. - Palma, 1978, one issue, mouthpiece of the CNT telephones union.

16. - Barcelona, one issue, no date (1980?). Information bulletin of the metalworkers' union.

17. - Zaragoza, 1981, two issues. News bulletin.

18. - Barcelona 1978, one issue. CNT education union.

19. - Santa Coloma de Gramanet, 1978, one issue. Education union.

20. - Esplugues-Sant Just, 1977, one issue.

21. - Campo de Gibraltar, 1976-77, five issues.

22. - CNT del Bagés, Manresa, 1977, 7 issues.

23. - Barcelona, 1978-80, 9 issues, news-sheet of the Barcelona local federation.

24. - Puerto de Sagunto, 1977, two issues.

25. - Avilés, three issues. Health union.

26. - Valencia, 1980-81, 6 issues, mouthpiece of those who split away at the Fifth CNT Congress.

In addition to the above, there is a fair number of company bulletins (1977-81), some of which carry no title, as well as others belonging to specific

unions: CNT maquinista (Barcelona, 1979, three issues), Boletín de la CNT de Standard (Madrid), Boletín del Sindicato de Administración Pública (Madrid) and CNTEclas (Madrid), etc.

257. NERVIO. Title used by several publications.

1. - Publication of Andalusian CNT personnel in French exile, Paris, 1959-60: suspended by the government, it carried on publishing as El Rebelde.
2. - Paris, 1964, restricted circulation CNT bulletin.
3. - Mouthpiece of the 147th Mixed Brigade during the 1936-39 war, edited by Santana Calero, Morales Guzmán and Damiano.
4. - Publication of the Andalusian FIJL, 1980-81, two issues.

258. EI VIDRIO.

1. - Gijón, 1916, anarchist, bulletin of the glass industry.
2. - News organ of the Glass Union and mouthpiece of the Spanish Glassworkers' and Crystalworkers' Federation. Barcelona 1915, 4 issues and later, in Badalona (January 1916-1920)., under the direction of Canals, Giró and Peiró: eventually it moved to Barcelona where its direction was in the hands of Cándido Endériz. Switched from monthly to fortnightly publication (end of 1916).

259. CORBELLA, José.

The name José Corbella is one of the most harshly judged names in anarchist and CNT circles: many look upon him as a great traitor who returned to Spain in 1939 and allied himself with Francoism. Indeed, that date, 1939, is virtually the only one that is remembered in connection with Corbella. Yet he was for many years an anarchist and CNT militant of the first order. His behaviour in 1939 remains truly inexplicable.

From an early age he was active in Suria (turning up at a 1925 meeting to form a clandestine organisation in the Cardona comarca), before moving to Manresa to live with a female relative. In 1928 he was secretary of the FAI in Manresa and, a little later, of the inter-comarcals FAI committee; in the

early years of the republic he proved to be the most capable militant in the comarca, ready for anything (sabotage, organising, rallies..). In 1931 he represented the transport workers of Manresa at the Conservatorio congress and after the treintista split he rose to become secretary of the Catalan CNT and director of Solidaridad Obrera and we find him embroiled in all of the revolutionary activities of the day (just as he had been under the monarchy). In 1933 he was involved in the attempt to storm the barracks in Lérida. Once the civil war began, he became mayor of Manresa, acting for the CNT and later he followed the defeated into exile. An exile in France and under great pressure from family members, he made his way back to Spain and (like Fornells, Clarà and others) whole-heartedly committed himself to the Partido Laborista (labour Party) (1940-41).. This move, serious enough in itself, appeared all the more serious by contrast with Peiró's noble conduct at around the same time.. and the latter cut the ground from beneath his case (that he was fighting Francoism from within with the support of the British). In any event, in Flores's view, he conducted himself honourably over the ensuing years. The fact is that Corbella was never appreciated inside the CNT, coming in for criticism and calumny even in the days of his greatest popularity, which is all the more startling if we remember that he was targeted by the bourgeoisie for the pacto de hambre (black-listed).

260. MOREY BLANCH, Manuel.

Catalan anarchist, great fighter during the dark days of Anido (together with García Oliver his life was attempted and he was left physically impaired). During the civil war he served as secretary of the regional federation of rationalist schools and left for France when the war ended. In late 1939 we find him in exile in France working on the construction of the dam at L'Aigle where he was one of the pioneers in launching the reconstruction of the CNT. In 1943 (following the Mauriac plenum) he took charge of the L'Aigle local federation and the following year did important work for Exilio (as administrator), the first CNT exile newspaper in France, as well as

holding down the press secretaryship on the Cantal regional committee (which required him to tour lots of places explaining the war in Spain). He also drew up plans for a School for Militants (along with Rico and Berruezo), which was boycotted by the orthodoxes. This is all the information we possess on him.

261. UNIÓN MANUFACTURERA and its successors.

Labour federation established in 1869 with 34 day labourers' branches, 72 spinners' branches, 80 machine weavers' branches, 103 hand weavers' branches, 3 shroud-weavers' branches, 10 rope-makers' branches, 1 pipe-makers' branch, 1 print-makers' branch, 23 sandal-makers' branches, 12 dyers' branches and 2 hand-painters' branches. (Some contend that the Unión de los Tres Clases de Vapor was relaunched in 1871 as the Unión Manufacturera). At the 1872 congress (16 August) agreement was reached on publication of *La Revista Social* (Manresa); its first edition carried a justification of workers' emancipation. At the Barcelona congress in 1873, the decision was made to lobby the Cortes on behalf of the eight hour day and *El Tejedor* newspaper started publication the same year. One of its successes came in February 1873 when it managed to have working hours reduced from 12 to 10 hours per day.

One affiliate of the Unión Manufacturera was the Las Tres Clases de Vapor (weavers, spinners and finishers) which had broken away when the Unión Manufacturera joined the FTRE in 1882. Under the FTRE umbrella, the UM held several congresses of its own: in 1883 (17-18 March, in Igualada) there was a national congress attended by Francisco Tomás; the UM claimed 50,000 members scattered through Granada, Valladolid, Zaragoza, Antequera, Málaga, Alcoy, Valencia, Olot, San Feliu de C., San Celoni, San Martín, Barcelona, Sabadell, Sans, Béjar, Manresa, Igualada, Santa Coloma de Q., Valls, Reus, San Juan les Fonts, Grazalema, Gracia, Castellar, Capellades, Carme and Picamoixons.. and solidarity was expressed with the victims of reprisals in Jerez, the Paris Commune was commemorated and a new, Sabadell-based national commission was appointed. Resolutions were

passed dealing with organisation, propaganda, and policy. Another congress in 1885 (23-26 August, in Sans) proceeded in spite of a ban. Around 1895 Las Tres Clases de Vapor was in decline and the anarchists' Pacto had yet to put down firm roots, yet the Um clung to a plainly anarchist line. 1899 saw the foundation of the Spanish Textile Federation - Federación Textile Española (congress in Barcelona, 8-10 September), with the Fabril Algodonera amalgamating with the Tres Clases de Vapor and the Federación del Ter-Fresser, bringing together socialists and anarchists (from the Unión Manufacturera). The new Federación issued a weekly review, Revista Fabril, and had a paid secretary, although the bulk of its leadership was anarchist, which accounts for the internal tensions. In 1900 some delegates travelled to meet the central government for talks and to press for enforcement of the law. This drew harsh criticism from anarchists. The Federación held a second congress in Manresa (June 1900) with 85 delegates and rejected a motion that it affiliate to the UGT, which gives some gauge of the strength of the anarchist and syndicalist influence. After 1903, there was a downturn: a general strike failed, leading to victimisation of hundreds in the Ter comarca. In 1913, it bounced back: a big strike launched in the unmistakably anarcho-syndicalist textile industry in Barcelona met with great success and led to a resultant boost to membership figures (which multiplied tenfold): in December that year (25-27 December 1913) a congress in Barcelona launched the Federación Fabril y Textil de España. The Tres Clases de Vapor did not join this, but the Béjar and Alcoy associations did: the congress elected an anarcho-syndicalist secretariat based in Barcelona (later it moved to Mataró). At the 1915 congress in Badalona (25-27 March) affiliation to the UGT was rejected, along with the payment of a stipend to the secretariat and the decision was made to issue a newspaper (which would be Acción Fabril, published in Mataró from 3 April onwards). The paper faded away in July 1916 after it embraced socialist arguments. Finally, following the UGT's willingness to enter alliance as demonstrated in the Reus strikes in 1915 and the Barcelona strikes of 1916, the Mataró committee fell apart (it was a very motley collection,

ideologically) and its base was transferred to Barcelona, with a notable increase in the membership (80,000 in 1919). By that point it was in the hands of anarchists (with a secretariat made up of J. Roca, Jordi Rovira and L. Serra), until finally, in the latter months of 1919 the Federación was wound up, whereupon its members transferred to the CNT.

262. JOVER CORTÉS, Gregorio. A native of Teruel, he was born in 1891 and died in Mexico in 1964 (There are claims that he was born in 1892 and died in 1966).

As a very young child he left the countryside of Teruel for Valencia where he learned the trade of upholsterer at which he worked. He was a little more than 20 when he moved to Barcelona and became very active in the woodworkers' union, coming to prominence in the shock groups, as a result of which he was obliged to leave again for Valencia (1920-1921). On his return to Barcelona he gained prestige (serving as the woodworkers' delegate on the Catalan regional committee) as a union man and fighter, not one for meetings and newspapers. A member of an anarchist group (with Bermejo and Claramonte..) known as Los Valencianos (it seems that Jover had started out in the Socialist Youth before moving over to the anarchist groups), he then joined Los Solidarios taking part in numerous operations with them and always closely associated with García Oliver. Under the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, he acted as courier between the exiles and the interior and was directly implicated in the Vera de Bidasoa and Artarazanas episodes (1924) and later, in France, set off on a tour of the Americas with Ascaso and Durruti, took part in an abortive plot against the life of Alfonso XIII and became caught up in subsequent developments (being arrested and deported from Belgium). A hot-head, he returned to Spain prior to the dictator's downfall and under the republic he espoused García Oliver's line about revolutionary gymnastics and endured harassment, beatings and imprisonment in the wake of the January 1933 uprising. After the outbreak of civil war he fought on the Aragon front with the Ascaso column which, following its amalgamation with Los Aguiluchos, he led even after its

militarisation (as the 28th Division). Later, as a lieutenant colonel he commanded the 10th Army Corps of the Army of the East. Exile found him in France, the Dominican Republic and Santo Domingo, before he settled once and for all in Mexico where he turned his hand to a variety of trades and became obsessed with the reconquest of Spain. In Mexico he was secretary of the Sub-delegation of the exiled CNT and (after its dissolution) of the Liaison and Aid Committee and, in this capacity, was approached by Giral in 1945 with a request that España join the republican government-in-exile. During his early days in exile he also espoused the principles of García Oliver's POT and the arguments of the collaborationist Ponencia. With the passing of the years, he became disillusioned and was in contact with PCE personnel (it appears that, together with Rives, he even published a newspaper displaying the CNT initials but of Communist content). Even so, we are assured that he retained his anarcho-syndicalist ideas right to the end. A man of action and fighter, he served on the CNT defence committees in Barcelona and Catalonia, distributed anti-militarist texts and liaised with troops in the barracks and was not not one for meetings nor for writing: he was a revolutionary of the old school, a man of the streets and an activist.

263. DÍEZ, Galo.

One of the greatest anarchist and CNT stalwarts the Basque region ever produced. He was killed in an accident in 1938 at the age of 55 (?). He is credited with responsibility for the influence that the CNT attained in the Basque Country in a constant tussle with the prevailing socialists. His base was in Eibar but as the father of a large family he frequently moved around in search of work, living in Vitoria, Bilbao, Logroño, San Sebastián and Tolosa (1927). A war resister (see his manifesto in Eibar, 1917) he represented the North region at the anarchist national congress in Barcelona in 1918 and helped out with the nationwide propaganda campaign that year. He attended the Zaragoza conference in 1922 where he spoke out against repression in Russia and rejected the plan to set up a

strong, well-paid committee made up of Pestaña, Seguí, Carbó, Peiró, J.M. Martínez and himself. And was chosen there to act as the delegate to the IWA's Berlin congress. That same year he left for Gijón, with the police on his trail. At the 1931 CNT congress he called for moderation and was indulgent towards the popular enthusiasm created by the republic. During the civil war he was vice-secretary of the CNT and embraced the collaborationism into which the CNT fell (it was he who was charged with offering Prieto the CNT's support against the Stalinists). Previously he fought in San Sebastián and signed a trade union unity document with the UGT (November 1936) which was confirmed in March 1938. Even though much of a one for writing, he wrote for *La Lucha* (Bilbao), wrote a foreword to Alaiz's *Vida de Acín* and wrote *Esencia, Ideología del Sindicalismo* (Gijón 1922). He was an outstanding public speaker (e.g. in June 1937 in Valencia).

264. SAGRA y PERIZ, Ramón de la. La Coruña 1798-Neuchâtel 1871.

From a family of the Galician nobility, he studied mathematics and medicine in Santiago from 1816 and showed a taste for the natural sciences: at around this time he served a year in prison (persecuted by the Inquisition for his liberal outlook) and in 1819 became the first person in Spain to publish Kant's writings. With the liberals victorious in 1820 he moved to Madrid and published the newspaper *El Conservador*. Three years later he moved to Havana to carry out a scientific assignment that was to drag on for twelve years. In 1827 he launched the *Anales de Ciencias, Agricultura, Comercio y Artes*, publishing on geology, botany, economics.. plus a *Historia Económica-Política de la Isla de Cuba*, which earned him a worldwide reputation as a scientist, a reputation consolidated by his *Historia Física, Política y Natural de la Isla de Cuba* (14 volumes between 1842 and 1863). While in Cuba he engaged in controversy with Saco over slavery and made the acquaintance of Collins by whom he was greatly influenced. He returned to Europe in 1835 via the United States (becoming friendly with Julius and the Saint-Simonian Chevalier) and was impressed by the country. Back in Europe he lived for a time in France before returning

to Spain in 1837 to be elected deputy for La Coruña (he was re-elected in 1838 and in 1840). He threw himself into the business of modernising the country, delving into all sorts of things (and becoming a pioneer in nearly all of these fields) - criminology, prostitution, special education, education, economics.. He was a frequent traveller throughout Europe (and the first to speak of Krausism). In 1838 he was behind the foundation of the Philanthropic Society in Madrid, devoted to judicial and penal reform. Years later he also dabbled in entrepreneurial activity (in the Málaga area), unsuccessfully, whilst simultaneously reaching the height of his powers as an economist and sociologist. He was also increasingly critical of bourgeois society and caused him to be looked at askance. At around this point he argued that the object of economics was not wealth but man and he sought to marry an agrarian solution with industry and called for a social economy (initially this was a sort of state socialism). In the 1840s he joined Faraldo's circle in Compostela and around 1844 he launched the review *Revista de los Intereses Materiales y Morales* in Madrid, to press for social reform. From 1847 on he entered his socialist phase proper, writing numerous pamphlets to expose the absurdity of the prevailing social order and of economic liberalism.. his criticisms came to regard bourgeois society as beyond redemption. He stressed that market economics was only for the strong, in that it implied poverty for everybody else and he called for the abolition of private landed property which was to revert to the State which would then parcel it out again. Around 1848 his flirtation with Proudhon's ideas became obvious. Thus he was emphatic that order ought not to be imposed by force but rather through rational social reform to impose an order with just one worldwide authority: at around this point he had links with the *Banque du Peuple* (even after Proudhon's resignation) and in 1854 he agreed to become deputy for Lugo and in the Cortes he argued an anarchistic line: collective land ownership, abolition of money .. until he was forced to quit parliament, having been labelled a socialist and revolutionary. Disappointed by the reception of his ideas and schemes, he suffered tremendous disenchantment during the latter years of the 1850s

and this, together with financial ruination and old age accounts for his switching to the ranks of the conservatives. He became an honorary attaché at the embassy in Paris, a spokesman for the Royal Council of Agriculture, Uruguay's consul-general in France, etc.

Sagra is anarchism's most obvious fore-runner in Spain and he devised an advanced theory concerning exploitation of the proletariat, for which he offered three remedies: 1. - Reformism complete with state intervention, plus employer paternalism and profit-sharing. 2. - Collins's collectivism, with its formula depicting imperialism as the consequence of the relations between states at differing stages of development and in free competition. 3. - A more personalised solution along utopian lines, synthesising Collins and Proudhon, with a few ingredients of his own devising.

Author of: *Cinco Meses en los Estados Unidos* (Paris 1836), *Informe sobre el Estado Actual de la Industria Belga con Aplicación a España* (Madrid 1842), *Informe sobre el Estado Actual de la Industria Fabril en Alemania* (Madrid 1843), *La Reforma de la Constitución de 1837, Innecesaria, Imoportuna y Peligrosa* (Madrid 1844), *Estudios Coloniales con Aplicación a la Isla de Cuba* (Madrid 1845), *Le Problème de l'Organisation du Travail devant le Congrès Central d'Agriculture* (Paris 1848), *Aphorismes Sociaux* (Paris 1848, with an extended edition in Brussels the same year), *Utopie de la Paix* (Paris 1849), *La Vérité à Tous. Aux Socialistes* (Paris 1849), *Les Partis en Espagne* (Paris 1849), *Sur l'Inexactitude des Principes Économiques et sur l'Enseignement de l'Économie Politique dans les Collèges* (Paris 1849), *Organisation du Travail. Questions Préliminaires à l'Examen de ce Problème* (Paris 1848), *Lecciones de Economía Social dadas en el Ateneo Científico y Literario de Madrid* (Madrid 1840), *Resumen de los Estudios Sociales* (Madrid 1844), *Considérations Économiques et Sociales sur l'Émancipation des Esclaves dans les Colonies à Sucre* (1841), *De l'Industrie Cotonnière et des Ouvriers en Catalogne* (1842: this, like the preceding title, was published in the *Journal des Économistes*), *Lettre à Monsieur Blanqui sur son Rapport Relatif à la Situation des Classes Ouvrières en 1848* (in *Le Peuple*), *Science Sociale. Idées Préliminaires* (Paris 1848), *Aforismos*

Sociales. Introducción a la Ciencia Social (Madrid 1849), Banque du Peuple. Théorie et Pratique de cette Institution fondée sur la Doctrine Rationnelle (Paris 1849), La Révolution Économique. Causes et Moyens (Paris 1849), Mon Contingent à l'Académie. Sur les Conditions de l'Ordre et des Réformes Sociales (Paris 1849), Aforismos Sociales con Aplicación a España (Madrid 1854-55), Remedios contra los Funestos Efectos de las Crisis Políticas y de las Paralizaciones Comerciales (Madrid 1855), Le Mal et le Rémède. Aphorismes Sociaux, Profession de Foi (Paris 1859), Opúsculos Socialistas de M. Ramón de la Sagra (Paris 1849).

In addition to the above, his writings appeared in La Démocratie Pacifique, Boletín de Empresas, El Corresponsal, Journal des Économistes, El Azucarero, La Phalange, Le Peuple, Guía de Comercio...

265. MARI, Vicente. Ibiza 1872-France 1958.

At the age of 20, he was in Barcelona, which he left shortly afterwards (in 1893) for the Americas. In Argentina he worked on the refrigerator ships (where he contracted chronic bronchitis) and also worked as a baker, whilst active in anarchist circles, leading to his being repeatedly jailed and deported (to Montevideo). Known to have been involved in the anarchist polemics between La Antorcha and La Protesta. Returned to Spain in 1931 and settled in Barcelona. He witnessed the rise and fall of anarchism and, as an old man, left for exile in France, going through the usual round of concentration camps, war and Nazi persecution: in the years following the second world war he was a popular figure in libertarian circles up until 1958 when he took his own life in the home in which he had been living since 1945. He espoused an anarchism with its roots in a Nietzsche diversted of its aristocratic lack of solidarity and he was at all times close to his great friend, González Pacheco.

266. MADRID, Pacto de Unión Congress in 1891.

Prompted by a manifesto issued by Barcelona labour associations, it was held from 23 to 25 March 1891. Marbá travelled to Madrid to make the

arrangements and, with the assistance of Puig, Borrel, Ruiz, Mata and Ernesto Álvarez, he managed to arrange for it to be held at the Liceo theatre. The programme put to the congress was as follows: 1. -

Reorganisation of the FRE. 2. - Economic, moral and health improvements. 3. - Reduction in working hours.

The proceedings were held in a good atmosphere (the years after the 1889 Paris congress that introduced a labour day holiday were years of euphoria) and among those attending was a socialist group (Iglesias, Beard, Pamiés..) which attempted throughout to impede progress in the proceedings, secretly hoping to benefit the UGT, and this kicked up a storm of controversy: the socialist minority proved unable to prevent rejection of political methods (with only 9 out of the 122 delegates siding with the socialists). The most interesting motions passed were: 1. - To reaffirm the federal agreement. 2. - To pursue labour demands through strictly proletarian activity. 3. - Multi-faceted direct and frontal action. 4. - Marbá was appointed to the federal commission which was to be based in Barcelona.

Prominent among the hundred-odd delegates to the congress (drawn from Asturias, Galicia, the Basque Country, Aragon, Catalonia, Andalusia, the Balearics, Castile and Valencia) were Esteve, Borrel, F. Tomás, López Montenegro, Sánchez Rosa, Saavedra, Vázquez, Llunas, Tárrida and Vicens García.

267. MARTÍNEZ, José María.

Asturian anarchist and CNT activist killed in Sotiello while on a mission from the revolutionary committee on 12 October 1934. It seems that his life as an activist started in La Felguera, from where he moved on to Gijón in 1917, soon becoming a very rounded militant of the first order (organiser, public speaker, gifted writer and man of action). His reputation began with a rally in La Felguera in 1912 and was reinforced at the CNT congress in 1919 (where he chaired a few of the sessions, which speaks volumes for his skills). In the ensuing years he came to prominence as an outstanding

public speaker (at rallies in La Felguera in 1919, Gijón in 1920 and, by now a national figure, in Bilbao in 1931). In the early 1920s he spent some time in Gijón as a member of El Despertar del Obrero (the anarchist miners' association), on the run from the police. Come the republic, his stature grew and he was entrusted with difficult tasks: in 1931, clearing the Communists and Trotskyists out of the anarchist miners' unions and in 1934 representing the Asturian CNT on the Alliance with the UGT (March 1934), for which he was criticised by Carbó and Durruti at a national regional of plenums that June (defending himself vigorously). One direct product of the Alliance was the Asturian revolution of 1934 which brought about his death. Sometimes he used the nom de plume José Riera; he wrote for El Libertario and was director of Solidaridad (1931-33). Although the name of J.M. Martínez is frequently invoked in terms of praise and although he is regarded as one of the CNT's most rounded militants of the 1930s, the fact is that his activities and details of his life are not well known.

268. La FEDERACIÓN IGUALADINA.

Newspaper published in Igualada as a weekly between February 1883 and July 1885. It attained a print-run of 5,000 copies and was launched on the decision of the local council of Igualada labour societies as the labour weekly for their comarca: it took an anarcho-collectivist line. Sub-titled "Organ of the Igualada Federated Branches and Echo of the Proletariat", it bore the motto "Anarchy, Federation, Collectivism". Its 128 issues were due to an editorial team made up of Marbá, Font, Llansana, F. Carbonell, Botines, Serret, Carreres and Palomes. It carried writings from Proudhon and Abayá..

269. ANDRADE GARCÍA, Benigno. Known as Foucellas, after the district in La Coruña where he was born.

In 1936 he was working in a saw-mill in Mesía and belonged to the CNT. Come the fascist uprising, which succeeded in Galicia, and after clashing with the forces of repression in Cambruy, he joined the rural guerrillas (Negreira's group in the mountainous Chamarde comarca). When the civil

war ended he kept up the guerrilla struggle with an autonomous band based in the Bocelo hills and fighting in Betanzos, Ordenes, Guitiriz and Arzúa, with forays into La Coruña and El Ferrol (1948), striking terror into the fascists. Early in 1952, due to treachery, he was surprised in Betanzos, wounded and arrested and executed in La Coruña on 26 July 1952. Of average height, burly and energetic and shrewd he was the most awesome of the Galician guerrillas, the undisputed leader of the guerrillas in central Galicia. He achieved considerable popularity, so much so that the name of Foucellas became a synonym for guerrilla.

270. PARIS 1945, First Congress of the Local Federations of the MLE-CNT in exile.

Held in the Palais de Musique in Paris and preceded by intense lobbying by both of the major tendencies in contention (the orthodoxes and the possibilists-collaborationists). The campaign mounted by the orthodoxes, essentially targeting the national committee of Juanel, Domingo Torres and Merino, was especially uncompromising (with the attacks coming primarily from Impulso, under the direction of Alaiz and from the Libertarian Youth's Ruta). Organising the congress was the task of Juanel, Buenacasa and Merino and invitations were issued to the exiles in Africa and the Americas, as well as to the underground CNT in Spain (the Americas did not attend and the delegation from Spain arrived belatedly: the delegate, César Broto, was held up by the French gendarmerie). Upwards of 450 local federations from the exiles in France and N. Africa attended, and were represented by no fewer than 400 delegates: membership stood at 25,000. The congress proceeded from 1 to 12 May in a fraught, and occasionally tense, atmosphere. Not that this was any obstacle to enthusiasm's being demonstrated at the closing ceremony on account of accords having been reached that were acceptable to most, primarily on account of their flexibility and ambiguity. (For instance: principles and tactics were ratified, but there was also a resolution welcoming the restoration of a republic that would respect the social gains made during the revolutionary period.) These

accords may have been ambivalent but, all in all, they favoured the orthodoxes as soon as positions became polarised (as we shall see anon). As is virtually always the case at CNT get-togethers, there was little headway made during the early sessions: on 6 May, a large working party (54 members) was appointed; it was sub-divided into eight smaller working parties and took it upon itself to draft resolutions on the main items on the agenda (items 9 to 22). In fact the working party operated like a mini-congress at which the main CNT factions were represented, which is why its resolutions were carried by the full body of the congress with scarcely any changes. The composition of the working party was as follows: Alonso, Ramón Álvarez, Arrufat, Batet, Jacinto Borrás, Buenacasa, Burillo, Calvete, Capella, Carreño, Castellote, Enrique Castillo, Chueca, Diezhandino, Esgleas, Esplugas, Espuga, Estallo, Estrada, F. Ferrer, Folch, Ildefonso González, González Marín, Huguet, Lorenzo Páramo, Lucarini, Malsand, Martínez Alconchel, Mas, Merino, Milla, Molina, Montseny, Morlanes, Ossoc, Paz, T. Pérez, Pintado, Pou, Prieto, Puig Elías, Rocés, Rodríguez, Sala, Sánchez, Sans Sicart, Sirvent, Suñe, Tapia, Torres, and Viladomiu. The most noteworthy accords arrived at were: 1. - A new national committee headed by Esgleas and made up of Malsand, Martín, Puig Elías, Montseny, J. Rodríguez and Chueca (at the same time the supreme authority of the CNT in Spain was recognised). 2. - There was a harking back to the economic system imposed in 1936-39 and a call for a specific economic order (various socialisations, industrial and agricultural collectivisations, a council of economy, distribution centres, a people's bank, municipalisation, an end to foreign interests with or without compensation..) 3. - CNT principles and tactics were endorsed and the decision made to persist with its anti-statist, revolutionary line. At the same time the decision was made to take a hand in Spain's problems (calling for Franco and the Falange to be brought to book and for compensation for their victims and the exiles). And for the maintenance of relations with all antifascist bodies. 4. - Education: loyalty was indicated to Ferrerism, to the CENU, to the creation of cultural and publishing centres. 5. - There was a call for compensation to facilitate the

return of exiles, as well as victims in exile, the war-disabled and victims of fascism (this resolution went into great detail). 6. - Alliance with the UGT (on very specific bases). 7. - Relations with the IWA: affiliation to the IWA was ratified. (Even so, it was agreed that Spain was to be consulted in advance on the propriety of sending a delegate to the secretariat: then again, it was stated that, on account of the Spanish situation, there was a sensible need to establish a committee in France to liaise with the IWA). In addition, there was a call for an IWA congress. 8. - All three branches of the MLE (the CNT, the FIJL and the FAI) should remain under a single umbrella, but the Libertarian Youth's right to autonomously organise was recognised. The umbrella organisation was to be called the Spanish Libertarian Movement-CNT in France (MLE-CNT). 9. - Federalism was espoused and until such time as Spain might arrive at federal structures, regional autonomy status would be afforded generously to whomsoever might request it. Anything generating rivalry and strife among the Spanish populace was rejected. 10. - All comrades who had voluntarily (or otherwise) been marginalised would be readmitted, except where they had been excluded on the basis of immoral or anti-organisational activities. Calumniators failing to present proof of their accusations were to be expelled. 11. - The only national committee that would be recognised would be Spain's national committee. The French national committee was to liaise with this in order to harmonise activities. The MLE delegation from Mexico which had come to a decision to come to France, was not to set itself up as a liaison committee, this being a prerogative of the national committee's section abroad. 12. - National Industrial Federation liaison committees were to be established. 13. Subscriptions: there would be national dues payments (10 francs), as well as other regional, departmental, comarcal and local dues, depending on the requirements at each level. 15% would go to the infirm, the disabled and the war-wounded. Pro-solidarity and pro=Spain stamps would also be sold on a voluntary basis. 14. - A (Press and Propaganda) commission was to be established with one national committee member serving on it, plus the director and administrator of CNT and a

magazine director.. to draw up a plan of action. CNT would be kept up and the publication of regional bulletins encouraged..

From the accords as a whole we may deduce that the exile community was acknowledging the authority of the CNT inside Spain, but, as if not trusting it, was claiming considerable autonomy and occasionally even usurping its functions (on the pretext of the difficulties facing the underground in Spain: this Spain v. Exile conflict would prove crucial in subsequent developments and would bring about the split inside the CNT some months later: the message coming out from Paris was that Spain was in charge, BUT.. (The fact that the bulk of the known membership was outside the country must have been a factor here.) It follows also that the accords reached were, in some respects, contradictory and offered encouragement to both schools of thought: Spain's authority was recognised, but the principles and tactics were ratified also, so what was to happen if Spain was to decide to espouse a possibilist-collaborationist line, one that frankly disregarded those principles and tactics? This was an obvious poser that must have been in everyone's mind: when, months later, the underground CNT decided to serve in the Giral government-in-exile, part of the exile community insisted that the authority of the CNT in Spain be recognised, whereas another part stressed the orthodox elements of the congress and thus a split became inevitable..

271. UNIÓN CAMPESINA.

The UC represents the most valuable anarchist venture in the Galician countryside. Its chief organisers were Manuel Martínez Pérez and José Moreno Bello and it was launched in September 1907, quickly gaining prestige following frantic propaganda drives. Before the year was out it numbered some 20 branches and 7,000 members, concentrated in the environs of La Coruña. From 1908 on it was harshly persecuted by the State (the civil governor, Crespo), the object being to outlaw it. In February 1908 it called the first agrarian congress in the history of La Coruña (with support from Solidaridad Gallega) with great success, but drew criticism

from urban labour circles (which argued that it had been drawn into politics), criticisms specifically directed at Manuel Martínez: in any event, the link with Solidaridad Gallega largely fell through (rightwing opposition), but not before the leftist wing of Solidaridad Gallega joined the Unión Campesina (which in itself sparked some internal squabbling). After February 1908, the UC's activism was sustained and there were some outstanding actions: the Oza protest against caciquismo and the tributes paid to Curros Enríquez (the latter implying that relations with radical republicanism were good). In April 1908 a huge rally/assembly in La Coruña (drawing support from 107 associations from Pontevedra, 16 from Orense, 6 from Lugo and 35 from La Coruña) generated the firm belief that what was needed was a Peasant Federation of North/Northwest Spain (which led to the rally in Gijón attended by Moreno and Martínez), one that also accepted a number of reformist suggestions from the Directorio de Teis. August 15-16 that year saw the First Agrarian Assembly in Monforte, where Martínez Pérez queried the credentials of those attending and refused to allow the city's "solidarios" (Solidaridad Gallega supporters) to speak or vote in the proceedings.. The episode ended with Martínez walking out (Moreno and Manuel Rey stayed as delegates from a mere five other UC associations). Martínez's departure effectively signalled a split and the start of the decline. Thereafter whatever was left of the UC was very much in cahoots with Solidaridad Gallega and republicanism.. And this spelled the end for it (it took part in municipal elections) because, from that point on, the UC branches acted as separate entities. By 1918 it had died out.

Internal frictions hastened its demise: the 20 branches and 7,000 members it boasted in November 1907 had grown to 29 branches and 28,000 members by April 1908 and fallen back to 28 branches and 14,000 members by August 1908. Its decline also represents a good example of how the peasant shies away once politics sticks its nose in.

The Unión Campesina strikes us as an agrarian federation rallying associations of motley origins, but it was created at the instigation of the anarchists of La Coruña who progressively found themselves confined to

agrarian matters (growing disillusioned with the general trades associations), even if they did, on occasion, contemplate larger-scale activities (like the strike in support of La Coruña labour in July 1908), most likely because that was the precise time when its ranks boasted the largest anarchist presence. It was based upon the general assembly (its sole decision-making body) and boasted a number of commissions (mutual aid, education, liaison, administration, research and information, assistance, agricultural affairs) designed to help the membership with its problems without their having to turn to lawyers. Its rapid demise is accounted for by the fact that the Monforte assembly arrived at decisions which were no longer the property of the UC but belonged more to other organisations (Solidaridad Gallega, the UTC Directory, etc. were in attendance at Monforte). On this occasion, such a catholic gathering implied the demise of the UC because of the contending interests found within its ranks.

272. SYNDICALIST PARTY (Partido Sindicalista).

Under the republic, a party that aspired to act as anarcho-syndicalism's voice in Parliament. Launched by Pestaña (its statutes date from March 1934) it met with dogged opposition from the CNT (including its treintista wing), with the result that its influence was very tiny. Its establishment was the result of Pestaña's political evolution: the party represented the culmination of a process (anarcho-syndicalism, syndicalism, treintismo and the Libertarian Syndicalist Federation [FSL]) which very few CNT personnel were disposed to follow, no matter how opposed they may have been to faísmo, conscious as they were of the failure to which Pestaña's brainchild was doomed (Pestaña tried to win Peiró, Villaverde, José Moix and Quintanilla over to his way of thinking). Over the years of the republic the Syndicalist Party was torn until the Opposition Unions rejoined the CNT fold (at the Zaragoza congress in 1936), which development stripped the party of its possible trade union base and catapulted it once and for all into the ranks of minority, and indeed, merely token, parties. With the Popular Front it had the opportunity to fight elections and had just two deputies

returned (Pestaña and Pabón, for Cádiz and Zaragoza respectively) and then more on the coat-tails of the coalition rather than on its own merits. It established minority groups in Andalusia, Levante, Catalonia, Asturias, Galicia, León and Madrid and it did have a few militants of some repute (a fair number of them were to achieve fame after the civil war as writers) like Marín Civera, Sánchez, Requena, Ricardo Fornells, F. Sabaté, Robusté, J. Marín, Losmozos, Adalia, Lera, Victoriano Crémer, Ballester, Bravo, Gómez Lara, Alcántara, Barranco, J. Hernández, Fernando Fenollar and E. Rueda, tc. In some cases these were well-known CNT members and in others young idealists drawn to Pestaña. In May 1935 the party absorbed the remnant of the Partido Social Ibérico and, for a short time, the tiny Partido Valorista of E, Vallando (which broke away again in April 1935) and during the civil war it opened its doors to honest republicans (thereby embracing class collaboration) and stepped up its criticisms of the Communist Party of Spain. Its headquarters was in Barcelona and then (May 1936) moved to Madrid. Its press organs were: El Sindicalista (Madrid and Barcelona), Hoja Sindicalista and Mañana (Catalonia) and El Pueblo (Valencia). As of September 1934 the party's national committee was made up of Pestaña, Eduardo Medrano, Bellver, Viladoms, G. López, J. Gil, J. Andrés and Martínez Novellas, but this was later amended when Robusté was added as assistant to secretary Medrano and when Novellas quit the party shortly after that. After the outbreak of the civil war, the party raised a regiment of its own, called after its founder (and later renamed the 67th Brigade) and when the CNT decided to join the government, it wanted Pestaña to dissolve his party and take up a portfolio on the CNT's behalf (Pestaña refused). In any event it seems certain that in his final months Pestaña acted as spokesman for the CNT in parliament. With Pestaña's death, the party went into a steep decline which his replacement (Adalia, 1937) failed to arrest. By the end of the war the Syndicalist Party had all but disappeared and efforts to revive the party after Franco's death failed to prosper. The party's principles (as evidenced at its sole congress in May 1937) were union, cooperative and municipality, with heavy federalist and communal

emphasis.

The Syndicalist Party was the most serious attempt mounted from CNT quarters to introduce parliamentary politics into the anarchist camp: its failure is directly related to the circumstances obtaining at the time (it seems that Pestaña's grave error at the time was to have jumped the gun on CNT revisionism). As far as its future or present is concerned, the pity for the Syndicalist Party was the course followed by some of its leading lights (into the Partido Laborista in the 1940s, the Cincopuntista talks, the conversations, more alleged than actual, with Falangists in the 1930s..) which, not quite fairly, earned the Syndicalist Party a very poor reputation (not unconnected with the fact that a certain Falangist faction tried to hijack the initials of the party).

273. SANZ, Ricardo Canals (Valencia) 1898.

Son of farm labourers, he worked in a flour mill from a very early age up until he moved to Barcelona (1916) where he joined the CNT's textile union dyers' branch (that being his trade at the time) and he struck up a friendship with the soon to be murdered Sabater "el Tero". From 1920 on, his activism became more pronounced: he made Ascaso's acquaintance, addressed meeting throughout the comarca of Barcelona, took part in Los Solidarios activities and was jailed (1920) for nearly two years; immediately upon his release he moved to Zaragoza (where Torres Escartín was on trial in connection with the Soldevila assassination) before moving on to France via Barcelona to avoid being arrested again: he stayed only a short while in Paris because exile life was not to his liking and because he was entrusted with the purchase in Eibar-Guernica of a thousand rifles; he crossed the border via Vera de Bidasoa and was arrested in San Sebastián (serving two years in prison in Madrid where he made the acquaintances of Bajatierra, Romero, Inestal and others). On his release he lived in Barcelona, working in the construction industry (and was the union's president in 1930-31), and was jailed frequently. Come the republic, he became one of the CNT's official spokesmen at rallies (touring the Canaries, Alicante, the Basque

Country, Rioja and Castile .. together with Ascaso, Antona, Magriñá, Inestal and others). He alternated these activities with work in the water service union, not that this prevented him from taking part in the faísta uprisings or in organisational business (as a member of the Catalan regional committee of the CNT in 1934 and as a delegate to the 1931 congress). After the outbreak of the civil war, he held numerous positions of responsibility: was in charge of organising the militias, inspector of fortifications in Aragon and Catalonia, commander of the Durruti column (after Durruti's death on 21 November 1936) up until the end of the war (when it had become the 26th Division) at which point he crossed into France with his command. Exile found him in the Vernet concentration camp (1939-1942) and later in the one in Djelfa (Algeria). On his release from the latter he moved to Algiers (working there as a baker) until eventually in June 1945 he returned to France (via Marseilles). In exile he espoused a collaborationist line and turned into something of a megalomaniac, not that he ever distinguished himself in CNT activities: he spent the 1970s in France recalling his old glories and family misfortunes. In spite of his having been a member of Los Solidarios and of Nosotros and even though he served on anarchist committees from the 1920s on, he had a high opinion of Puente and Pestaña. He has written a fair amount about the CNT and pre-civil war anarchism: author of *Ruta de Titanes* (Barcelona 1933), *Figuras de la Revolución Española* (1972, reprinted in Barcelona in 1978), *El Sindicalismo Español antes de la Guerra Civil*. *Los Hijos del Trabajo* (Barcelona 1979), *Los Treinta Judas* (Barcelona 1934), *Los que Fuimos a Madrid*, *Columna Durruti*, *El Sindicalismo y la Política*, *Los Solidarios* .. as well as writing for the Galician *Solidaridad Obrera* and a couple of pamphlets (1945) in praise of Durruti and Ascaso.

274. FRAGUA SOCIAL. Title used by a number of newspapers.

1. - Mouthpiece of the reunified CNT of Venezuela, 1963.

2. - Celebrated newspaper of the Valencia regional CNT, which experienced a number of ups and downs and resurfaced on several occasions. It started

life as the daily newspaper of the Levante Regional Confederation of Labour and CNT mouthpiece in Valencia, 1936-39, with a print-run of up to 40,000 copies and upwards of 800 issues and an editorial team that included Jesús Muro, Félix Paredes, López Alarcón, M. Alonso. etc. After defeat in 1939 it resurfaced clandestinely under Francoist rule, sometimes as a weekly, putting out 6,000 copies in 1944-46 and 1963 (in eight separate runs). After Franco died and the rebuilding of the CNT got underway, it began a fresh run in 1976 (in Alicante and Valencia), again as the regional mouthpiece of the CNT, with a total of 25 issues up to 1980, at which point it was wound up in favour of CNT.

275. CASTELLOTE TARGA, Mariano.

Presigious radical anarchist of the early 20th century, concerning whom our information is patchy. He was arrested in connection with the Barcelona strike in 1901 and again in Barcelona in July 1909 for inciting the workers against the police (on which grounds he was brought to trial on charges on incitement to revolt). He was a member of the bricklayers' association in Solidaridad Obrera (1907) and also a member of the famed Barcelona anarchist group 4 de Mayo, and years later we find him to the fore in founding the Centro de Estudios Sociales (1904). Other reports have him prominent in the FSORE congress in Seville in 1904 and there is even a chance that he served on the FSORE council in 1901.

276. PANORAMA.

Bulletin published by the then secretary of the underground CNT's national committee, Cipriano Damiano. Hostile to Cincopuntismo. It published two issues in 1969-70 and was wound up after its publishers were arrested. It enjoyed collaboration from Damiano, Hilario García Rodríguez, Alfonso Velasco and Jesús Hernández. It was a rather crude production (run off on a copier) with a tiny print run of 300 copies.

277. GENER FIGUERAS, José. Igualada 1890-Mexico 1980.

Baker's son from Igualada who showed an early interest in social questions. He deserted from the army, moving to France (and was living in Lyon and Paris by around 1910-1911). He was expelled from there on account of his pugnacious style and dropped on the border by the government. He managed to evade the Civil Guard and made his way to Barcelona. There he served on the steering committee of the metalworkers' union, holding firm during the dark days of the terror of Anido and Arlegui, even heading the CNT's Catalan regional committee in 1921 and assuming the task of reorganising the regional the following year. Later he returned to his native city where he worked at his trade as a fitter. Over the years he remained active, albeit in a secondary role. When the civil war broke out, he collectivised the family livestock and undertook to keep the city supplied with milk: after the defeat, he left for exile in France and then finally settled in Mexico where he remained active in the CNT (he was a member of the Mexican CNT nucleus at the time of his death). An intelligent man and a great reader and controversialist, steadfast and a superb battler ready to brave any difficulty (he was a friend of Ramón Archs) and face up to the gunmen of the Sindicato Libre in the bosses' hire. (It was only by a freak that they did not murder him when he was arrested in 1921-22 on the basis of information provided by Homs). He was a friend of Juan Ferrer, Malato and Faure.

278. GERMINAL. Title of many anarchist publications of widely varying quality.

1. - Elche, 1936-37, organ of the CNT local federation.
2. - Cádiz, 1903, anarchist.
3. - La Coruña, 1901-05, anarchist fortnightly.
4. - Tarrasa, 1906-06, and 1912.
5. - Igualada, 1918, 6 issues, Fortnightly put out by J. Anselmo, Juan Ferrer, Carner and Massoni.
6. - Sabadell, 1923, organ of the CNT in Sabadell and its comarca.
7. - La Línea, 1932, under the direction of Romero Zambrana.

8. - Reus, 1905, 8 issues (?), essentially a literary paper.

279. GONZÁLEZ MALLADA, Avelino. Born in Gijón (?) he earned his living from the age of 11 and died in 1938 whilst on a propaganda tour of the United States.

He began his career as an activist alongside José María Martínez and in the second decade of the century was a heavyweight in the Gijón Agrupación Libertaria (it looks like he spent some time * around this point as the only escape from blacklisting by the bourgeoisie). From 1919 on he was part of the elite of Asturian, and indeed, Spanish anarchism; he attended the 1919 congress, held rallies in Gijón, Sama and Bilbao (1920-23), represented the Asturians at the Zaragoza conference in 1922 (where he was appointed as a dedelegate to the IWA congress in Berlin, which he did in fact attend) and from 1920 on he headed virtually all of the Asturian CNT's newspapers (including Solidaridad Obrera of Gijón) and under the Primo de Rivera dictatorship he was a teacher in the mines and in the Escuela Neutra (Gijón, 1926). Under the republic he remained prominent: he attended the 1931 congress, ran CNT in Madrid (1932), was a staunch champion of the Alliance with the UGT (jailed in 1933 in connection with the uprising that January, he raised the possibility and lobbied for the Alliance from prison) and was also at the 1936 CNT congress (speaking at some length on the motion on the national federations of industry). When the civil war broke out he served on the defence commission in Gijón (July 1936) and did successful work as commissar for war: in November 1936 he was inaugurated as mayor of Gijón. One of the greatest militants produced by a regional (Asturias) which has produced militants of the highest calibre.

280. JORDÁN, Francisco.

We have little information on this CNT militant. He was an Andalusian and in 1916 addressed meetings with Sánchez Rosa in the hinterland of Córdoba and shortly afterwards was in Barcelona, as secretary of the CNT national committee (August 1916 to February 1917), a position he resigned from his

prison cell. In 1920 he was murdered by the hired guns of the employer and government-backed Sindicato Libre. There is no hard and fast opinion about Jordán. Some see him as unquestionably one of the few outstanding militants of his day whereas others find him a curious fellow with no known trade who assuredly received money from the Germans during the years of the First World War.

281. ISGLEAS PIERNAU, Francisco. San Feliu de Guixols 1894-Barcelona 1977.

CNT militant known by the name of Pancho, he was an outstanding orator and held posts of primary significance during the years 1936-39, although he was a well-known figure during the previous decade too (being much to the fore at the first Catalan plenum - in Sans in 1930 - after the dictatorship fell). During the civil war he was Santillán's replacement on the militias' committee, commissar for coastal defences in Gerona (1936), minister of Defence in the Generalidad government (1936-37), Catalonia's delegate to the national plenum of regionals in September 1936, representative of the CNT at meetings of the Libertarian Movement national committee (1938), served on the working party that set up the CAP (at the CNT'FAI plenum in Catalonia in June 1937) as well as on the working party (at the regional conference in 1936) that drafted the pact with the UGT. He was a militant of the first standing even when he, together with H.M. Prieto, lapsed into CNT revisionism, representing the CNT on the ominous Executive Committee (Barcelona, May 1938) established inside the MLE and was also a member of the Libertarian Movement's General Council (1939). At the end of the civil war he served as secretary of the Catalan CNT. When defeat came he passed through the concentration camps in Vernet and Djelfa (1942). Finally, after the defeat of Nazism, he settled in Europe but never regained his earlier high profile nor regained any organisational posts of any note. After Franco died, he returned to Spain to help with the reconstruction of the CNT. He was not much given to writing but was a superb public speaker (for instance at the rally in Barcelona in 1933 and

when speaking in defence of the militias in that city in 1936).

282. EI COMUNISTA. Title of several Aragonese publications.

1. - Mouthpiece of the labour unions of Aragon and champion of the international proletariat. Zaragoza, 1919-1920. Anarchist weekly under the direction of Z. Canudo, with Chueca among the editorial team. It was also the organ of the Centro de Estudios Sociales. Much persecuted for its defence of the victims of the El Carmen barracks, its director was given an eight year prison sentence.

2. - Zaragoza, 1895, anarchist. Three issues.

283. EI CORSARIO. Title of several newspapers.

1. - Valencia, 1901-1903, anarchist. Contributions from Carbó, Martínez Barrio, López Rodrigo, Bonafulla, Lorenzo, Corominas, Salvochea, Malato, Michel and Reclus.

2. - La Coruña, 1890 to July 1895 (212 issues). Later refloated from January 1896 to October 1896, taking the figure up to 246 issues. Replaced by El Productor. Directed by José Sanjurjo; carried texts from Parat, Salvochea, Lazare, Kropotkin, Bellegarrigue and Hamon..

3. - La Coruña, 1903-08.

284. EI COSMOPOLITA. Title of several newspapers.

1. - Valladolid, 1884-85, anarchist. Its editors took part in the Certamen in Reus in 1885.

2. - Valladolid, 1901, 10 issues, Texts by Alarcón, A. Cruz, Gutiérrez, Soledad Gustavo, Grave, Médico.

3. - Jerez, 1902.

285. CRISOL. Title of several newspapers.

1. - Paris, 1946-51, published by the Libertarian Youth.

2. Barcelona, 1923, organ of Los Solidarios. Texts by Alaiz, Callejas, Torres Tribó, F. Ascaso (administrator) and Barthe. It was distributed free of

charge.

3. - Sabadell, 1923, two issues, anarchist weekly directed by H. Plaja.

4. Mouthpiece of the comarcal federation of Guipúzcoa, San Sebastián. Its place was taken by Frente Popular (August 1936). Later it resurfaced, espousing a faísta line (under Fraz and Sanromán). Launched by Chiapuso, among others.

5. - Igualada, 1982, one issue.

286. GARCÍA SEGARRA, Elías.

Information on this anarcho-syndicalist militant is, in some respects, extremely confused. Some contend that his birthplace was Bilbao whereas others hold that he was from Aragon and still others that it was Catalonia. He is unanimously regarded as a leading representative of direct action in the violent construction of that term, with heavy romantic and literary overtones. He appears to have been a railwayman and after he was sacked from his job he carried on collecting his wages every month at the point of a gun: he lived in Barcelona between 1913 and 1920 and was one of the men who took on Arlegui's terrorism, for which he was greatly persecuted: in 1920 he shot his way out of trouble and left for Bilbao (after a short stay in France) where he was wounded in a confrontation. He was taken to Barcelona and sentenced to two separate life terms. Released in 1931 after ten years behind bars which had taken its physical toll of him, he remained active (turning up in Zaragoza in 1936 as part of the working party dealing with libetarian communism). He was blown to pieces by a shell on the Pozoblanco front (1936?). There was another side to Elías: the literary side of him. He was one of the finest writers of his day, a lyricist of some quality and a good writer of articles, a lover of literature (which was no obstacle to his involvement in more demanding, daring and dangerous tasks) and his contributions to Solidaridad Obrera, Redención, La Revista Blanca and the Seville edition of Solidaridad Obrera were greatly praised. He was also an editor with Rebelión (Cádiz, 1919) and published several short novels. Author of: Johas el Errante, Cantigas de Montaña.. He used the aliases of

Aristarco and Leopoldine. Much emphasis has been placed upon Libertad Rodenas's role as his poetic muse.

287. GARDEÑAS, José. Born in Camarasa (other sources say Monistrol) from which he was driven out by the Civil Guard. Travelled through France and Argentina before resurfacing in Barcelona around 1919 as a quasi-anarchistic bohemian.. In 1919 he was jailed for attacking strike-breakers in Igualada. In the ensuing years he was frequently jailed (seven months in Barcelona between 1919 and 1920). A tireless reader and writer, he also addressed meetings (in Manresa in 1920 for instance) and was active with the shock groups deployed against the terrorism of the Sindicato Libre-employer-government alliance, living in poverty and feeding on whatever little he could make from selling anarchist newspapers on the streets. He virtually idolised Seguí (executing a Sindicato Libre member who had attacked El Noi del Sucre). Under the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, he was imprisoned and under the republic he displayed boundless daring and courage (disarming 3,000 members of the Somatén militia). However, the republic was not a pleasant experience for him in that he fell into bad company and wound up in jail again. Released in July 1936, he had lost much of his earlier idealism, not that that stopped him from fighting vigorously on the most dangerous barricade positions in Barcelona: his end, quite undeserved in terms of his credentials and past services, was thoroughly unexpected: the CNT had him shot in 1936 for holding on to some jewels seized from an abandoned apartment (it could well be said that the CNT wanted to make an example of him. As part of its power complex, perhaps?). Articles by him appeared in La Protesta, Acción Social Obrera and in lots of newspapers in the Americas.

288. CARRASQUER LAUNED, Félix. Albalate de Cinca 1905-

Born into a dyed-in-the-wool CNT family (two of his brothers are also well-known names), he moved to Barcelona at the age of 14. There he worked as a confectioner and baker and developed an interest in anarchist theorists

and education: from early on he was involved in the libertarian social movement's struggles. Around 1929 he made his way back to Albalate de Cinca, setting up a cultural group with its own library and school. This proved a great success, so he broadened his efforts to take in the whole comarca and this was to lay the groundwork for the strong CNT recovery in Aragon under the republic. At the same time he organised agricultural collectives and in 1933 had to flee to Barcelona (following the anarchist uprising in January that year) where he resumed his educational activities (despite the fact that he was by then almost totally blind). There were also self-management experiments at the Ateneo in Las Corts. A member of the FAI (serving on Sousa's peninsular committee), once the civil war began he took charge of the organisation of maternity services in Barcelona and at the start of 1937 he moved to Monzón where another of his great self-managerial and educational ventures saw the light of day: Aragon's School for Militants, the success of which was ended only by the Stalinists' repression of the Aragonese collectives. That signalled the start of a long peregrination as he persisted in trying to resurrect the School, in Albelda, Caspe, Barcelona, Llansá and San Vicente dels Horts. Later he joined the exodus of the defeated: spending four years in the camps at Vernet, Argelès and Noé (1939-1944). He then returned to Spain ready to help rebuild the CNT. He set up its Aragon regional committee and then the Catalan one (1946), serving as the general secretary on the latter; arrested in December 1946, he was released the following July, only to be rearrested in November (in Madrid, where he was Catalonia's delegate to a CNT national plenary). He was sentenced to 25 years of which he served 12 (in San Miguel de los Reyes and Carabanchel..) and was banned from living in Catalonia, so he crossed into France (helping with the reunification in Paris), settling in the Toulouse area as a farmer. He crossed into Spain on several occasions (as one of the leading lights behind the Solidaridad groups from 1966 onwards) and finally settled in Catalonia in 1970, playing a very active part in the reorganising of the CNT (attending the assembly in Sans). After the CNT's Fifth Congress, he sided with the breakaways but by 1982 was calling for

reunification. In latter years he became popular as a lecturer on his two especially favourite topics - self-management and education. He wrote articles for *Cultura y Acción*, *Solidaridad Obrera*, *La Revista Blanca*, *Solidaridad* and *Sindicalismo*. Author of: *Marxismo o Autogestión* (Barcelona 1977), *La Escuela de Militantes de Aragón* (Barcelona 1978), *Una Experiencia de Educación Autogestionaria* (Barcelona 1981), *El Anarcosindicalismo en el Siglo XX* (Barcelona 1978), and *Definición del Sindicalismo* (Barcelona 1977), articles written under the pen-name Carles Launed.

An opponent of anarchist radicalism, he described himself as an anarcho-syndicalist, emphasising the CNT's trade union and workerist facets. Like the vast majority of clandestine fighters in the 1940s he was profoundly critical of the Esglista wing of the exile community. Presently (1984) resides in Barcelona

289. ARCHS SERRA, Ramón.

Barcelona anarchist, son of Ramón senior, another anarchist, for many he symbolises the image of the activist, violent, radical anarchist, adamant in the face of all attacks from employers and government. Active in the social struggles from 1910 onwards, in which year he put the hard line into practice (opening fire on a machine manufacturer refusing to give way to a strike) and was obliged to flee to France. (In Paris he listened to Faure and linked up with the anarchist groups). He returned to Barcelona in 1918 and became the driving force behind the metalworkers' union and the best-known representative of standing firm under violent repression. In 1919 he was chairman of the metalworkers' union and was arrested on suspicion (he was credited with having had a hand in the attempt on the life of the employer Graupera). The following year he headed the CNT's clandestine Catalan regional committee, with firm backing from Gener. It was at around this point that he was credited with a huge number of operations against the gunmen from the *Sindicato Libre* and in the pay of the employers, as well as having a direct hand in the assassinations of Soldevilla and Dato.

The many precautions he used to take to elude police pursuit proved useless and in 1921 he was found dead (his body showed signs of torture) in a Barcelona street, most likely murdered by Arlegui's terrorists.

290. ARCHS SOLANELLES, Manuel. Igualada 1859-shot dead, Barcelona 1897.

Anarchist activist, a friend of Marbá and a member of Pallás's anarchist group. In Barcelona from 1875 on, he was involved in social strife (his presence was noted at the Unión Manufacturera congress in Sans in 1885). Arrested in connection with the Liceo bombing, he was rearrested in connection with the Cambios Nuevos bombing and, even though there was no evidence against him he was executed because it suited the government to impose "exemplary" punishment. A serious militant with a practical turn of mind, it is all but certain that it was through the Centro de Amigos in Igualada that he came to anarchism.

291. ABAYÁ, Francisco.

We have few details about Francisco Abayá, but enough to regard him as a labour militant interested in work matters and a believer in the commendability of organising. His activity covers a period of thirty years. Born in provincial Barcelona, he was a dyer by trade and external relations secretary of the Manresa local manufacturers' Union around 1872: in August 1872 he became co-founder and editor of the important review, *La Revista Social* and its editorial secretary for some years. Other sources have him helping with the leading publication *La Federación* (Igualada) during the 1880s and, more recently, with the early 20th century *El Trabajo* and *El Productor*. But there is a more interesting detail: in 1900 he headed the El Ter comarcal union and in that capacity called for the holding of an anarchist labour congress (this was the so-called Manlleu manifesto), a congress which, when finally it met, led to the creation of the New FTRE or FSORE.

292. LA VOZ DEL CAMPESINO. Title of several newspapers.

1. - From 1904, an anarchist newspaper, no place of publication given.
2. - Jerez, 1908, anarchist.
3. - Jerez, 1932, organ of the Cádiz comarcal agricultural workers' federation and spokesman for the future farmers' federation of Spain. Directed by Sebastián Oliva. Weekly publication.
4. - Organ of the Farmers' National Federation (FNA)-CNT. Launched on 15 November 1913 (by decision of the FNA congress in Córdoba), it had as its motto "The land to those who work it". Fortnightly. The FNA congress in 1916 decided that it should include an agronomic and scientific section and turned down the suggestion that it publish weekly. The 1916 congress decided to suspend its publication in order to give a boost to Solidaridad Obrera (in fact it was asked that Solidaridad Obrera should give space to agricultural matters once a week), but La Voz del Campesino resurfaced for a second run (the fifth FNA congress explained away its temporary disappearance as resulting from a dwindling of the federation; the line was taken that every member of the federation should support it in this second incarnation). The fact is that it seems to have been plagued with difficulties, because no federation was willing to assume the responsibility for getting it published. It appeared first in Barcelona (up until 15 July 1914), then published one issue in the Valls area (second fortnight in July) before finally moving to Jerez up until it died out in April 1916. There was a second run from November 1916 to 1919, also in Jerez. It was under the direction of Sebastián Oliva and its contributors included A. Rosado, Lorenzo, R. Salazar and Buenacasa.

293. FIRST CNT CONGRESS, Barcelona 1911.

Held over six sessions between 8 and 10 September 1911 in Barcelona (it seems there was a seventh, secret sitting dealing with the revolutionary situation). The congress opened with greetings from Negre: after which the credentials commission was appointed (Carreras, Ordinas, Feu, Vela, Belloque, Lacort and Magriñá). As well as the working parties tackling the various motions on the items on the agenda (the 19 items were grouped

together into four blocs). The first working party was made up of Permañer, Lacort, Ferrer, Belloque and Vela and it dealt with the organisational business of the CNT, the need for a labour daily newspaper, propaganda tours, organising women, and the appropriateness of the workers of Vizcaya having their own daily newspaper: the second working party comprised Garrigó, Crespo, Bach, Seguí and Herreros and it was to devise a motion on prisoners and victims of reprisals, congress costs, the intervals between congresses and representation at congresses. The third working party, with Guallarte, Tort, Costa, Bisbe and Martí, dealt with these themes - many-faceted syndicalism, the disabled, rational education and the position on sharing premises with politicians. A fourth working party was made up of Capdevila, Feu, Mayol, Vives and Avila and its task was to draft motions on piece-work, standardisation of wages, minimum wage and maximum working hours and collective work contracts. Then, after the platform party had been selected, communiqués were read from Lorenzo, Bueso and others, and Negre gave a reading to the memorandum on the work of the Federal Council in organising the CNT (among other things it was stated that the CNT had 140 unions and 26,571 members, plus another 3,000 in the throes of reorganisation, that Solidaridad Obrera's sales had climbed to 7,000 and that bitter bourgeois opposition had the backing of government militarism. The preliminaries ended with the sending of greetings to social prisoners, the strikers in Málaga and Vizcaya and the revolutionaries in Mexico. The associations and delegates attending the first session were: Alcoy (1 association, represented by Bernabeu): Alicante (1 association, Botella): Ayamonte (1 association, Feu): Badalona (1 association, Berver and T. Giménez): Baracaldo (the Ateneo sindicalista, Negre): Barcelona (40 associations, J. Perona, Bienzobas, R. Costa, R. Avila, S. Izquierdo, Recasens, J. Martínez, Gurni, Herrero, Muro, N. Sala, Rosellá, Samper, Tornes, V. Rubio, Susiachs, Seguí, Salud, Lostau, Cuscó, V. Sala, A. Borrás, J. Roca, Berenguer, Vives, Arrou, Carcellé, Santasusana, Turó, Cantó, F. Carreras, Cabedo, J. Moreno, Albert, Ricart, Gilbert, Guillantó, G. Martín, Planas, F. Vallés, A. Sala, Bizcanz, J. Solá, J. Ferré, Tort, J. Sánchez, Magriñá, Minguet, Fons, J.

Berenguer, Ribalta, Clots, Pujol, P. Sánchez, Sororra, Vigo, Panadés, Cubells, E. Ferrer, Bonavia, Vilanova, Duval, F. Canal, Castells, Ubach, Boix, Buxadé, J. Coll, Rius, Soler, Fernández, J. Durán, J. Miguel and E. Rius): Bilbao (1 association, Herreros): Blanes (1 association, Tonijuán): La Coruña (19 associations, Permañer): Ecija (1 association, Caldero): Gracia (1 association, Closas and Gudayol): Igualada (1 association, Bisbe): Málaga (2 associations, J. Oliva, F. Avila and S Rico): Olot (1 association, Bosch): Palma (1 association, Ordinas): Pueblo Nuevo del T. (1 association, Colominas): Puerto Real (1 association, Negre): Sabadell (4 associations, J. Borrel, Bach, Mario and Massó): San Martín (1 association, J. García and Font): Sans (1 association, Sardaños and Sala): Seville (1 association, Rico): Sueca (1 association, Maronda and J. Crespo): Tarrasa (6 associations, Mayol, R. Prat, Portell, Mestres, Soler, E. Fernández and Ferrer): Valencia (3 associations, Belloque, Muros, Garrigó and Vela): Vigo (1 association, Negre): Villafranca del Panadés (2 associations, Vals and Llopart): Villanueva y Geltrú (1 association, J. Ferré), Zaragoza (1 association, Giullarte, Lacort and Capdevila). In addition, messages of support were received from associations in La Coruña, Valencia, Lérida, Málaga, Palma, Algeciras, Castro del Río, Manresa, Tarrasa and Sabadell.

The accords passed were: - 1. - To organise the CNT on the foot of local and regional federations as well as through national trades federations. 2. - The need was registered to have a trade union daily newspaper and, by way of bringing this about, (after lots of debate) the decision was taken to "raise a minthly contribution of 10 céntimos from every member oiver a six month period." and to issue 9,000 one peseta shares "to whatever comrades might want them". 3. - As a matter of urgent necessity, propaganda tours would have to be organised without delay and the organising and costs of these would be left to those lobbying for meetings to be held. 4. - The organising of women was vital but, the view beng that there should be no centralised approach to this, the comrade members of the propaganda touring team would have a free hand in tackling it as they deemed fit. 5. - Membership dues were set at five céntimos, one céntimo of which would be

used to help those jailed over social matters and the remainder for other things, one of them to assist representative members of the Organisation who might find themselves imprisoned. 6. - In order to facilitate attendance at congresses by those federations in financial straits, the costs of congresses would be borne by all of the membership on a pro rata basis. 7. - Any resistance societies desirous of doing so might attend congresses, and might even have speaking rights, but only affiliated societies would have voting rights. 8. - Trade unionism employing a flexible strategy was rejected and direct action unionism alone endorsed. 9. - Associations of the jobless disabled were to enjoy the same rights but not the same duties as others (but would not be entitled to vote in debates on strike action). 10. - Rationalist schooling would be fostered by means of voluntary propaganda and contributions. Also, to ensure success in this, a preliminary investigation was to be made of the prospects, whereupon an experimental school would be opened in the location where the greatest number of children had enrolled. 11. - No effort was to be spared in preventing sharing of premises between a labour union and a political organisation. 12. - Standardisation of pay rates was welcomed, but before that, it was essential that standardisation be achieved among union members and the organisation strengthened. 13. - The CNT was to cherish its acquired freedoms and rights in that these were vital for its very operation: but, in the event of a political revolution not designed to effect a profound change to the situation, the CNT was to keep a watching brief, ready to seize its chances and channel things in the direction of economic revolution. 14. - Approval was given to the idea of setting a minimum wage and a maximum pay-rate (on the conditions laid out in the section on standardising wages). 15. - Piece work was condemned: to abolish it, a propaganda campaign would be mounted and whatever methods available to modern unionism were to be deployed. 16. - As for collective agreements "that is not a method for organisation and will merely do no harm as long as it is established on a basis of mutual recognition by both contracting parties" (bosses and unions). 17. - Once the CNT would have the same size of membership as the UGT, amalgamation

would be sought (on this basis: that the organisation would be federative and autonomous, and that tactical issues would be put to a referendum later..) 18. - The 1918 accords were endorsed as a means of protecting the proletariat from the consequences of the war. 19. - There would be a campaign for the eight hour day (there were different opinions on this count and the accord is unclear as to the means to be used: a general strike by the CNT or a strike by its regional federations..). 20. - The next congress would meet in Zaragoza, which was also fixed as the place of residence for the CNT federal committee.

Negre, Seguí, Avila, Herreros, Feu, Lacort and others were to be there at this congress.

294. THE FAI (from its foundation to 1939)

The FAI - the initials are those of the Federación Anarquista Ibérica (Iberian Anarchist Federation) was launched at a conference in Valencia in 1927. Its origins can be traced back to the tradition of the Bakuninist Alliance of the 19th century and in reality more or less organised anarchist groups had never ceased to exist. Among the factors encouraging the emergence of the FAI and by way of the immediate overtures to that, we may mention: 1. - The writings of López Arango and Santillán in favour of the *trabazón* (working arrangement) between the anarchists and the CNT and the elimination of reformists and Communists from CNT unions. Their work was done essentially from the columns of *La Protesta*.. 2. - The creation of the Catalanian Regional Federation of Anarchist Groups and the election of a national committee of anarchist groups covering the whole of Spain in 1922-23, at the instigation of the *Los Solidarios* group. 3. - The Lyon congress of anarchist groups in 1925 which agreed to launch a Federation of Spanish-speaking Anarchist Groups in France (which in turn held a congress in Marseilles in 1926, with the Catalanian and Andalusian anarchist federations in attendance). 4. - Publication in Blanes by Buenacasa in 1925, of *El Productor* which was to serve as a rallying point. 5. - The

reorganisation of anarchist groups in Catalonia and throughout the country in late 1925, as well as the appointment of a national committee of anarchist groups, headed by Miguel Jiménez. 6. - The anarchists' backlash against the trade union abuses of the Pestañists from Solidaridad Proletaria. 7. - The Portuguese anarchists' congress in Lisbon in 1927. 8. - The regional plenum of federations of anarchist groups in Catalonia in March 1927, which was well attended. More than an overture to it, this represented the beginnings of the FAI in that this gathering debated the agenda to be discussed at the Valencia conference. Thus the foundation of the FAI was nothing more than the culmination of an ambition widely shared by anarchists of the Iberian peninsula (including the fraction in exile in France).

All of which overtures bring us to the Valencia conference (25-26 July 1927) at which the FAI was formally launched. The conference was opened by Miguel Jiménez who reviewed the previous efforts. In attendance were the Spanish national federation of anarchist groups, the Andalusian and Catalanian regional federations, the Portuguese Anarchist Union (UAP), the CNT of Catalonia and of Levante, the Seine federation, the anarchist federations from Granada, Castellón, Alicante, Elda and Valencia, the secretary from the Anarchist International, as well as a variety of individuals and some groups: in addition, support was signalled from the Portuguese CGT, the national federation of Spanish-speaking anarchist groups in France, the IWA, a number of libertarian newspapers and several anarchist and anti-militarist federations, as well as individuals and groups. Of the decisions reached by the conference we would highlight the following: 1. - The FAI was constituted by the amalgamation of the National Federation of Anarchist Groups of Spain, the Portuguese Anarchist Union and the Federation of Spanish-speaking Anarchist Groups in France. It was to have a peninsular committee, staffed by each of these three organisations on a rotational basis. 2. - There would be a trabazón with the CNT, with both parties retaining full autonomy. 3. - It would take a hand in every aspect of life. And have a presence in every sort of anarchist organisation. 4. - It

would campaign against the dictatorships in Iberia. And take part in any uprising in order to channel it in the direction of the people's interests. Pacts with the politicians were ruled out. 5. - Together the CNT and the FAI would set up Prisoners' Aid Committees. 6. - The FAI would affiliate to the IWA and to the Anarchist International and work towards amalgamation of them both. 7. - A bulletin would be published. 8. - Confidence was expressed in anarchists' ability to shape a society founded upon anti-authoritarianism and federalism.

The following year, a CNT plenum agreed to the *trabazón* with the FAI, but the subsequent expansion in the FAI was not discernible until 1930, in which year Juanel took up the secretaryship of the peninsular committee of the new federation (FAI) and added considerably to the number of federated groups. By the time of the CNT congress there was no denying the strength of the FAI any more but it really came to the fore as a result of the developments that occurred at the beginning of the republic: the Law for the Defence of the Republic (December 1931), the emergence of *treintismo* (August 1931) and the re-emergence of *Los Solidarios-Nosotros*. From which point the FAI became the rallying point for all who opposed revisionism and reformism and, oblivious of its original role of promoting ideological depth and oral propaganda, it turned into a plainly revolutionary agency virtually specialising in uprisings and increasingly closely bound to the CNT (especially after the defeat of *treintismo* and the syndicalists 'pure and simple': *Solidaridad Obrera* was taken in hand and POUMist unions were expelled.) Milestones in the fortunes of the FAI were the Figols uprising (January 1932), and the more extensive January 1933 uprising (including the *Casas Viejas* episode), as well as the rising in Aragon (December 1933). The first of these seems to have been the exclusive handiwork of the FAI, whereas the second was more in the CNT orbit and in the third it was obviously a joint undertaking (with the FAI appointing Puente to the revolutionary committee in Zaragoza), symptomatic of the FAI's and CNT's turning into virtually a single entity.

In October 1933 the FAI met in a national plenum in Madrid (21 delegates

representing 569 groups and a membership of 4,839). It was stated in the peninsular committee's report that the FAI was assuming the responsibility for the latest uprising so as to spare the CNT the repression. It was also noted that the FAI was expanding. It was agreed that the CNT would be nudged in the direction of anarchism, the trabazón upheld in respect of the defence committees and prisoners' aid committees, that the struggle against the worsening capitalist economy should be escalated, abstentionism in the elections was urged along with armed insurrection in the event of a rightist victory, anti-militarism was to be stepped up, the specifically anarchist press expanded, the peninsular committee relocated to Zaragoza and a proposition on libertarian communism was to be drafted (this task was entrusted to Puente, José María Martínez, Carbó and Noja, but was never completed).

As agreed at the plenum, the FAI revolted in December 1933 and it may well be that that was the reason why neither the FAI nor the CNT (except in Asturias) were in any position to act in October 1934. With Abad de Santillán as secretary of the peninsular committee (replacing Juanel), along came the national plenum of January-February 1936 in Madrid. It was apparent there that the FAI's strength had been sapped by the dynamic of the fight it had waged (there were only 469 groups now) and it was agreed:

1. - To bolster oral propaganda and set about creating and federating new groups.
2. - Dues payments were set.
3. - Tierra y Libertad was to be the official voice of the FAI.
4. - The compact between workers and politicians (the Popular Front) was deplored and fascism, on the rise, was to be resisted.
5. - Anti-militarism was confirmed, with propaganda directed against military service and war opposed.
6. - The FAI would work towards the holding of a worldwide congress.
7. - Relations with the FIJL were to be examined.
8. - Anti-parliamentarism was endorsed (though not unduly stressed).
8. - CNT-FAI revolutionary committees were to be readied (these had four tasks: dealing with transport and communications, technical preparedness for fighting, industrial organisation and the articulation of revolutionary forces).

To be sure the abstentionism campaign was mild and the Popular Front won. And it is equally true that hard work went into the readying of revolutionary committees as 19 July and the fascist revolt would demonstrate.

With the civil war of 1936 underway, the CNT-FAI *trabazón* solidified and for months the FAI as such no longer existed and in fact up almost until the war's end the talk was more of the CNT-FAI or of the MLE than of the FAI proper. During the war the FAI's surefootedness in ideological terms broke down scandalously: two of the ministers in the Largo Caballero government were there on the FAI's behalf (Monyseny and García Oliver) and anarchist participation in institutions was the order of the day. The FAI peninsular plenum (valencia, July 1937) provided an object lesson in what had become of organised anarchism: it was decided there: 1. - That the war should be afforded priority over the revolution. 2. - To participate in all manner of public institutions. 3. - To tighten relations with the CNT and the FIJL. 4. - To devise a new organisational structure (doing away with the traditional affinity groups) requiring territorial organising and encouraging recruitment of non-anarchist personnel.. This, it has been said, was a plenum at which there was no talk of anarchism. Such decisions were accepted by the majority (with violent altercations only in the Barcelona local federation ranks) and were put into effect (albeit that dissenters were allowed to retain their affinity-based structures). What followed upon the plenum was the degeneration of the FAI: it joined the Popular Front, served on the Oliver-ist Executive Committee.. and even (through H.M. Prieto) moved that it convert itself into a political party.(This suggestion was, it is true, rejected, but the very fact that it should have come up for discussion at a national plenum of the MLE in October 1938 was serious enough by itself.) The jettisoning of ideas, tactics and goals, of everything, produced, logically enough, a boost to the membership figures: by the end of 1937 the FAI had 150,000 registered members.

Leaving the FAI of the civil war years (which was FAI in name only) to one side, we may say that the FAI's work was very important, that the vast

majority of the membership was made up of manual workers (with a tiny intellectual nucleus) and that its presence within the CNT had two purposes - annihilating Communist infiltrators and undermining reformist trends, on the basis that these were taken to be impediments to the normal functioning of the Confederation (the extent to which the FAI itself hindered that functioning has been open to very various interpretations). It would not be fair to argue that the FAI was a group that infiltrated the CNT and it would be more accurate to say that the FAI was an encrustation, a creature of the CNT itself in that the FAI was established by CNT personnel and its members were proletarians. The FAI might be seen as the organisation with which a large number of CNT personnel equipped themselves in the face of what they regarded as as a grave threat. It was founded upon the affinity group (usually between 3 and 10 members strong, bound by friendship and beliefs). These groups liaised with one another through local federations, comarcas federations and regional federations (with the relevant local, comarcas, regional and peninsular committees) and they were secret and clandestine: they did not operate openly and meetings were usually disguised as outings into the open countryside, and such meetings were under strong guard (faístas bore arms), which is why they were never raided (too dangerous). The FAI's stronghold was Barcelona and its environs: not that the FAI should be seen as a monolith: it embraced tendencies (revolutionary syndicalists and pure anarchists..). Even when it had its peninsular committee (its secretaries were Elizalde, García Oliver, Sousa, Santillán and Juanel), this had no power and the groups enjoyed a wide measure of genuine autonomy. The FAI was merely a modern version of something that has always been a factor in revolutionary labour: the anarchist idea pretty much attuned to the modern day: the FAI was largely nothing more than the Bakuninist Alliance from FRE-FTRE days, merely the turn-of-the-century federation of anarchist groups: it would have been absurd for anarchists to allow the CNT to fall into the clutches of people who had neither founded, nor strengthened nor defended it. The Alliance, the anarchist groups and the FAI were, in short,

the champions of the ideology of revolutionary labourism, the people who stopped Spanish revolutionary labour from turning into mere reformist trade unionism. It was telling that the FAI came to the fore whenever the air was heavy with danger, when there was the whiff of reformism and these anarchists sprang from within the CNT because they were inside the CNT .. it was just that when danger arose, anarchists organised themselves. None of the above, however, is any excuse for the FAI's harmful and disgraceful performance during the 1936-39 period, the darkest page in the history of anarchism.

295. FIRST SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA CONGRESS in Barcelona, 1908

The invitation to this congress was published in the newspaper of the same name on 29 May 1908 and it was held on the premises of the Centro Obrero in Barcelona, with large numbers of workers attending. The number of delegates as well as the number of associations in attendance is not known for sure (there are reports of between 130 and 150 delegates representing upwards of 100 associations and 25,000 members. Below, we offer the safest listing of delegates and associations). A number of schools of thought was represented: there were anarchists, socialists and republicans, which may well account for the moderation of some of the decisions arrived at.

The attendance was as follows: Badalona (1 association, represented by Campos and Freixa): Barcelona (57 associations, with Joan Rius, Menacho, Villalobos, Domingo, I. and J. Albert, Espinosa, J. Costa, F. Santamaría, A. Pascual, Ventura, Abayá, Grau, Fierro, Venanciano, F. Carreras, Robera, Sistane, M. Prats, Coll, J. García, Venages, Joan Rull, Escandell, Fius, Donate, Bañón, J. Durán, Perlasía, J. Román, Roselló, Demestres, J. Demestres, F. Mestres, T. Ferrer, Bonet, J. Esteve, Pedret, Ginés, Cuscó, Peña, Jané, Jové, Vallés, J. Moreno, M. Gómez, Cerveró, Closas, Tomás Herreros, Rodríguez Romero, Gelabert, Peron, J. Roig, Anglés, F. Anglés, J.M. Carreras, Bernades, Ferreté, Villalonga, Planas, Gandía, Campos, Gallinat, M. Roig, Badía, Baya, Mora, Climent, Sabaté, Capdearga, Seguí, Callifar, Córdoba, Baiges, Morales,

Serradell, Noya, Salas, Palos, Barba, Valcárcel, Fabrellas, L. Navarro, Paulis, Solano, Bernaus, Flotats, Miret, Martí, Estrada and Mateos): Blanes (2 associations, no delegates): Caldas (1 association, Castellet and D. Martínez): Calella (5 associations, Morales, Unalart, Alemany, Deulofeu and B. Coll): Capellades (1 association, Rubio): Cornellá (1 association, Pelegrín Moreno): Gerona (1 association, Fabra): Igualada (6 associations, J. Vilanova and Regordosa): Manresa (7 associations, Espinal, Coldefons, Menserré, Fabra, Comaposada, Vilajuana, D. Gómez): Mataró (4 associations, P. and J. Deulofeu, J. Coll, J. Rodríguez and Cots): Palafrugell (1 association, Bernabeu): Premiá (2 associations, Borrell, Bonell and Sis): Reus (14 associations, A. Fabra, P. Moguel, Freixas, J. Vidal, Mendoza, Ferré, Boué, Orios, Soronellas, Abelló and Palau): Roda (1 association, Castells and Aguilar): Sabadell (4 associations, Bosch, Comas, R. Vidad and Espinagosa): San Feliu de Codinas (1 association, Serratacó and Bernet): Tarragona (2 associations, Floresví and Llavera): Tarrasa (5 associations, Codina, G. Ferré and L. Mella): Vich (1 association represented by Surinach and Serra): Villafranca del Panadés (2 associations, Capellades and Castany): and Villanueva y Geltrú (1 association, represented by J. Ferrer). Of these delegates, Badía, Comaposada, Perlasía, Floresví and Fabra were socialists. From a review of the list of those attending, it emerges that the congress took in Catalonia only. Its main accords were: 1. - On fighting tactics for use in the event of strike, approval was given to a moderate text designed to limit wildcat strikes (in order to have any claim on solidarity from Solidaridad Obrera, the sector in dispute had to consult Solidaridad Obrera on the propriety of action and , if approval was forthcoming, it could count upon support from the entire organisation, but if not, it would have to shift for itself), whilst direct action was acknowledged as an essential method of struggle, not that recourse might not be had to others should the circumstances so require. 2. - The federation was made extensive to the entire region with the establishment of the Solidaridad Obrera Regional Confederation of Resistance Societies. 3. - The steering committee of Solidaridad Obrera undertook to draft statutes consonant with the

sentiments expressed at the congress. 4. - Personnel speaking on Solidaridad Obrera's behalf had to display no political or religious affiliations and make their stand on class struggle terrain. 5. - In order to affiliate, associations had to comprise solely of wage-earners, have no political or religious aims and espouse and class struggle. 6. - There was a demand for a five peseta minimum wage. 7. - There was to be a vigorous campaign for the eight hour day.

The congress was wound up on 8 September and the final session was addressed by Fabra Rivas, Jaime Anglés, José Rodríguez Romero and Miguel Villalobos.

The Solidaridad Obrera statutes (remarkably similar to the later statutes of the CNT) comprised 19 articles of which the following were the most outstanding. 1. - Solidaridad Obrera was being launched as a regional organisation with headquarters in Barcelona. 2. - Its aims were: to improve workers' conditions, foster their education, mutual aid, the creation of workers' associations, education in the exercise of solidarity for the purposes of social and economic emancipation. 3. - The means to encompass these aims were: union propaganda of socio-economic principles, scientific and rational education, labour organisation on the basis of the greatest possible autonomy. 4. - Intellectuals were acceptable but not in leadership roles. All workers were admissible. No political or religious association could belong to Solidaridad Obrera, any more than one inimical to its aims. 5. - Solidaridad Obrera would be administered by a 15-member central council (renewable at yearly intervals) appointed at a general assembly of the confederated associations of its place of residence. It was to comprise of three commissions (administration, propaganda-cultural and a newspaper commission). These would not be paid. In every locality there would be a three member liaison committee. 6. - Congresses would be held annually and extra-ordinary congresses would meet as required. 7. - There would be one vote per association. 8. - Members would pay dues of three céntimos per month.

This congress represented the first great stride towards the creation of what

would later emerge as the CNT. As in the old FRE, to begin with republicans and socialists had a foothold in it, albeit very much in the minority: the accords plainly indicate an anarchist majority, as well as a certain eagerness not to seem exclusive (assuredly because the priority at that point was to strengthen worker solidarity). It is tendentious to argue that the socialist presence was decisive, as well as to magnify its strength and it seems more reasonable to think that the socialists were essentially there to monitor and hamper the anarchist resurgence in labour circles.

296. MAURIAC PLENUM OF THE MLE IN FRANCE, 1943.

This was the first plenum of the CNT exiles in France that could be considered even slightly representative. The decision to hold it was taken at a sort of amplified national plenum of regionals held in L'Aigle in September 1942. It was held in the home of comrade Dositeo Fernández in Mauriac on 6 June 1942 and drew delegates from the organised nuclei of that time (in the Cantal department), plus Juanel and T. Pérez (also present, in addition to those two, were Heredia, Assens, J. García, Edo, F. Rodríguez, Berruezo, Galera, Renedo and Germán). Out of the Mauriac plenum came a L'Aigle-based liaison committee of the MLE in France, made up of Germán, Assens and Berruezo: it was also agreed that contact should be made with the membership scattered across France and that a resolution be drafted (with the passage of time it was to become famous and to provoke froctions) on future CNT activity. Juanel and Alaiz were left in charge of the drafting of it. And dues payments were fixed. Mauriac signalled the proper start of the rebuilding of the CNT in France.

297. TOURNIAC PLENUM OF THE MLE IN FRANCE, 1943.

After the Mauriac plenum, this was the second sizable gathering of CNT personnel in exile in France with the focus on the rebuilding of the CNT. It was held in the home of comrade Lucio Mondéjar in Tournac on 19 September 1943 and drew delegates from Laroquebrou, L'Aigle, Rhone, Hérault, Gard, Ardèche, Lozère, Montlucon, Ribedizaire, St Etienne,

Montauban, Isère, the Haute Loire, Savoy, Bouches-du-Rhone, Drome, Lorient, Aude and Marseilles. Among the decisions made were these: 1. - The accords of the St Etienne plenum were endorsed. 2. - The existence of the Libertarian Movement's General Council was to be ignored. 3. - Montpellier was selected as headquarters and Juanel appointed secretary with Antón as his assistant. In addition there were reports on contacts with the political parties and a reading was given to propositions from Juanel and Alaiz (both reports were approved, but, realising the significance their contents, the determination was that these should be scrutinised more thoroughly by the membership and a motion framed by the rank and file put a forthcoming plenum). The motions stated the following: anarchist principles needed updating, there was a request for a full programme of achievements, participation in future Constituent Cortes was recommended .. and doubts were expressed about the adequacy of direct action, whilst the unity of the anarchist movement was stressed, all after a rambling historical preamble. (This was the Juanel proposition, entitled "Motion on the Spanish Libertarian Movement's Tactics", dated August 1943). The second proposition (Alaiz's proposition) was entitled "Findings of the Motion on the Foundations and Tactics of Spanish Libertarian Movement" and this stated, after making a distinction between a-politicism and anti-politicism, and between party politics and municipal politics, that involvement in municipal politics (including elections) was appropriate. The Tourniac plenum signalled a complete victory for those advocating that the CNT adapt to the new reality, a victory therefore for revisionists, but without question, the very decision to postpone a decision upon future political activity suggested the existence of an opposition that was to grow with the passage of time.

298. ALBEROLA NAVARRO, José.

Very prestigious anarchist from the Aragonese CNT. A teacher by profession, he earned himself an outstanding reputation as a public speaker in the years before the war. In 1918 he ran the school in El Clot (also

known as the Farigola y Natura school). In 1922-23 he took part in a propaganda tour through Levante and also held rallies in Gijón. When the FAI was launched in Valencia in 1927, he joined the new organisation in an individual capacity. In 1930 he took part in a huge Barcelona rally alongside Companys, Rovira and Samblancat, calling for an amnesty for prisoners. Under the republic, he was part of the most anarchistic school of thought: at the Conservatorio congress (1931) he rejected federations of industry (he was present as representative of the unions of Gironella): in 1931-32 he taught at the rationalist school in Manresa. After the civil war began, he was educationa councillor on the Council of Aragon up until the Stalinist crack-down, at which point he joined the 127th Brigade. After the defeat of the republic, he went into exile and moved to Mexico (where he taught literature) and was murdered there in 1967. His articles appeared in *El Productor* (Blanes) and *Tierra y Libertad* (Mexico). Author of: *Interpretación Anarquista de la Revolución* (Lérida 1937). Father of the equally celebrated anarchist Octavio Alberola.

299. GONZÁLEZ MARCOS, Alfonso. Navalморal de la Mata 1865?-1950. Anarchist of unshakable beliefs, the leading light of anarchism and the CNT in Extremadura. Around 1916 he organised the CNT in his native town and was its axis for very many years. Under the republic, he carried out very intensive work on land occupation and was imprisoned (in 1933 at least). Seriously wounded during the civil war, he was arrested at the end of it and jailed until 1943 in Cáceres and was later banished to Talayuelas. Returning to Navalморal, he set up a book stall and rejoined the underground striggle and was jailed again (charged with unlawful propaganda and supporting the guerrillas). At the age of 84 he was expelled from Navalморal but returned after six months only to die a few months later. He is an example of the tough and very tenacious CNT militant (serving 18 years in jail) who sustained so many unions in hostile surroundings.

300. BANDERA ROJA. Title of several newspapers of libertarian persuasion.

1. - Madrid 1888-89, 20 issues. Articles by Urales, Reclus, Herzen and Bakunin. Written by Borrel and Ernesto Álvarez. Anarcho-collectivist weekly.
2. - La Coruña, 1987-88.
3. - Barcelona, 1917, five issues.
4. - Barcelona, 1919, anarchist paper written by Fortunato Barthe. Assuredly the mouthpiece of the revolutionary syndicalist group from the Calle Vallespín.

301. LÓPEZ ALARCÓN, Enrique. Málaga 1881, died in America, 1948. Writer and journalist quite well known during the years leading up to the civil war. From 1936 on he was in the service of the CNT (whether he had had any relationship with it before then, we cannot say). On the editorial staff of many newspapers such as El Nuevo Evangelio, El Intransigente, El Mundo, La Mañana, La Época, and was editor-in-chief of La Tribuna. In 1909 he reported on the war in Morocco. A good poet - friendly with León Felipe - in the style of the modernism of Rubén Darío, he published Constelaciones and some famous sonnets (such as the celebrated Soy Español) and was also a distinguished playwright, his main creations being La Tizona (1915, in partnership with R. Godoy). Other works include Romancero Caballeresco (1933-34) and Gerineldo (a verse drama). In 1936 he helped assemble CNT newspaper in Madrid and was later on the editorial staff of Solidaridad Obrera, as well as having his poetry published in Fragua Social. After the defeat of the republic he went into exile.

302. EI OBRERO MODERNO. Title of several newspapers.

1. - Murcia, 1901-04, anarchist. May also have appeared towards the end of the 19th century.
2. - La Línea de la Concepción, 1901, anarchist.
3. - Igualada, 1 May 1909 to 1918, fortnightly. Editorial team made up of Regordosa, J. Ramón, Agustín Siñol and José Vilanova, with contributions from Carbonell and José Prat. In a later phase as a monthly publication, its editors included Ramón, Ferrer and Barthe. It brought out 81 issues,

punctuated by several interruptions. It was the organ of the workers' associations of the Igualada comarca.

303. BAJATIERRA, Mauro. Madrid anarchist born around 1889, he perished in the fight against fascism in that city in April 1939.

Son of a baker, he too became a baker (affiliated to the UGT like the rest of the trade, even though he was a fervent anarchist). He was greatly admired by bakery workers because he went on strike in spite of the fact that his own father had his own business. He was a great reader and had literary tastes. He travelled through half of Europe (and spoke French and German) and was the driving force behind anarchism in Madrid for very many years, operating essentially out of the Centro Federal in the Calle Aguilera. And was frequently jailed. His literary tastes led to his launching countless publications (such as Nueva Senda and El Quijote..), trying his hand at children's literature and even writing novels and plays. As an anarchist militant he was chairman of the workers' and labourers' federation, representing it at the Villanueva y Geltrú congress of the FNA (in 1916) and at the congress in El Ferrol in 1915. In 1915 he attempted to bring the federation into the FNA, to which end he moved to Córdoba (seizing the opportunity to hold meetings and give talks in Montoro, Bujalance, Espejo, Castro and Córdoba). He also took part in the national propaganda drive in 1918 as well as making the preparations for the La Comedia congress (which he attended and signed up to the anarchist document). He also took part in a tour to spread anarchist ideas in the Peñarroya basin (in the autumn of 1919). He was jailed briefly in connection with the assassination of Dato (1922) and also spent prison under Primo de Rivera. Under the republic, he was outstanding as a public speaker and controversialist (he hated demagoguery and cheap practice) and by the time of the civil war had come to symbolise the war correspondents of the anarchist press (CNT, Solidaridad Obrera, Catalunya, El Frente, Fragua Social) and seems to have been director of Frente Libertario. Come the fascist victory, he refused to quit Madrid and perished there in a gun-battle with the victors. Author of:

Fuera de la Ley, Crónicas del Frente de Madrid (Barcelona 1937), La Guerra de las Trincheras (Barcelona 1937?), Crónicas de Guerra (Valencia 1937), ¿Quiénes Mataron a Dato? (Barcelona 1931), Desde las Barricadas. Una Semana de Revolución en España. Las Jornadas de Madrid en Agosto de 1917 (Tortosa 1918), La Violencia Social-Fascista (Madrid, no date), Los Ateneos Libertarios (Madrid, no date), Canciones Anarquistas (Madrid, no date). An anarchist militant in a comarca where they were scarce on the ground, a confirmed bachelor, a teetotaler in a trade - the bakery trade - renowned for its fondness for wine, and a pacifist - even if he has gone down in history in quite a different light - he was an enthusiastic organiser.

304. BEJARANO, Benigno.

Anarchist writer and journalist of some quality. All that we know about him is the following: after a short journalistic apprenticeship, he turned up in the CNT press and from 1931 on stood out as a lively and ironic story-teller and novelist. He used the pen-name Lazarillo de Tormes. Author of: La Huella Heráldica (1931), El Secreto de un Loco (1931), Fantasmas (1932), El Fin de una Expedición Sideral (1932), Turistas de España (1932), Conspiradores (1933), España, Cuña de la Libertad (Valencia 1937), La Revolución (Valencia 1937), España, Tumba del Fascismo (Barcelona, no date), Apuntes de un Beligerante (Barcelona 1937), Enviado Especial (Barcelona 1938) and Les Morts ne vous Pardonnet Pas (unpublished).

305. ZIMMERMANN, Carlos. Andalusian CNT member who died in exile in Lyon in 1979.

Enjoying some prestige in the years immediately preceding the civil war of 1936, he stood out in Andalusia as a public speaker and organiser: in 1933 he was imprisoned and during the civil war he opposed Rosado's quasi-marxist policy with regard to the collectives in Jaén and headed the Jaén provincial union federation and its war committee. Jailed at the end of the civil war, he was paroled in 1945 and immediately joined the underground struggle (serving as secretary of the Andalusian CNT). Later he left for

France. In his latter years he contributed to the review *Mujeres Libres* and espoused the arguments of the minority CNT (attending the Narbonne conference in 1977).

306. ESTUDIOS.

One of the most enduring and prestigious reviews associated with anarchism. It boasted excellent literary and artistic contributors. Its roots can be traced to Alcoy in 1923 when publication of *Generación Consciente* began.

Generación Consciente moved to Valencia in 1925 and retained that title until 1928. From 1919 until 1939 it was published in Valencia as *Estudios*. It printed somewhere between 65,000 and 75,000 copies and its sub-title was "Eclectic Review". Its aim was to provide splendid and useful tips towards a rational, healthy, free and happy existence, on the basis that ignorance lay at the root of all misery. It stood out particularly for its campaigns in favour of sex education and the emancipation of women. Its contributors included Renau, Monleón, Noja, Puente, Martí, Remartínez, Alcrudo, Orobón, Arias, Martínez Rizo, Santillán, Leval, Carsí, Dionysios, Rocker, Cano, Ryner, Pereira, J.M. Martínez.. In association with the review there was a library offering a wide range of authors and titles of interest to anarchists.

307. GUILLÉN, Abraham. Corcuera (Guadalajara) 1913-

A French polisher in his native town and student in Madrid (on a scholarship awarded by the republic), he joined the Libertarian Youth at an early age and was also a member of the CNT and FAI. During the civil war he served as commissar with the 14th Division and the 4th Army Corps (under Mera's command). The end of the war found him in Alicante where he was arrested: sentenced to death, he featured in two escape bids (the first from the Aranjuez labour camp), the second of which succeeded: in 1945 he escaped from Carabanchel and, with the aid of a tribe of libertarian gypsies, crossed into France. His time in exile began in France and he later lived in Argentina, Uruguay and, for a time, in Cuba. An economics graduate, he taught political economy in Buenos Aires, was economic

advisor to the Uruguayan University of Labour and served with the ILO in Peru as an international expert in self-managerial economics and cooperative development. After Franco's death, he returned to Spain and during those years he distinguished himself as a lecturer associated with the libertarian movement. He has become popularly known as an expert in urban guerrilla warfare techniques, multinationals, self-management and matters relating to the Spanish civil war and the degeneration of communism. Prior to his going into exile he had been an editor with *Juventud Libre*, the FIJL paper and director of the Iron Column's newspaper, *Nosotros*. He also contributed to numerous newspapers in the Americas (as a commentator on economics and international politics in the Peruvian and Argentinian press) and to the libertarian press including *Tierra y Libertad* (Mexico), *Historia Libertaria*, *Bicicleta* and the breakaways' CNT.. Many regard him as the inventor of urban guerrilla warfare and experiments therein in the Americas (like the Tupamaros and Uturuncos). He has written a huge number of books: *Revalorización de la Guerrilla Urbana* (Mexico 1977, in partnership with Hodges), *Socialismo de Autogestión. De la Utopía a la Realidad* (Montevideo 1971), *24 Años de Economía Franquista* (Buenos Aires 1964), *La Élite del Poder en España* (Montevideo 1968), *Historia de la Revolución Española* (Buenos Aires 1961), *El Error Militar de las Izquierdas* (Barcelona 1980), *El Capitalismo Soviético* (Madrid 1979), *La Guerra. España 1936-39* (unpublished), *Radiografía del Plan Prebisch* (Buenos Aires 1956), *El Destino de Hispanoamérica* (Buenos Aires 1952), *El Imperialismo del Dólar* (Buenos Aires 1962), *La Agonía del Imperialismo* (Buenos Aires 1957), *Monopolios y Latifundios contra la Economía Argentina* (Buenos Aires 1956), *La Oligarquía en la Crisis de la Economía Argentina* (Buenos Aires 1956), *Uruguay: País en Crisis* (Montevideo 1966), *La Segunda Revolución Española* (Montevideo 1965), *ITT-IBM en España* (Madrid 1977), *El Cooperativismo Peruano, Integración y Desarrollo* (Lima, no date), *La Propiedad Social, Modelo Peruano de Autogestión* (Lima 1976), *La Colonización Financiera del FMI* (Buenos Aires 1973), *La Caída del Dólar* (Montevideo 1972), *Philosophy of the Urban Guerrilla* (New York 1973), *La*

Década Crítica de América Latina (Montevideo 1972), Democracia Directa (Montevideo 1970), La Rebelión del Tercer Mundo (Montevideo 1969), Desafío al Pentágono (Montevideo 1969), Pesca Industrial y Desarrollo Económico (Montevideo 1969), Estrategia de la Guerrilla Urbana (Montevideo 1965), Dialéctica de la Política (Montevideo 1967) and El Dilema Económico de América Latina (Montevideo 1967)

308. MONTOLIU SALADO, Luis. Aragonese CNT militant, died in Mexico in 1962.

A railwayman, in 1930 he served on the rail union's national committee and was a member of the CNT national committee from 1934 to 1935. On the outbreak of civil war he was in Valencia where he struck up a friendship with Enrique Marco Nadal: during the civil war years he served on the national railways council and was a technical advisor at the ministry of public works, as well as serving as councillor for transport on the General Council of Aragon (January 1937). He was also a member of the national sub-committee in Valencia in the closing days of the war. Arrested in Alicante (March 1939), he was sentenced to death; he was freed from prison in April 1946 and settled in Madrid. At the start of 1947 he agreed to accept a portfolio (the ministry of Information) on the CNT's behalf in Llopis's republican government-in-exile to which end he crossed into France the same year. He espoused a collaborationist line...

309. GONZÁLEZ INESTAL, Miguel. Salamanca, 1904 (?).

Emigrated to France at an early age. Returned to Spain in 1922 and joined the CNT, playing an active part in wrangles within the trade unions. He spent two years in prison in Madrid under Primo de Rivera's dictatorship. Under the republic he distinguished himself in organising the Madrid construction union, his enthusiastic contribution to which earned him several prison terms: in 1932-33 he organised the CNT's fishermen's union in Pasajes (with its 2,000 members) and founded the fishermen's federation in the North: in 1934 he took part in a propaganda tour of the Canaries

with Ricardo Sanz. He attended the Zaragoza congress in 1936 and took a soft line on the electoralism back in 1931. After the civil war broke out, he fought in San Sebastián (serving as commissar for communications and transport on its Defence Junta) and subsequently moved back to Madrid where he was sub-commissar general for war with the land forces as well as representing the CNT on the central high command. In 1937, he took part in rallies organised by the FAI to 'sell' the new structure adopted at the famous plenum in Valencia that year; the following year (at the national plenum of regionals of the Libertarian Movement in Barcelona in October) he defended the work of the war commissariat and deplored the lack of understanding displayed by considerable numbers of CNT personnel. As the war continued he became increasingly an advocate of the revisionist line: participation in government, discipline, militarisation .. Following the collapse of the Catalan front and the capture of Barcelona, he left for France, beginning a lengthy period in exile that took him to the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Bolivia and Chile. He returned to Spain in 1970, keeping up his interest in trade union matters; from 1975 to 1977, he seemed closely tied to the review *Sindicalismo*, even when it espoused a line contrary to the CNT. Following the split in the CNT in 1979, he aligned himself with the breakaways, giving talks to their membership. Author of: *Cipriano Mera, revolucionario* (Havana 1943) and *La Toma de Teruel* (Barcelona 1938).

310. TOULOUSE, NATIONAL PLENUM OF REGIONALS OF THE SPANISH LIBERTARIAN MOVEMENT IN FRANCE, 1944

Whenever the libertarian movement is confronted with crises and tension, plenum follows fast upon plenum, which is why, scarcely had the Muret plenum finished in March than another plenum was scheduled for June 1944. The latter was challenged by the sub-committee in Bordeaux (which summoned another one on its own authority) and after some toing and froing along came this national plenum of regionals in Toulouse, 5-13 October 1944, held amid the euphoria following the defeat of Nazism. Its agenda included: reports from the national committee and the regional

committees, a report from the delegation inside Spain, approval or rejection of contacts designed to establish an Antifascist Alliance, the stance of the Bordeaux national sub-committee vis à vis the national committee. It was attended by delegates from the free and the occupied zones, as follows: from the Perignan area, 4 delegations; from Toulouse, 4: from Cantal, 2: from Lyon, 2: from Grenoble-Isère, 2: from Marseilles, 2: from Bordeaux, 2: from Nevers, 2: from Orléans, 1: from Brittany, 1: from La Rochelle, 1: and from the Paris region, 3. Plus the Bordeaux national sub-committee, the full national committee of the MLE and a delegation from the UGT's coordinating committee.

The plenum resolved: 1. - To do away with the division into free and occupied zones. 2. -To participate in a government that would guarantee the achievements of 1936-39. 3. - To collaborate loyally with antifascists in order to defeat Franco. 4. - To favour autonomy for the regions of Spain. 5. - To do away with compulsory military service. 6. - To bring the exiles and the CNT in the interior into line with each other. 7. - To endorse the work of the national committee. 8. - To expel the officers of the CNT faction within the UNE (a puppet of the PCE). 9. - To endorse the accords of June 1943 forbidding members of the MLE's General Council from taking up their posts until such time as they might give an account of their stewardship. 10. - To elect a new national committee, with Juanel as secretary, flanked by E. Campos, Merino and Torres. The plenum closed with a rally at the Bourse du Travail, chaired by Chueca and addressed by Merino, Carreño, Buenacasa, Malsand, Berto and other French trade unionists plus UGT personnel.

The plenum signalled an undeniable victory for the possibilists and reformists (the crucial propositions had been drafted by a working party made up of Alaiz, Malsand, Chueca, Marín, Granell, Casanova and Merino). However, that victory was to be very short-lived. A very violent backlash reupted shortly afterwards and in quite unexpected fashion. Every one of the signatories to the decisive proposition, excepting Malsand, emphatically renounced their support for it. Thus, the Toulouse plenum was yet another

of the ups and downs of the libertarian movement of the day, on this occasion working to the advantage of the moderate supporters of espousing the guidelines laid down by the clandestine CNT within Spain.

311. GARCÍA BIRLÁN, Antonio. Fuentevaqueros (Granada) 1891.

Anarchist and CNT militant from Granada who became popular under the pseudonym of Dionysios and especially distinguished himself as an intellectual, publicist and journalist. He shows up around 1915 teaching in a workers' school in Castro del Río and soon became famous as a contributor to the anarchist press and also as an editor and director of important titles. He ran the Revista Nueva in Barcelona in 1925, ran Mañana in Barcelona in 1930 and was a leading member of the editorial team of Tierra y Libertad (which he ran), served on Solidaridad Obrera's staff during the Pestaña years and was director of Estudios in Valencia.. During the civil war of 1936-39 he held positions of responsibility on the Generalitat's Council of Economy (in charge of press and paper in August 1936) on behalf of the FAI and was councillor for Health for the Catalan government in September that year. In 1938 he was one of those commissioned by the CNT to lobby Azaña to depose Negrín and throughout this period he was director of La Vanguardia in Barcelona. At the end of the war, he also served on the controversial General Council of the MLe established in Paris (March 1939). In exile he directed Tiempos Nuevos and Cénit (Toulouse 1956), was an editor with Solidaridad Obrera and administrator with CNT: later he moved to the Americas until, at the start of 1983, he returned to Barcelona from Buenos Aires, by then a very old man. During the Primo de Rivera dictatorship he lived in Barcelona (in 1925 he was working for a publishing house and in 1928 he popped up as a member of the Solidaridad group). He was a prolific writer (upwards of a hundred titles unpublished) and articles by him may be found in Tierra y Libertad (in Spain and in Mexico), Solidaridad Obrera, Solidaridad Obrera of Gijón, Almanaque de Tierra y Libertad, Solidaridad Obrera (Paris), etc. Author of: Resultados de la Guerra (Barcelona, no date), El Anarquismo, Sus Doctrinas, Sus Objetivos

(Barcelona 1934), *El Sindicalismo, Sus Orígenes, Sus Tácticas, Sus Propósitos* (Barcelona 1934), *¡A la Lucha!*, etc., as well as compiling and writing forewords to a series of anthologies including *El Amor y la Amistad*, *La Historia, Cultura y Civilización*, *La Libertad, Pueblos y Razas*, *Ciencia y Filosofía*, *El Estado, la Patria y la Nación*, *Progreso y Evolución*, *El Hombre y la Mujer* and *Los Europeos*, all of them published in Paris-Buenos Aires (by *Americalee-Solidaridad Obrera*) in 1954.

Even though it has been claimed that García Birlán was no CNT member, but rather a *faísta*, up until the civil war, such claims must be repudiated in that we find him serving on the CNT national committee under Peiró in 1928-29.

312. LA PROTESTA HUMANA. Title of several anarchist newspapers.

1. - Anarcho-communist newspaper, Barcelona, 1886. One of the earliest of anarcho-communist papers.
2. - Buenos Aires, 13 June 1897 to November 1903. The original title of what went on to become simply *La Protesta*. Weekly paper. It emerged at a time when anarchism on the banks of the River Plate was in the throes of debating whether anarchists should or should not be organised. The group that launched it included Inglán Lafarga (a Spanish anarchist), its founder, Arana, Creaghe and Prat (who was living in Buenos Aires at the time). It set itself the goal of opposing the bourgeoisie and authoritarianism and defending the anarchist ideal. Its first director was Inglán (for five years) and he was followed by Basterra, Valenzuela and Creaghe. There were outstanding contributions by Inglán, Prat and Pellicer Paraire, as well as a famous controversy with the anarcho-individualists of *El Rebelde*. From 1901 on it argued the case for getting involved in labour matters and indeed it became the mouthpiece of the FOA-3rd Congress (its print-run rising to 8,000 copies and switching to daily publication when its name was changed to *La Protesta*). Occasionally greatly harassed, it endured suspension from November 1902 to January 1903. It offered numerous pertinent theoretical texts of anarchist persuasions, as well as carrying lots of news about

anarchism in the Americas. Like many another libertarian platform, it had a Library (Biblioteca) in its name, in which series writings by Merlino, Clemens, Basterra, Grijalbo and others saw publication.

313. CIVERA MARTÍNEZ, Marín. Valencia 1900-Mexico 1975.

Carried out important work among the proletariat during the 1930s, particularly in spreading economic and trade union expertise, in which fields he was an expert (streets ahead of the average in those days). He was director of Cuadernos de Cultura in which he published sixty studies on economic, trade union and other topics of interest to workers. He was also director of the important review Orto (which he had founded). A CNT member he followed Pestaña when the latter launched the Syndicalist Party, of which he became an outstanding theorist, contributing to its newspaper (El Sindicalista). After defeat in the civil war he left Spain for exile and settled in Mexico, working for publishers and on several publications (especially on Mediterrani). Civera was one of the most outstanding representatives of the syndicalist current. He saw the trade union as the revolutionary agency best suited to a synthesis and marriage of the best elements of marxism, liberalism and anarcho-syndicalism, after the style of Besnard and Cornelissen (whom he did his best to popularise). Author of: El Socialismo (Valencia 1930), El Sindicalismo y la Economía Actual (Madrid 1936), España contra el Fascismo (Madrid, no date, but 1937), La Política del Porvenir (Madrid 1928), La Formación de la Economía Política (Valencia 1930), El Marxismo (Madrid 1930), El Sindicalismo. Historia, Filosofía, Economía (Valencia 1931), Sociología y Biología, Introducción a la Economía Política, Economía y Diplomacia, Cómo Aprender a Respetar al Hombre, Rebelión del Hombre, Presencia del Hombre, etc.

314. ÁLVAREZ FERRERAS, Félix. Velaux (Bouches-du-Rhône, France) 1921 - Son of parents who came from León, he attended school in Tolosa and France and was attracted to anarchism at an early age. When virtually still a boy, he fought in the Spanish revolutionary war in 1936 in Bilbao and later

in Aragon until, after defeat at Franco's hands, he crossed into France via Puigcerdà (in February 1939). In France he endured the inevitable concentration camps (Bourg-Madame, Septfonds and Gurs) and when the second world war erupted he was drafted into the labour companies. After a number of adventures he emigrated to Canada in 1956 and there, after some initial problems, he settled in Calgary (Alberta) where he currently keeps the libertarian and CNT torch aloft, essentially through his intense propaganda efforts in the shape of the publication of two famous titles (Escuela Moderna and Piedra y Alarido), of which nearly a hundred editions have been published to date (1984). A remarkably cultured polyglot, he helped with the Spanish language edition of the Enciclopedia Anarquista (published in Mexico) and has written for Espoir, Le Combat Syndicaliste, Tierra y Libertad (Mexico), Reconstruir (Buenos Aires), Ruta (Caracas), Cénit, Umbral, Ideas, CNT (Madrid), as well as for many other literary publications (such as Clarín, El Eria, Boreal, Gemma) and has also assisted on a number of movies and on Canadian television. Author of: Vicisitudes de la Lucha, Las Maravillas de los Países Socialistas Autoritarios, Caminos para la Revolución Ibérica, El Porvenir del Pensamiento Libertario (the latter in conjunction with Campio Carpio). More recently, in Calgary (1975) he published Vicisitudes de la Lucha (Espistolas de Libertarios Ilustres a través del Mundo), a demonstration of his many connections in the anarchist camp. As a CNT militant, far removed from the larger clusters of CNT membership, he has held no positions of any prominence, but is a staunch militant of the Canadian group alongside Rebordosa and others. In his days in France he was active in the MLE-CNT in the Massif Central.

315. ACCIÓN. Title used by several anarchist reviews and newspapers.

1. - Barcelona, February to August 1930: ceased publication when Solidaridad Obrera reappeared. Editorial team included Alfarache, Juan López, Pestaña, Foix and Roigé. Organ of the syndicalists (Solidaridad group) bent upon countering the faísta influence. Weekly.

2. - La Coruña, 1908, anarchist. Three issues published. Texts by Hamon,

Paraf-Javal, Hervé and others.

3. - Cádiz, 1930.

4. - Marseilles, 1946. Libertarian Youth publication.

5. - Paris 1925. Spanish exiles' review. Under the management of, and carried texts written by Orobón Fernández.

316. (La) BANDERA SOCIAL. Title of several Madrid anarchist newspapers.

We cannot vouch for the existence of the first two mentioned below.

1. - Madrid 1878.

2. - Madrid 1888, anarchist.

3. - Madrid, 15 February 1885 to 21 January 1887, 96 issues published.

Anarcho-collectivist weekly directed by Ernesto Álvarez. It carried inserts, pro-anarchist manifestoes, commemorating the Paris Commune, plus portraits of Serrano Oteiza and Morago, and writings by Bakunin, Kropotkin and Meslier. Contributors included Ernesto Álvarez, Salvochea, Nieva, Lorenzo and others.

317. COMUNIDAD IBÉRICA. Publication (normally quarterly) of the CNT exiles (the reformists).

Mexico, 1962-1971. Its last edition was No 49-50 (a fair number of the issues were doubles). Initially under the direction of Alfarache, replaced after his death by Miró (March 1964), its editorial and administrative team included J. García, A. Hernández, F. Subero, Villanueva and Francisco Romero. Well-presented, its print-run hovered between 1,000 and 1,500 copies. It dealt extensively with CNT business, culture, literature and reviews of socio-political books, news from Spain, etc. Its many contributors included Royer, Sabatier, Sandoz, Ordax Avecilla, Abad de Santillán, Campio Carpio, Víctor García, González Malo, Berruezo, Juan López, Sender, García Durán, Peirats, Civera, Noguera, Muñoz, Leval, Foix, Juanel, Borraz, Magriñá, Relgis.. An important review.

318. CARABAÑA, National Plenum of Regionals, 1945.

Held clandestinely in Carabaña (Madrid) it was prefaced by a widespread campaign to get the regional, comarcal and locals committees and prisoners to give their opinion on an agenda that was regarded as being of grave concern. Summoned by the underground national committee, the plenum was essentially designed to establish the political stance of the CNT of the Interior with regard to the new situations developing (the establishment of the Cortes in exile in Mexico, dissent among the CNT exiles..), and there was also coincidence that the down fall of Francoist rule was imminent. The plenum was held from 12 to 16 July 1945 and was attended by delegations from every one of the regionals (except Asturias), the FIJL and the entire CNT national committee.

There was a full report on the Paris congress and on the situation in the interior (going back to March 1944), as well as on relations with the UGT and the ANFD. Among the accords reached, let us highlight the following:

1. - A positive view was taken of the creation and operation of the ANFD as the most suitable instrument for all anti-Francoists to use in toppling the fascist regime, even if its programme was not wholly to the liking of the MLE. The reference in said programme to the 1931 Constitution as a benchmark was regarded by the MLE as merely a ploy designed to favour diplomatic contacts.
2. - The presence of rightwing republicans within the ANFD was rejected.
3. - The ANFD was considered the only organ of resistance to Franco at the time and as a prospective government of the nation.
4. - Ant government set up in exile was repudiated.
5. - The MLE staked its claim to the most constructive ministries. But it would in any case accept whichever it was offered.
6. - Those regions which had enjoyed it prior to March 1939 were to recover their autonomy, but separatist policies were to be resisted. The CNT would take its place in such regional bodies.
7. - A Consultative Assembly would be set up to advise the government.
8. - There were to be popular courts (which would act inexorably).
9. - Victims of fascism were to be compensated and indemnified.
10. - Army discharges: vacancies were to be filled with military loyal to democracy and to the republic.
11. - Ranks held by fighters in the militias were to be recognised.

12. - The Church was to be brought to book. 13. - Relations with the UGT were to be strengthened. 14. - The Inter-Continental Conference called by the CNT-In-Exile was rejected as a "captious gathering". Instead, the exiles were inviting to visit Spain to see the reality for themselves. 15. - The creation of a political party or similar agency "to take the place of the FAI" was ruled out. 16. - Broto was appointed as the new general secretary. 17. - CNT was to be improved and turned into a weekly publication. 18. - The posts of secretary and vice-secretary of the national committee would carry an emolument of 1,000 pesetas a month. 19. - National Federations of Industry were to be set up. Similarly, the plenum dealt with the a-politicism of the bulk of the CNT in exile, who were to be shown understanding, albeit that it was to be hammered home that a reversion to the situation as it was in 1931 seemed to offer slight recompense for the CNT after so much blood had been shed.

Analysis of these accords leads us to the following conclusions: a) There was a firm belief that the immediate downfall of Francoism was imminent (hence the references to the republic to succeed it). b) There was a markedly political tone to the accords. c) There was a preoccupation with ensuring that power would not shift to the exiles (hence the championing of the ANFD and the rejection of possible governments-in-exile in Mexico or France. This was a very serious matter in that it implied a complete break within the CNT when, heedless of these accords, the CNT was to enter the republican government-in-exile established in Mexico City).

The remarkable politicism of the proceedings has been a matter of much controversy and has been variously interpreted; those who defend it see it as the inevitable facing up to the realities inside the country and therefore are dismissive of the criticisms coming from the exiles (what with the exiles having things easy and knowing nothing of the harsh reality of the clandestine struggle and bitter allusions were made to repentant 'a-politicians'): its challengers looked upon this plenum as a crude gauntlet thrown down to the (mostly a-political) CNT exile community, a betrayal of principles and, in short, the spark that made a breakdown in anarchist

circles an inevitability.

319. FOIX CASES, Pedro Carlos José (Pere Foix). Born in Torà de Riubregós, 1893.

As a very young man he emigrated to Argentina but by 1913 was back in Barcelona. It seems that he deserted from the navy and went off to Paris (collaborating in the anarchist press there in 1919 and turning up in 1921 as the CNT's delegate in a campaign against repression). On his return to Barcelona he was arrested and taken to Cartagena, but jumped the ship to which he had been assigned in Dakar (1923) and returned to Paris. He crossed back into Spain surreptitiously under the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and took part in plots against the dictator and was frequently arrested (on at least seven occasions), the longest from December 1924 until March 1925. In 1928-29 he served on the CNT national committee headed by Peiró and the following year was on the editorial staff of Solidaridad Obrera (again under Peiró). That same year (1930), he signed the Republican Intelligentsia manifesto (along with Viadiu and Peiró) and come the republic we find him in the ranks of the Esquerra Republicana (which led to his serving in the Generalitat press office in 1933). At the end of the civil war he settled in exile in Mexico where he did important work as a writer and journalist. He used a number of noms de plume such as León X, Xifot, Albert de la Ville (or De laville). Wrote articles for La Humanitat, L'Opinió, La Rambla, Despertad (Vigo), Solidaridad Obrera, La Revista Blanca, Tierra y Libertad (Mexico), Le Liberaire, L' Internationale.. as well as launching Horizontes (Mexico 1958). Author of: Los Archivos del Terrorismo Blanco (Barcelona 1931), Barcelona 6 d'Octubre (Barcelona 1935), as well as many other books in exile in Mexico: Catalunya, Símbol de Llibertat (1942), España Desgarrada (1942), Vidas Agitadas (1942), Apòstols i Mercaders (Mexico, Costa-Amic 1957), and several biographies such as Cárdenas, Pancho Villa, Juárez and Panait Istrati: Novela de su Vida.

320. ¡DESPERTAD! Title of several anarchist and CNT newspapers.

1. - Madrid, 1909, anarchist paper, five issues. Edited by Mariano Teruel and A. Lopo. Texts by Malato and Paraf-Javal.
2. - El Ferrol, 1926, anarchist.
3. - Vigo, 1928-30, organ of the CNT-affiliated Regional Maritime Federation, weekly. Apparently it was a replacement for El Despertar Marítima. It revolved around Villaverde and Collado and concerned itself greatly with the reorganisation of the CNT, and anarchist and CNT principles and tactics. Included very important contributions from Peiró and Pestaña, as well as Clará, Leval and Juan López.. In its first run (January to May 1921) it achieved little success and was replaced by the Vigo district's Solidaridad Obrera.
4. - Vigo, 1977, Local CNT Federation, three issues.

321. DESPERTAR. Title used by several newspapers.

1. - Toulouse, 1961, temporary replacement for the (banned) CNT of the exiles.
2. - La Coruña, 1926, two issues.
3. - San Baudilio de Llobregat, 1981-82, CNT-AIT Sindicato de Oficios Varios, two issues.
4. - El Despertar. Brooklyn-Paterson (United States), 1892-95, Spanish-language publication of the El Despertar a la Vida group. Texts from Mella and pamphlets from Grave and Kropotkin. Under the direction of Pedro Esteve.

322. ROMERO, Isabelo. Cerro Andévalo 1909- Madrid 1937.

In spite of his early death, a prominent militant of the CNT. His activities took place in Madrid, beginning under the Primo de Rivera dictatorship: with the advent of the republic, he came to the fore, serving on the metalworkers' strike committee in 1934 and as secretary of the Madrid metalworkers' union. With the outbreak of civil war, he held the secretaryship of the CNT in the Centre region: was very active in the defence of Madrid and was the mainstay of the CNT's newspaper voice

Castilla Libre. At the start of 1937 he plainly favoured CNT intervention in every facet of life: holding, with Mera, a rally in favour of militarisation, championing participation in municipal government in the summer of 1937 (at the regional peasant congress). One of the stalwarts of the CNT in the Centre region.

323. SAMBLANCAT SALANOVA, Ángel. Graus (Huesca) 1896-died in exile in Mexico.

A rebellious spirit bent upon justice, a journalist and lawyer with occasionally surprising mood-swings, he was closely related to CNT matters even under the monarchy: between 1916 and 1921 he was arrested several times for his criticisms of the monarchy and of religion and in 1919 addressed a rally in Sama de Langreo together with Quintanilla. With the approach of the republic, his undoubted republican sympathies resurfaced: in 1930 he signed the Republican Intelligentsia manifesto. After the outbreak of war in 1936, he seized the Palace of Justice in Barcelona and set up Catalonia's Supreme Justice Committee: in August 1936 he became the first president of the newly created Law Office and later chaired the Extraordinary Tribunal that tried the rebel military. After the defeat of the republic he went into exile in Mexico. He wrote for *La Lucha*, *Solidaridad Obrera*, *Umbral*.. and launched *Los Miserables*. Author of: *La Violencia* (Seville 1923), *El Aire Podrido. El Ambiente Social en España durante la Dictadura* (Madrid 1930), *A los 37 Años del Asesinato de Salvador Seguí* (in S. Seguí, Paris 1960), *Caravana Nazarena* (Mexico 1942), *Hubo una Francia* (Mexico 1945) and *A Caballo del Ande* (Toulouse, no date).

324. CENTRAL ANTIFASCIST MILITIAS COMMITTEE, Barcelona, July to September 1936.

After the military and fascist revolt was put down in Barcelona, a suppression in which the CNT and anarchist militants played a crucial role (even if some would like to play down the scale of the anarchist contribution, the very fact of the CNT and FAI hegemony on the nascent

Militias Committee lays all doubts to rest in this respect), the Generalitat president, Companys, granted an audience to some prestigious CNT-FAI militants and placed himself at their disposal. The following day (21 July) there was a regional plenum of the CNT's llocal and comarcal federations with the FAI in attendance also and Marianet (the CNT regional secretary) reported that the military had been defeated and alluded to the audience with Companys, as well as to the CNT regional committee's and FAI's acceptance in principle of Companys's proposals (that a central committee be set up). At that plenum García Oliver and the Lower Llobregat comarcal federation both held out against collaboration and argued for the seizure of power by the libertarian labour forces, whilst arguing also that participation in a militias committee representative of all antifascists amounted to closing the doors to revolution .. Their suggestion that the as yet unborn militias committee be left to its fate was rejected by F. Montseny, Marianet and Abad de Santillán. Ultimately the plenum's decision was that they should take part in the central militias committee and Durruti, Asens, and García Oliver were the designated choices of the CNT and Aurelio Fernández and Abad de Santillán the designated FAI appointees. Thus, albeit timidly, a process was begun that would carry the CNT into the government. Thus the case for antifascist collaboration having triumphed over the argument for anarchist dictatorship, the central committee was immediately established. It was a revolutionary committee that assumed all power in Catalonia, even though the Generalitat government still existed - albeit as a mere powerless front for foreign consumption. Having agreed to collaboration, the anarchists also agreed to equal representation for anarchists, marxists and republicans (although such suggested parity of strength was a far cry from the reality), possibly as a signal of their goodwill. The committee's make-up was five republicans, plus five marxists plus five libertarians: there were 3 CNT representatives, 2 from the FAI, 3 from the UGT, 1 from the PSUC, 1 from the POUM, 3 from the Esquerra, 1 from the Rabassaires and 1 from Acció Catalana. In addition to the five anarchist appointees named earlier, the seats on the CAMC went to Barrio, González and López (UGT), Miret

(PSUC), Rovira (POUM), Miravittles, Ayguadé and Pons (Esquerra), Torrents (Rabassaires) and T. Fábregas (Acció Catalana). Be that as it may, it ought to be pointed out that in practice the CNT-FAI hegemony was very pronounced on account of the secretaryships they held and the numerous anarchist and CNT personnel scattered through the various departments (García Oliver controlled the War Department, A Fernández was in charge of Security and Santillán in charge of the Militias Department). The fifteen secretaryships were augmented by four Generalitat representatives (Prunes, Díaz Sandino, V. Guarner and J. Guarner). The committee's first moves were to impose the new revolutionary order and monitor the military situation (dispatching a delegation to Zaragoza for the purpose) and this led to the immediate establishment of a militia column bound for service in Aragon (this was to be the Durruti Column, commanded by Durruti and by Pérez Farrás). Some quick changes were made on the committee: Durruti, who attended only the first of its meetings, was replaced by Alcón, and later the committee was joined by Gironella, Tarradellas, Gorkín, Durán Rosell, Vidiella, Farrá and E. Pérez... New institutions were created to flank the committee: there was the Aragon War Committee (with six military figures, a UGT delegate, a POUM delegate and three CNT delegates - Durruti, Ortiz and Albadetrecu), the Council of Economy (established on 11 August under Tarradellas with five republicans, five marxists and five CNT-FAI representatives - Carbó, Rofes, Fábregas, Santillán and García Birlán (the latter five were the real masters of the situation in that they were in control of fuel, construction, health, paper and finance) and the War Industries Committee (launched on 7 August and also chaired by Tarradellas, but with CNT personnel Vallejo and Martí in the crucial secretaryships in charge of Metalworking and Chemicals).

Public order was entrusted to the Control Patrols (50% of whose membership were CNT and FAI members), headed by an 11-man committee (4 from the CNT) chaired by Asens. It was flanked by the Investigation Commission (an off-shoot of the Security Department) in the hands of Aurelio Fernández. In addition, each organisation or political party had its

own private police, with Escorza in charge of the CNT-FAI force.

Justice was delivered by popular courts headed by the Catalan Justice Committee and the Law Office, with Barriobero and Samblancat as the highest profile representatives.

Outside of Barcelona, power was in the hands of numerous revolutionary committees of public safety, one for each district representing all the antifascist factions, but, given their strength, these were mostly under the sway of the CNT-FAI.

The aforementioned committees and councils delivered plainly revolutionary government. That the Generalitat government was merely a front designed to afford the situation inside Catalonia some "serious and moderate" profile outside the region is illustrated by an incontrovertible fact: When Companys stepped down from the presidency and Casanovas took over from him, the latter wanted to form a new cabinet incorporating three communists, but, when the anarchists vetoed this five days later, he was obliged to form a new government without the communists and that government lasted until 27 September (at which point the CNT joined the government).

Obviously, the position in which the CNT-FAI found itself, wherein it was, but was not in government, needed clarification. A regional plenum of local and comarcal federation at the end of August, at which the FAI, FIJL and CNT were represented, the situation was debated: García Oliver (backed on this occasion by his colleagues from Nosotros) again put the case for anarchist dictatorship, but once again the case put by Abad de Santillán for collaboration carried the day ... Given how things had been going, collaboration by this point meant entering the government (this was the understanding at any rate) and indeed it was agreed that the CNT would join the government (which would shame-facedly be described as a Council), with the FAI left out in the cold (more hypocrisy). This plenum was held in secret (fearing for itself). Finally on 24 -26 September 1936 there was a public plenum of the Catalan trade unions attended by 505 delegates from 327 unions and it dealt with the Catalan situation, but apparently there was no direct reference to possible participation in

government (was it assumed that it had been agreed back in August?). The simple fact is that the next day, 27 September, the CNT joined the Generalitat government or Council (nominating Fábregas, Doménech and García Birlán). On 2 October the central antifascist militias committee was wound up. The committee's work has been subject to wildly differing assessments, even within anarchist ranks: some have seen it as inevitable and its activities as praiseworthy. Others have regarded it as a break with an entire tradition: a lapse into collaboration between the classes, into collaboration, and have seen its establishment as leading on inevitably to participation in government (in actuality, its very establishment was an agreement to play by the adversary's rules). Within the latter camp, some contend that a (very special) anarchist dictatorship was the proper course, whereas others hold that there were other options apart from collaborationism and dictatorship.

There is no doubt but that within a few weeks the committee managed to get the Catalan economy up and running, resolve the tremendous problem implicit in the collapse of the old society, laid the preparations for the war in Aragon and put paid to subversive ventures, etc., but this does not seem to be enough to excuse the profound crisis that erupted inside the anarchist movement over collaborationism between the classes and the abandonment of the principles for which so many anarchists had given their lives, etc. In the short term the militias committee turned into an inter-class government incorporating the CNT. The fact is that the revolution would not have been so far-reaching without the CNT, but it would assuredly have been made and would largely have been made by the PSUC or the POUM: and something very different was expected from the CNT and the FAI. One is obliged to agree with those who contend that the anarchist revolution was betrayed on the very day that the militias committee was formed.

325. ESPARTACO. Title of several anarchist papers.

1. - Barcelona, 1904, 4 issues. Texts by Malato and on the origins of the Centros obreros de estudios sociales (Workers' Social Studies Centres)

2. - Marid, 1919, fortnightly. Edited by Valle Jover. Anarchist. Contributions from Diego Alonso. Carried attacks on Peiró and Pestaña who were accused of being weak. Also appeared in 1923.

326. FÁBREGAS, Juan P. San Martín de Provensals (Barcelona) 1893 - London 1966.

The name of Juan P. Fábregas enters the history of anarchism after July 1936, the point at which he took out CNT membership following the CNT's victory in Catalonia. He was to hold important office within the CNT throughout its governmentalist period. Thus, he had no anarchist background: his life had been spent in association with the financial world (he seems to have been a banker in Reus and friendly with Urales) and his political activity had been pursued through the Catalan right (the Lliga) and during the republic he had headed the Economic Sciences Institute in Barcelona. On the basis of all of the above, it seems odd that he should have popped up in CNT ranks in July 1936: for an explanation, we must look to the necessity he felt of finding himself a haven as the old society in Catalonia fell apart and also to his political ambition to climb aboard the chariot of the victors. Be that as it may, there is no denying that he did sterling service in the libertarian camp, especially on account of his economic and financial expertise: such expertise, together with a remarkable skill, make it understandable that the CNT should have hoisted him into positions of responsibility in the Catalan government. He seems to have been very loyal to the libertarian camp: he was able to champion the CNT line with undoubted firmness against the Stalinists and Catalanists and this made him enemies (shortly after the events of May 1937 he was obliged to flee to England where he was to live up until his death, obsessed that he was under threat of assassination from the Stalinists).

On the CNT's behalf he served on Catalonia's Council of Economy from its formation (August 1936) alongside Carbó and Rofes: in that capacity he accompanied Marianet to Madrid in September 1936 to lobby (unsuccessfully) for funding for Catalan industry, at which point he held the economics portfolio in the Generalitat government (27 September 1936).

He remained as Catalan economics minister until December when he was replaced by Abad de Santillán, apparently under pressure (based on his past as a rightwinger): It seems beyond doubt that the great work of the council of economy was feasible thanks to his tenacity, especially the decree collectivising industry and trade (24 October). Then again, and surprising as it may seem, in October 1936 he emphatically opposed CNT entry into the central government. After stepping down from the Catalan government, he returned to the Teaching and Liberal Professions Union which he represented at the Castalan CNT-FAI plenum in June 1937, where he served on the working party drafting the resolution insisting that the CNT be readmitted to the Generalitat government, as well as on the one that asked for the establishment of a regional committee with a policy council made up of the CNT, the FAI, the pasants and the FIJL. Prior to his time as a minister and acting also as a CNT representative he was to be found on the committee of the CENU (along with Carsí, Escorihuela and Puig Elías). After June 1937 he drifted out of politics and left for England. Aithor of many books, especially prior to the civil war (when he was unconnected with the CNT): *Irlanda i Catalunya* (Barcelona 1932), *La Crisi Mundial i les seves Repercussions a Espanya* (Barcelona 1933, with another edition in Spanish the same year), *Les Possibilitats Econòmiques d'una Catalunya Independent* (Barcelona 1932), *Les Finances de la Revolució* (Barcelona 1937), *Aspectes de la Revolució Espanyola* (Barcelona 1937), *Assaig d'Economía Política* (Barcelona 1937), *El Factors Econòmics de la Revolució* (Barcelona 1937), *España, sus Luchas, sus Ideales* (Buenos Aires 1937, with others), *Los Factores Económicos de la Revolución Española* (Barcelona 1937), *Vuitants Dies al Govern de la Generalitat* (Barcelona 1937). Several of these were originally lectures. Also wrote for the CNT press of the day, especially *Solidaridad Obrera*.

327. La IDEA LIBRE. Title of several libertarian papers.

1. - Madrid, 1884 (?)

2. - Madrid, 1894-1899, anarchist weekly sub-titled (sometimes) "Sociological

Review". Texts by Mella, Volney, Monicow, Bésol, Büchner, Salazar, Bartrina, Delgado, Nordau, Prat, López Montenegro, Frías, F. Garrido, E. Álvarez, Lorenzo, Soledad Gustavo, N. Estévez, Pi y Margall, Grave, Hamon, Bakunin, Maupassant, Mirbeau, Nieuwenhuis, Proudhon, Reclus, Laurent, Karr, Tolstoy, Cipriani, Urales, Azorín, Gener, Juan Ramón Jiménez .. It was under the direction of Ernesto Álvarez and 172 issues were printed.

328. JEL - initials of the JUNTA ESPAÑOLA de LIBERACIÓN (Spanish Liberation Council)

Anti-Francoist organisation launched in Mexico on 5 November 1943 by republicans and socialists. In October 1944, it was re-launched in France with the same name (at a gathering in Toulouse on 23 October) with support from Unión Republicana, the PSOE, Izquierda Republicana, the Partido Republicano Federal, the UGT and the ML-CNT. Its aim was to prepare for the overthrow of Franco and it acknowledged everything achieved in Spain up until March 1939. It described itself as a pre-eminently political body acting in conformity with the regulations of the French government. The CNT-ML was represented on it by Merino, Miguel Chueca, Juanel, Francisco Señor and Paulino Malsand. It quickly went into decline and that decline became irreversible when the Giral government-in-exile was formed. By mid-1945, some republican groupings) especially Izquierda Republicana) pulled out of the JEL (wanting to see the trade union organisations excluded as they had been in the Mexican version of the JEL), in response to which the CNT proposed that the PCE be admitted to the JEL, and this led to the republicans' returning (that June). At the beginning of 1946 the JEL was hit by a serious crisis but hobbled on until it was finally wound up on 19 September 1947, at which point the CNT's representatives were Miguel Vázquez, Valiño, Sans Sicart, Puig Elías and Germinal Esgleas.

The JEL had no counterpart within Spain. It is rather surprising that the CNT-MLE should have been represented on it for so long, given that the CNT exiles subscribed mostly to the orthodox line: It is hard to understand

the harsh response to CNT of the Interior's participation in the republican government-in-exile, when it had been standing practice for the exiles to work hand in glove with agencies like the JEL.

329. FOUNDATION CONGRESS OF THE FSORE or NEW FTRE in MADRID, 1900

Under the chairmanship of the legendary Francisco Tomás, the congress got underway in the Eldorado theatre in Madrid on 13 October 1900 and lasted until 15 October. It had initially been summoned by the El Porvenir del Trabajo bricklayers' association in which Tomás was active and it was attended by some 150 groups and associations (some sources claim 127, whereas others go for 137 and in his welcoming address Tomás assured his audience that upwards of two hundred associations had given their support), with a total membership of 52,000. The proceedings were chaired by Tomás, Claramunt and Pascual and one of those prominently in attendance was Lerroux (representing several associations) which just goes to show the confusion prevailing at the time in labour ranks and the Radical leader's popular status (he was called upon to read out the final manifesto). Over the course of the congress which drew delegations from virtually every comarca (we have records of representatives coming from Catalonia, Andalusia, Valencia, Argon, Vizcaya, Asturias, La Coruña, Madrid and Valladolid), there was extensive debate and among other things the congress concluded that the working man should not meddle in politics: it was proposed thatr organisation be on the basis of trades federations and that a solidarity agreement be established (implicit in this was the reconstruction of the old FTRE, of which the Pacto came to be the continuation) on the basis of a-politicism and federalism, with the emphasis on the importance of a new tactic -the general strike. Also agreed was the establishment of a regional office based in Gerona. The final manifesto addressed to all workers stressed the following points: a rejection of piece-rates, a rejection of intermediaries between capitalists and workers (ie. an embracing of direct action), equal rights and pay rates for both sexes, a ban

on working by under 14-year olds, integral, secular education, the abolition of consumer taxes and military service, the abolition of private property, socialisation of the instruments of production and a condemnation of war. Together, the accords and the final manifesto are unmistakably redolent of anarchism, and it is somehow legitimate to see some irony in this, given the presence of Lerroux: the very fact of Lerroux's presence (he being a politician) merely confirmed the necessity for that congress to be held in order to clear up the prevailing confusion and proceed with the overhauling and reorganisation of militant labour which naturally, as so often has been the case, was in danger of suffering from the distractions of politics: the very thing that anarchist labour failed to achieve during that period - a stable organisation - accounts for Lerroux's having met with some success in his ambitions up until Solidaridad Obrera was set up.

The organisation that sprang from this congress was dubbed the FSORE (ie. Federación de Sociedades Obreras de la Región Española - Spanish Regional Federation of Labour Associations), and was also known as the New FTRE.

330. PAZ, Abel. Alias of Diego Camacho, Almería 1921-

Son of peasants, he lived in Barcelona from 1929 onwards and between 1932 and 1935 received his education at the celebrated Natura rationalist school in El Clot. From 1935 as a worker in the textile industry, he joined the CNT and the FIJL. As a member of the FIJL he fought during the events of May 1937 and when the civil war ended he left for exile in France where he passed through the concentration camps. In 1942 he re-entered Spain to join the libertarian guerrilla struggle: arrested at the end of that year, he remained in prison until 1953, in which year he returned to France. He spent many years in France as a exile (returning to Spain in 1977), during which time he earned himself considerable prestige as a libertarian author (and especially as a historian of the anarchist movement). He contributed to Solidaridad Obrera in Paris, to CNT, Nueva Senda, Juventud Libre and Ruta (and his journalistic contributions continued during the post-Franco period

in the likes of *Historia Libertaria*, *Solidaridad Obrera* in Barcelona ..) Author of remarkably well-documented books like *La CNT y el Porvenir de España* (Toulouse 1963), *Paradigmas de una Revolución* [19 de Julio de 1936 en Barcelona] (Choisy, 1967), *Actuación y Proyección de la CNT y el Anarquismo. La Organización* (Barcelona 1980, with Semprún Maura, encapsulating a debate), *Durruti, le Peuple en Armes* (Paris-Bordeaux 1972, with Barcelona edition in translation, 1978), *CNT 1939-1951* (Barcelona 1892) and a number of others as yet unpublished, like *Los Conflictos de la Primera Internacional en España 1868-1872* and *Crónica Apasionada de la Columna de Hierro*.

By the 1980s he was perhaps the libertarian writer most assiduously exploring the the history of anarchism and the CNT during the years between the republic and the rebuilding of the CNT.

331. LIBERACIÓN. Title of a number of different papers.

1. - Anarchist newspaper, Madrid 1908, 1 issue, dealing with anarchism and Nietzscheanism and attacks on Darwin. Texts by Arrieta and Rodríguez Cabrera.
2. - Review published by the anarchist group of the same name, Barcelona 1935-37. Under the direction of A.G. Gilabert, its editorial team included Luzbel Ruiz, M. Giménez and T. Cano Ruiz. This monthly publication dealt with sociology, literature, economics and art. Its chief theorist was Gaston Leval and contributors included Puente and Orobón. It aimed to provide a meeting ground for anarchists, looking past the squabbles over the organisation of anarchist society that set Pestaña, Peiró, Santillán, Urales and others against one another.
3. - Newspaper under CNT control which appeared in Alicante (as a daily?) in 1936 following the defeat of fascism.

332. ARAGON REGIONAL DEFENCE COUNCIL.

Come the army uprising in July 1936, Zaragoza and the leading cities in Aragon fell into the hands of those inimical to the republic. The loss of

Zaragoza (the jewel in the anarchist crown) is one of the great enigmas of the civil war: the only certainty is that the CNT leaders there erred by naively accepting the word of General Cabanellas (who assured them of his loyalty to the republic). On 18 July 1936 the CNT regional committee in Aragon summoned a meeting of militants, during which a wait-and-see approach (founded upon trusting Cabanellas) advocated by Abós, Ejarque, Servet Martínez, Esteban, the Arnals and Francisco Muñoz triumphed over Chueca's suggestion that they go on the offensive: the resultant delay proved crucial and the subsequent general strike proved futile, being harshly crushed by the rebels. The failure of the CNT in the cities of Aragon embarrassed many libertarians and this was one of the factors accounting for the stubbornness of the attempts to recapture Zaragoza and the speedy organisation of militias bound for the Aragon front, where they did manage to liberate some territory.

In the territories remaining in the possession of libertarians and republicans, an Aragon Regional Defence Council was established and this carried out a thoroughgoing transformation of the comarcas there, to the extent that what was done there was subsequently regarded as the experiment that came closest to libertarian communism. Establishment of the Council sprang from the Catalan plenum in September 1936 and the follow-up Extra-ordinary Plenum of the CNT of Aragon, Rioja and Navarre held in Bujaraloz on 6 October. The latter was attended by representatives from 139 villages and from the CNT militias fighting in Aragon. At the latter plenum, the decision was made to proceed with the creation of a Council, in spite of opposition from Jover and Ortiz, opposition eventually overcome by the majority sentiment and by Durruti. The victory was hammered home by appointing Joaquín Ascaso to the presidency of the Council and by the emphasis laid upon the Council's being a suitable vehicle for stemming marxist ambitions. Thus the Aragon Defence Council emerged from Bujaraloz with a very definite warrant: to foster the implementation of libertarian communism. To that end it was seen as appropriate to endow the Council with political, economic and social authority, but it was left plain

that its plans required the approval of the agencies affected. Such endorsement secured, the general outlines of those plans became binding. The working party report which established the Council was signed by Ponzán, Villacampa, Gil Gargallo, Muñoz, Macario Royo, Abril, Villanueva, Carreño and Ascaso. The plenum also dealt with the participation of the various forces in the Council (seven CNT personnel, two UGT personnel and one republican).

At a later gathering in Alcañiz, the make-up, purposes and operation of the Council were refined and it was agreed that its base should be moved to Fraga.

Initially, in practical terms, its members were CNT personnel to a man: Ascaso (president), Ballano (in charge of Justice and Public Order), Mavilla (Agriculture), Miguel Jiménez (Information), F. Ponzán (Trade and Transport), José Alberola (Education), Adolfo Arnal (Economy and Supply) and Miguel Chueca (Labour). The ideological uniformity of this Council, which was an out and out revolutionary war-time government for Aragon, was not to the liking of the central government which wanted greater pluralism: When CNT personnel acceded to this insistence, the central government gave its approval to a council made up of Ascaso, Ballano, Arnal, Chueca (all of whom retained their portfolios), plus Montoliu (Transport), Viñuales (Information), Servet Martínez (Economy and Supply) - all of them CNT personnel - plus two Communists (Duque and Peñarrocha), two UFT personnel (Latorre and Ruiz), a member of Izquierda Republicana (Pellicer) and with the Syndicalist Party's Pavón as council secretary. Scarcely had this been established than the decision was taken to have it legalised (this at the insistence of Pavón and with the acquiescence of the then national committee of the CNT which was wholly won over to governmentalism) and to this end Pavón, Ascaso and Chueca travelled to Barcelona and Madrid: in the end, Largo Caballero granted the Council formal recognition, devolving all sorts of powers to it (among other things, the sort of powers enjoyed by Diputaciones and civil governors). By the end of December 1936, the Council enjoyed the complete endorsement of

the republican government and shortly after that (in January 1937), once its final composition had been determined, its base was relocated to Caspe. In fact, the Council was an anarchist fief, which is why it drew hostility from the Stalinists and Catalanists who, as the libertarian movement's strength diminished, stepped up their criticisms, with the unspoken intention of having it abolished. There is no denying that the Council operated in close concert with the CNT and that it displayed great élan, attaining the peak of its powers around February 1937 when the foundation congress of the Regional Federation of Collectives was held under its auspices, with 141,430 members represented by the 465 delegates who decided: that collectives should band together on a comarcal basis, that money should be abolished, that there should be a regional external trading fund, that the land should be taken into municipal ownership, that the small-holder should meet with tolerance, that work squads should be formed, that production and statistical efforts should be coordinated, that there should be agricultural training facilities and efforts made to bring in experts.

The accords of the congress were being implemented in practice when, as a direct result of the events in Barcelona in May (which put paid to the anarchists' hegemony there), the central government (on 11 August) ordered the Council to disband. This order was prefaced by a virulent storm of controversy for and against the activities of the Council: on 19 July 1937, over the radio, Ascaso vehemently defended the council's record and on 2 August a plenum of comarcals held in Alcañiz resolved steadfastly to resist possible attacks and on 7 August a rally, also in Alcañiz, at which Federica Montseny was present, rehearsed the argument and gloried in the successes achieved. On the opposite side, a meeting in Barbastro in August of the Popular Front in Aragon (UGT, communists and republicans) highlighted the errors of the Council and lobbied the government to appoint a federal governor. On 12 August the Stalinist Líster invaded the collectives at the head of several divisions of Communists and Catalanists, installing Mantecón as governor, rounding up hundreds of anarchists, storming FAI, FIJL and

CNT premises, restoring the land to its former owners, confiscating tools and looting granaries. Anarchists responded to this colossal provocation in a variety of ways: García Vivancos made ready along with the 25th, 26th, 28th and 29th Divisions to fight the counter-revolutionaries (we know that a sizable fraction of Lister's troops was ready to defect to the anarchists if it came to a fight).. whereas the CNT national committee and the FAI's peninsular committee "in order to avert civil war" (in a repetition of May 1937) gave ground yet again to the Stalinists. (On this occasion it was not just the national leadership that was at fault. The Council of Aragon was split, in that both Servet and Montoliu accepted Mantecón's appointment whereas Chueca refused to recognise it.)

A regional plenum in Caspe on 6 September merely asked for the release of captives, for the collectives to be respected and for the appointment of a new regional committee (headed by Francisco Muñoz). The plain fact was that the CNT lost its fiefdom in Aragon and the 140,000 collectivists from February 1937 had fallen to 76,000 by September. In August 1937 the Council of Aragon ceased to exist.

There has been a lot of controversy about the achievements of the Council, much as there has been about those of the Militias Committee in Catalonia. There is no denying that it was controlled throughout by the anarchists and under their supervision a far-reaching collectivist revolution was carried out in the Aragonese countryside and this, irrespective of the mistakes made and arbitrary actions (obviously blown out of proportion by their many enemies) represented an historical bench-mark, as the most startling instance of the potential for implementation of the theories of anarchist communism. Whether the Council, as a government, ultimately fostered or curtailed the popular impetus is quite another matter: nor is it possible to arrive at any definite conclusion on the impact of legalisation and of course there is simply no denying that yet again the upper reaches of the CNT were shown in the moment of truth to be victims of a complex, lacking in courage and highly impractical: the only possible explanation for their letting power be wrested from them in Aragon is the loss of morale that

prevailed as a result of so many ideological retreats.

333. RÓDENAS RODRÍGUEZ, Libertad. Catalan female anarchist and CNT member born in 1892 and died in Mexico in 1970.

Daughter of federalist parents, she, like her brother (Progreso) embraced the anarchist ideology at an early age and from a very early age was active in the CNT in the ranks of which she stood out for her powers of oratory (as for instance in Manresa in 1921) and as a skilful organiser. In the years before the civil war she was targeted for persecution and imprisonment and during the civil war she was active in the Mujeres Libres organisation. After the defeat, she moved to France (Bordeaux) and thence on to Santo Domingo (where she lived in a commune with Viadiu, her husband and Peirats) and eventually settled in Mexico where her long years of exile were saddened by the deaths of her children. An outstandingly beautiful woman, she seems to have been Elías García's poetic muse and Samblancat dubbed her "the pale vestal virgin of red syndicalism". She was undoubtedly one of the libertarian movement's most outstanding women, something in which she was assisted by the family ties binding her to Viadiu and Progreso, both of whom were themselves famous militants.

334. UTC - initials of the UNIÓN de TRABAJADORES del CAMPO
(Farmworkers' Union)

Information about this peasant organisation of anarchist persuasions is incomplete and leaves much to be desired. What is certain is that in 1870 the UTC was up and running in the comarcas around Cádiz as an independent local association accommodating wine-growers, farm labourers, coopers, bakers and others (though we cannot say for certain if it was already federated with other sections or was, rather, the core of a national federation) and that it affiliated to the FRE that year. Two years later, we can be sure that the UTC existed as a national organisation, as confirmed by the farmworkers' congress held in Barcelona in 1872 at which the dues expected of members were set and at which federation members were

required to seek the endorsement of the federal council before they could expect backing for their local strikes. A second congress took place in Barcelona (in Sans) the following year and it agreed to enter the FRE, with which it shared many beliefs in common (especially in respect of direct action and strikes). The outlawing of the FRE hit the UTC which certainly survived underground (in 1874 it had branches in Lebrija, Chipiona, Jerez, Medinasidonia and Sanlúcar). It resurfaced in 1881 with the organising of the FTRE and by the 1880s had become the most important organisation in Andalusia: it was constituted shortly after the first FTRE congress in September 1881. By September 1882 it boasted 104 branches and almost 21,000 members and, shortly before that (in July) the Andalusian UTC had met in Cádiz to reaffirm its belief in collectivism and strike violence from its arsenal of methods. At a congress in Valencia in October 1883, it was agreed that the federal council should be relocated to Medinasidonia and that Francisco Sáenz should be appointed secretary: the new secretary from Seville, availing of the newspaper *La Autonomía*, launched a strident campaign against Serrano Oteiza and Juan Méndez and this led to serious tensions which were resolved at the Montellano congress in April 1884 at which Sáenz was disowned, the council was relocated and *La Autonomía* taken to task. Later the UTC presence diminished and in August 1887 its headquarters in Grazalema was stormed by the Civil Guard. In September 1888 it formally dissolved itself into the FTRE, not that that was any obstacle to the Cádiz comarca's holding on to its autonomy and purporting to be a new regional agricultural umbrella federation. Years later, in 1891, there was a congress of farmworkers of the Spanish Region in Córdoba: it failed to revive the organisation. Finally, August 1893 saw the creation of the UARE (also known as the OARE), the initials standing for the Unión de Agricultores de la Región Española, which adopted the statutes of the old UTC.

It is hard to get a handle on the importance of the UTC but it seems certain that it enjoyed great strength in western Andalusia (with 500 to 1200 members in virtually every important village around Cádiz) between 1881

and 1884, and that its existence accounts for the turn-of-the-century resurgence, as do the Foundation of the FNA and its subsequent entry into the CNT.

335. HERRERA, Pedro. Valladolid 1909-Buenos Aires 1970.

Active from very early on in the rail unions of the CNT, quickly gaining a reputation in CNT circles and more especially in anarchist circles: he was a member of the Nervio group of the FAI and a friend of Abad de Santillán and Turyho. With the outbreak of revolution in 1936 he was catapulted into the limelight: he represented the FAI on the committee liaising with the UGT, PSUC and CNT in August and in October signed the agreement with those groups. In December 1936 he took up the Health portfolio (holding it until April 1937) in the Generalitat government and then headed the general secretary's office of the FAI peninsular committee which he represented at numerous gatherings (in May 1938 he represented it at the FAI-FIJJL-CNT national committee meeting, and in December at the Pedralbes meeting with the president of the council of ministers). In March 1939 he was on the much criticised General Council of the Libertarian Movement set up in Paris. After the republic was defeated he passed through the French (Vernet) and North African (was taken to Djelfa in July 1942) concentration camps. After the defeat of the Germans, he held prominent posts in the CNT in exile (secretary of the Inter-Continental Commission in November 1947), being identified with the majority, anti-collaborationist faction and was a founder member of the SIA. Later he moved to the Americas and settled in Argentina (1950). With the passing of the years he was drifting towards more reformist positions and there are even claims that he was in favour of the Cincopuntista case in the 1960s, although he never left the CNT (and was buried with the red-and-black flag). Short, not very talkative, modest and even-handed, a lover of literature and the arts, he was a great reader and booklover and wrote for *Solidaridad Obrera* (from Oran, in the 1940s) and co-authored (with Pérez Burgos) *La AIT* (Aligiers 1946).

336. JUVENTUD LIBRE. Title of several newspapers.

1. - Toulouse 1953-1960. Published by the FIJL in exile in France, it replaced the banned Ruta and was replaced in turn, when banned itself, by Nueva Senda.
2. - Paris 1948. Newspaper published by former FIJL militants.
3. - Clandestine mouthpiece of the FIJL (collaborationist line, inside Spain), 1946-47, Madrid (?)
4. - Clermont-Ferrand, 1968. Mouthpiece of the Rhône-Alpes regional of the FIJL in exile.
5. - Madrid 196*-8, organ of the FIJL. It appeared weekly and, fitfully, as a daily.
6. - Alcalá de Henares, 1946. Bulletin of the FIJL within the prison in Alcalá.
7. - Bulletin of the Juventudes Libres Ibéricas, 1908, one issue. No indication as to place of publication.

337. NAVARRO, Patricio. Aguilas (Murcia) 1897-Mexico 1970.

A revolutionary and instinctive adventurer, at the age of 9 he was taken on as a ship's boy. In 1915 we find him a member of the CNT's Transport Union in Barcelona, in which he went on to become a leading militant: over the ensuing years his instinctive anarchism became entrenched and acquired an ideological character as he educated himself and from the 1920s on he was a stalwart of the Catalan CNT: he was president of the Transport Union, secretary of the Catalan regional committee (he was the one chosen in October 1934 to broadcast over the radio the much criticised return to work order) and in the years of the republic he strove unsuccessfully to (as a member of the regional committee) to mediate in the squabble that led to the expulsion of Sabadell's unions from the CNT. With the outbreak of revolution in 1936 he was secretary of the maritime branch of the Barcelona Transport Union and during the war was in charge of the port of Barcelona. After the defeat of the republic, he left for exile, most of which time he spent in Mexico. He died, a CNT member, following a lengthy illness. He also did important work in the press: he was administrator (1923-24) of

Crisol and later contributed to El Productor (in Blanes) and was administrator with Solidaridad Obrera.

338. REDENCIÓN. Title of several newspapers.

1. - Carmona, 1902.
2. - Anarchist newspaper, 1904. No indication as to location.
3. - Alcoy, published in several bursts, 1921-23, 1924-26 and 1930. Under the direction of J.J. Pastor, it was the organ of the Alcoy CNT and published texts by Soledad Gustavo and Juan Peiró.

339. MARTÍNEZ MARQUEZ, Francisco. Known in guerrilla circles as Paco. Barcelona 1922-1949.

Born in the El Clot district of Barcelona, he attended the Natura rationalist school and from a very early age was active in the district Ateneo and Libertarian Youth. When the civil war ended he went into exile with his parents. He fought in the resistance against the Germans and turned up among the earliest re-organisers of the CNT and the FIJL. In July 1947 he re-entered Spain as the delegate of the FAI and FIJL in France to attend the FIJL national plenum in Madrid. Shortly after that (October), he attended the Libertarian Youth plenary in Toulouse (in his capacity as a member of the FIJL national committee appointed at the Second Congress in Toulouse in March 1946). Later he showed up associated with the Catalamn guerrilla groups alongside Sabaté and this brought him back to Spain in 1948. He participated in guerrilla activities before returning to France (in March 1949, accompanying the wounded José Sabaté). Back in Spain (as a member of the Interior Defence Commission) he perished at police hands on 21 October 1949 in Barcelona.

340. (EI) SEMBRADOR. Title of several anarchist newspapers.

1. - Puigcerdá, 1936-37, weekly.
2. - Igualada. Several series. Seven issues appeared in 1926 as an anarchist monthly, written by José Anselmo, Massana, Carener and J. Ferrer. In 1930-

34 it resurfaced and some 100 issues appeared, edited by J. Ferrer, Alcaide and J. Anselmo and Cuatrecasas and with contributions from Isaac Puente. Reappeared in 1981 as mouthpiece of the local CNT federation.

3. - Tarragona, 1930, anarchist.

4. - Igualada, 1981, 1 issue, published by the Igualada Ateneo Libertaria.

341. FOUNDATION CONFERENCE OF THE FAI in VALENCIA 1927.

The FAI was founded at a meeting (Conference) held on 25 and 26 July 1927 in the Valencia area: apparently the initial meeting was in Patraix (in the home of Aurora López) and a follow-up meeting on a beach near Valencia. (Opinions are divided as to whether the beach in question was Cabañal, Saler, Malvarrosa or Tremolar. It all depends on which version one believes.) For the background to the Conference see the entry THE FAI (No 294 above)

What we can be sure about is that at the start of 1927 Progreso Fernández toured the Valencia comarca making preparations for the Conference and that the selection of Valencia as its location was due to the fact that the July holidays would favour the secrecy and security of the Conference.

The Conference was attended by the National Federation of the Anarchist Groups of Spain (Llop and Miguel Jiménez), the Levante, Andalusian and Catalan regional federations of anarchist groups (the latter federation apparently represented by Marcet and Vidalet) , the local federations of anarchist groups from Granada, Elche, Madrid, Valencia and Seville, the Castellón and Alicante provincial federations of anarchist groups, (8) anarchist groups from Valencia, and a number of individuals (Domingo Torres for one). Also present were the Portuguese Anarchist Union (UAP) - represented by Sousa and De Santos and Márquez for certain and possibly by Quental as well - the CNT from Levante and Catalonia, a delegation from the anarchist groups of Catalonia, Barcelona anarchist groups, the Seine (Paris) regional federation of anarchist groups, and the International Anarchist Secretariat. Among the messages of support we should mention those from: the National Federation of Spanish-speaking Anarchist Groups

in France, the Zaragoza local federation of anarchist groups, Anarchist-Communist Union, Le Libertaire (Paris), the CGT and A Batalha (from Portugal), the Anti-Militarist International and the BIA (Holland), the Pyrénées Orientales, Arde and Ariège regional federation of anarchist groups, the San Juan de Luz local anarchist federation, anarchist groups from Toulouse and Vizcaya, the newspapers Cultura Proletaria (New York), Acción Social Obrera (San Feliu) and La Revista Blanca: and support from individuals such as Maymón, Buenacasa and Alberola. Among those in attendance, we can be certain that Tello, España, Gallego Crespo, Progreso Fernández, Rodríguez, Noja Ruiz, Cabello, González, Joaquín Ferrer, Fandiño, Arnica and Falomir were present.

The conference was chaired and the opening address was delivered by Miguel Jiménez (secretary of the anarchist groups of Spain), after which credentials were read out and there was a report on the work accomplished thus far by Jiménez's national committee. Then the debate got underway and the following accords were reached: 1. - That anarchist groups ought to take an interest in all aspects of life (education, propaganda, agitation..) 2. - That each group would be free to engage in whatever activities it might please, although unity of action and in propaganda terms should be sought. 3. - That they should involve themselves in naturist, Esperantist and like groupings of anarchist persuasion. 4. - That they would not oppose cooperativist ventures. 5. - That there should be a working relationship (trabazón) with the CNT, albeit with both the CNT and the FAI retaining their own autonomy and federations. Joint meetings should be held. 6. - That the Union or FAI should be set up through amalgamation of the Portuguese Anarchist Union (UAP), the National Federation of the Anarchist Groups of Spain and the Federation of Spanish-speaking Anarchist Groups in France, although no new committee should be set up: one of the existing ones should temporarily assume responsibility for representing the FAI. The peninsular committee would be rotated between Spain, France and Portugal, with the first one drawn from Portugal. 7. - There was to be a campaign of agitation in opposition to the dictatorships in Spain and

Portugal. 8. - That they should take and hand in any upheaval, ensuring that it was wrested from the hands of political leaders and that the people's action was channeled. All truck with politicians was rejected and the only accommodation would be with the CNT. 9. - The anarchist movement had the capacity for reconstructive effort on an anti-authoritarian and federalist basis. 10. - That an action committee was to be set up with an eye to trade union organisation and to organise groups. 11. - That they should ensure that the prisoners' aid committees were made up of CNT and FAI members. 12. - That, for want of information, any pronouncement upon the anarchists' Organisational Platform (the so-called Arshinov Platform) should be delayed. 13. - That they should affiliate to the IWA and the Anarchist International. 14. - That they should seek, by means of a world conference, to weld the IWA and the Anarchist International into one single international anarchist organisation. 15. - Given the refusal of the Portuguese to provide the FAI's peninsular committee, its place of residence was fixed, temporarily, in Seville. 16. - A bulletin should be drawn up and published.

342. THE FNA (initials of the FEDERACIÓN NACIONAL de AGRICULTORES) Traditionally, it had always been the view of the Spanish libertarian movement's associationist and trade union wing that the agrarian peasantry displayed incontrovertible idiosyncrasies. Which belief explains why, from very early on, repeated efforts had been made to establish a peasant organisation flanking the workers' federation or at any rate enjoying considerable autonomy. It can be argued that the object was found a national federation of the (farming) industry, even in times when such federations could not command widespread support within the movement. One need only glance at the history to discover that farm labourers' congresses had been held since 1872 (in Barcelona), that there had been some at the turn of the century and that finally (in Valencia in 1937) a National Peasant Federation (FNC) was established that embraced all CNT-affiliated peasants. Then again, we know of the existence of various peasant federations predating the FNA - the UTC and the OARE being cases in

point.

The FNA (sometimes also described as the FNT or the National Federation of Agricultural Workers- FNOA) was the most quintessential peasant organisation: harking back to the tradition of earlier struggles, it was extant between 1913 (first congress, Córdoba) and 1918 (sixth congress, Valencia), in which year it decided to affiliate en masse to the CNT and to carry on operating until such time as the CNT might hold a congress, whereupon it would dissolve itself, should that congress so determine.

The life of the FNA was punctuated by its congresses - the first in Córdoba in 1913, the second in Valencia in 1914, the third in Ubeda in 1915, the fourth in Villanueva y Geltrú in 1916, the fifth in Zaragoza in 1917 and the sixth in Valencia in 1918.

The Córdoba congress boasted of a membership of 9,000, the bulk of it in Andalusia, together with some Catalans and Portuguese and, besides agreeing upon the necessity for the FNA as such (which would have its headquarters in Barcelona and a sub-office in Jerez to look after Andalusia), it agreed to publish a press mouthpiece (*La Voz del Campesino*), to champion the slogan "The land to him that works it", to set up rationalist schools and deploy the general strike weapon against outrages, to reject political propaganda, help prisoners, establish a minimum wage, condemn piece rates, summon a congress in Valencia the following year and campaign for the eight hour day. This was arguably the most important of its congresses in that it set out the guidelines (guidelines unmistakably libertarian in tenor) by which the incipient federation would be governed: which of itself explains how, in the wake of the congress, provincial federations came to be set up in Cádiz (in Jerez), Seville (in Dos Hermanas) and Córdoba (in Castro) and various comarcal congresses were held.

At the second congress (Valencia 1914) the bulk of the delegates attending came from Andalusia, Catalonia and Valencia. At the congress the slogan "the land to him that works it" was upheld, as was the more classical slogan of "The workers' emancipation must be the workers' own doing". Then

again, direct action was espoused as the proper method of struggle, it being in tune, so it was stated, with modern syndicalism, and unity and solidarity among the workers was emphasised. Arbitration courts were rejected, the advantages of rationalist schooling stressed, aid for prisoners called for, piece rates rejected, and the congress came out in favour of the general strike, underlining the inadequacy of partial strikes and wage rises: Juan Martí was elected as secretary of the federal council and the organisation's headquarters were relocated to Valls, whereas Jerez was confirmed as the focal point for Andalusian peasantry and a third congress was scheduled for Ronda. (It was never held there).

Scarcely anything is known about the third congress (in Ubeda in 1915), but it seems that it attracted very few delegates: Buenacasa insists that it was very important.

The fourth congress (in Villanueva y Geltrú, 1916), attended by Catalans and Valencians (albeit that there were Andalusian members too) agreed to wind up the mouthpiece *La Voz del Campesino* in order to give a boost to *Solidaridad Obrera*, to encourage regional and national strikes rather than local ones, to oppose cooperativism, and not to enter the CNT as a body (although the CNT would admit any associations making individual application), to encourage revolutionary syndicalism, oppose politics, beef up direct action (boycotts and sabotage included), relocate the headquarters to San Feliu de Llobregat and to move that the FNA amalgamate with the *Federación de Obreros, Peones y Braceros* (represented by Bajatierra).

The fifth congress (Zaragoza, 1917), which claimed 14,000 members, acknowledged the meagreness of the FNA's success and reached the following decisions: to amalgamate with the *Federación de Obreros, Peones y Braceros*, to push *La Voz del Campesino* and to organise along the lines of general trades unions rather than in associations, to help the prisoners, to pursue direct action revolutionary syndicalism, anti-militarism, to hold comarcal and regional congresses and to encourage efforts to amalgamate with the UGt and the CNT and to relocate the headquarters to Jerez.

The sixth congress (Valencia 1918) was opened by the renowned Sebastián

Oliva (the then general secretary) and drew Valencian, Catalan and Andalusian delegates representing 25,000 members. The decision was made to join the CNT, to wind up La Voz del Campesino, to support the Russian peasantry, to reject politics, to reject CNT amalgamation with the UGT, to condemn piece rates, to deploy direct action against pseudo-anarchists, to support the prisoners and insist upon unionisation of all workers. Plainly, to begin with the FNA operated in a climate of remarkable enthusiasm, only for this to fade, assuredly on account of the consequences arising from the world war: its subsequent re-launch must be attributed to the expectations raised by the Russian revolution, but that impact came so belatedly that we are forced by then to speak of the CNT peasantry rather than FNA peasantry (in that the FNA had entered the CNT by that point). There is no doubting the FNA's anarchist credentials (the repeated references to direct action, rationalist schooling, relations with the CNT). It is plain too that the FNA represented an advance upon the old association and a step in the direction of more modern trade unionism (hence its final entry into the CNT). As for its influence, suffice to say that it extended, not to the entire country but rather to its Mediterranean areas (plus Cádiz) and that it attained its greatest strength in Andalusia (traditionally an anarchist enclave). It is hard to gauge its significance: if we analyse its congress resolutions we find that the same ambitions are repeated (the eight hour day, opposition to piece rates, a minimum wage..) which suggests that its aims were not being achieved. However, we should point out that the aforesaid aims represented the most telling demands of the agricultural and industrial proletariat and were almost always regarded as ultimate objectives: there seems to be no doubt but that it helped bring the peasantry together by opening their eyes to the need to marry their struggle to that of the industrial proletariat: in this respect, the FNA was the appropriate agent for bolstering the CNT with a peasant component. The emergence of the FNA must be seen in the short term as the outcome of the very intense propaganda campaigns mounted in Andalusia through the press (La Voz del Cantero, El Productor, El Rebelde, El Productor

Libertario..) and through rallies and talks (given by Sánchez Rosas, Pérez Rosas, Alonso, Rodríguez, Romero, Chacón, Cordobés, Noja Ruiz, Cordón and Gallego Crespo) over the years 1906-1918, which turned Andalusia into a profoundly anarchised, unionised region.. which accounts for the very high membership rates from 1918 on (the culmination of a process leading up to entry into the CNT). Take for instance the village of Pedro Abad where 763 out of the 1,485 residents were unionised (and this was the rule rather than the exception).

Affiliation to the CNT does not in any way imply that the FNA was in decline but rather indicates that from then on (albeit no longer under the colours of the FNA) the peasant - particularly the Andalusian peasant - had really arrived centre stage, as is borne out by the fact that in Córdoba alone in 1918-19 there were 184 peasant strikes. There is further confirmation in the importance afforded to boycott (which was effective by reason of the high rates of membership). Note too that between 1917 and 1922 the burning of crops was commonplace, as were collective land seizures. In short, the FNA should not be regarded as the high point of peasant organisation, but rather as the beginning thereof, the phase that paved the way for the later burgeoning of peasant forces. (We ought to point out, and this happened also with the CNT peasants, that the bulk of the struggle fell upon the shoulders, not of the day-labourers, but of the share-croppers and smallholders).

343. La REVOLUCIÓN SOCIAL. Title of several newspapers.

1. - Palma de Mallorca, 1870-71, 3 issues. Replacement for El Obrero.
2. - Newspaper of the Los Desheredados group, 1884-85. Five issues, Echoing the IWMA.
3. - Barcelona 1889-90, anarcho-communist, 7 issues.
4. - Madrid 1934, clandestine.

344. ALFARACHE, Progreso. Andalusian (Algeciras-born) anarchist who died in exile in Mexico in 1964.

Affiliated to the CNT from a very early age, a studious, self-educated person, he had soon won himself a reputation, not merely in Andalusia but also in Levante and Catalonia, the regions where he was active. In 1919 he turned up as one of the delegates to the La Comedia congress (representing Graphic Arts of Seville) and by the start of the 1920s he was secretary of the CNT in Andalusia. During the Primo de Rivera years he suffered exile in France but came to prominence again as the advent of the republic approached: in 1928 he was a member of the Solidaridad group and in 1929 he headed the CNT national committee (staying on as general secretary until the republic was in place) and in this capacity he attended the Pact of San Sebastián talks (along with Vidiella) in August 1930 (as an observer from the CNT) and was jailed shortly afterwards because he was regarded as directly implicated in the Catalan revolutionary committee that was plotting against Primo de Rivera. Under the republic, he served on the editorial team of Solidaridad Obrera and signed up to the treintista manifesto (having helped draft it). Come the revolution in 1936, he served on the Generalitat's Council of Economy. After the defeat, he left for exile in Mexico where he upheld the arguments of the Delegacion and joined the Nueva FAI (1942) in opposing the Oliver-ist motion. Years later he wholly embraced the arguments of the clandestine CNT within Spain, was director-general of hunting and fishing in the Agricultural ministry under Leiva (on the Giral government-in-exile) and shortly after that returned to Spain to join the underground struggle, in the course of which he was arrested (March 1947) and served several years in jail in Madrid and Ocana. Eventually he left for Mexico again, there to direct the magazine Comunidad Ibérica (1963-64) up until his death. A very generous person, an anarchist not given to sectarianism, a very controversial figure who came in for scathing criticism from the orthodoxes and a very active individual, he died with famous words on his lips: "Alfarache loved the CNT better than his mother. He contributed to and was editor of several publications in Mexico, like Solidaridad Obrera, Estudios Sociales, CNT..

345. BLANCO GONZÁLEZ, Segundo. Gijón 1899-Mexico 1957.

Asturian who was a prestigious militant from his youth onwards. From 1914 to 1918 he used to attend the meetings of Gijón's Agrupación Libertaria and by the early years of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship he had earned himself quite a reputation, so much so that in 1926 he headed the Gijón-based clandestine national committee of the CNT and shortly after that was jailed in the wake of the so-called Puente de Vallecas plot. From 1929 to 1931 he distinguished himself in containing the Communist efforts to seize control of the Asturian CNT and shortly after that, by which time the republic had been introduced, he was outstanding in the La Felguera strike (1932) which earned him more time behind bars. Two years later, he turned up on the panel of the Asturian Alliance between the CNT and the UGT, even though he declined to head that Alliance (1934). With the outbreak of civil war, he remained prominent: he chaired the War Committee in Gijón in the summer of 1936, served as a councillor in his native city in November 1936 and held the portfolio for Industry on the Council of Asturias and León by the end of that year. With the collapse of the Asturian front, he became the Asturian CNT's representative on the CNT national committee, replacing González Entrialgo, and by 1938 had taken charge of the Ministry of Public Education in the Negrín government of 6 April 1938, again representing the CNT, after Negrín had selected him from a slate that also contained the names of Prieto and García Oliver. His performance as minister - in which post he had the assistance of Prieto, Alconchel and Puig Elías, has been much argued over, for whereas some have no hesitation in singling out his positive achievements, others are adamant that he turned into an enthusiastic Negrín-ist, to the extent of forgetting his CNT loyalties. (It is worth pointing out that shortly before taking up his post he called upon the government leader, under CNT instructions, to offer to assist him against the PCE). After the defeat he left for exile in the Americas, where he died.

346. BORRÁS CARRASCOSA, José. Zamora 1916-

Member of a family with a radical socialist background and of peasant extraction, he joined the libertarian movement in January 1936 (joining both the CNT and the FIJL). With the outbreak of the revolutionary conflict in July 1936 he served throughout the war with the Durruti column and passed through French concentration camps at the war's end. With the advent of the world war, he took part in the anti-Nazi resistance and we find him among the earliest groups striving to reorganise the CNT and the FIJL. His prestige grew quickly and he held positions of the first magnitude among the exiles in France: he was director of Ruta, general secretary of the FIJL, a member of the MLE-CNT International Secretariat in 1956 (in charge of Culture) and again at the time of the CNT reunification in 1960-61. Later his star waned, perhaps on account of his having become alienated from the Esglesas camp, only to rise again in the 1970s with the publication of several books of incontrovertible quality, all the while keeping up his trade as a painter and decorator. In 1982 he was a member of the Amicale Durruti in Toulouse and writing for its Bulletin. Author of: Reflexiones en torno a la Actual Situación Española (undated, no place indicated), Política de los Exiliados Españoles 1944-1950 (Paris 1976), Sindicalismo Español en la Encrucijada (Barcelona 1976) and Une Certaine Idée de l'Europe. His journalism may be found in Frente Libertario, Ruta...

347. PADILLA BOLOIX, José. Tarrasa 1901-1980.

Illustrious militant of the CNT. A CNT member and anarchist activist from a very early age, he stood out on account of his organisational talents, rectitude and courage in the clandestine struggle and in more bearable times. He spearheaded the storming of the town hall in Tarrasa in 1932 (during the anarchist uprising) and this earned him a twelve year jail sentence, part of which he served. He fought in the civil war of 1936 and when that ended he moved to France where he remained a CNT stalwart and become one of the founders of the Liaison Commission in Tarrasa (1945). In 1947 he moved to Andorra and then entered Spain to join the underground struggle in the Tarrasa area. Arrested, he was jailed until 1952.

From then on, he was to be outstanding on account of his mania for solidarity activity (especially solidarity towards prisoners). When the CNT was reorganised in the latter years of Francoism, he came to prominence once more: in 1976 he held the general secretaryship of the Catalan CNT, a post which he gave up the following year. He died a CNT member.

348. REBOLLEDA ORTIZ DE ZARATE, Isaías. Baracaldo 1893-Guatemala 1980.

Employed in the metalworking industry in Vizcaya from his early boyhood. At the age of 19 he moved to Barcelona, the syndicalist Mecca, and earned his living as a rolling-mill operator in Pueblo Nuevo. Drawn by the revolutionary syndicalist climate there, he was soon mixing in anarcho-syndicalist circles, in which context he was to stand out as a pugnacious and much harassed militant: he was repeatedly obliged to flee to France and change his address, flitting from one city to another in Andalusia (Málaga, Seville and Cádiz). Years later he returned to the Basque Country (to Sestao) but further persecution forced him to leave in a hurry and on this occasion he signed up as a ship's cargo-handler (and spent two years sailing around the world). With the outbreak of civil war in 1936 he was in the Basque Country as a militant of the first importance: he was a member of the CNT regional committee in 1936 and helped Chiapuso out with the newspaper CNT del Norte: he seems to have got into some difficulties with the Basque government which believed him to have had some involvement with the CNT battalions' attempt to strike: After the defeat he left for exile, first in Guatemala (from where he fled to Mexico to escape persecution) and later to Mexico. before ending his days in Guatemala.

349. GILABERT, Alejandro. Anarchist and CNT activist who died in Ecuador in 1979.

What information we possess on Gilabert shows him to have been an important figure during the republican era. He was secretary of the Catalan CNT in 1932-33 (having been elected at the regional plenum of

unions in Sabadell) and from that position he attempted to ease relations with the treintistas with an eye to reunited the Confederation (which is why he opposed Alaiz's use of the pages of Solidaridad Obrera to wage a crude campaign against the treintistas). Later, in 1934-35 he was on the editorial team of Solidaridad Obrera (and, briefly, its director) and was imprisoned in October 1934. After the outbreak of civil war he was a Barcelona city councillor (from October 1936) and like many another he was caught in the snares of circumstantialism, which in his case led to his championing the new FAI structure agreed at the Valencia plenum in 1937 (he was secretary of the FAI's Barcelona local federation and gave talks putting the case for the new quasi-party political structure). After the war he left for exile in France and then in Ecuador, which latter country handed him over to Franco. Exactly how we do not know, but he managed to return to Ecuador where he settled up until his death. Gilabert was prominent in anarchist circles and in journalism (as director of Tierra y Libertad, and contributor to Solidaridad Obrera and Liberación). Author of: Un Héroe del Pueblo. Durruti (Valparaíso 1938), Durruti, un Anarquista Integro (Barcelona, undated), La CNT, la FAI y la Revolución Española (Barcelona 1932?), Los Escritores al Servicio de la Verdad. Carta Abierta a Ramón J. Sender (Barcelona 1938).

350. ACCIÓN SOCIAL OBRERA. Title of several libertarian newspapers.

1. - Palafrugell, 1918-1928. Anarcho-syndicalist weekly. Suspended in 1928 by Primo de Rivera.

2. - San Feliu de Guixols, 1928-29. Organ of the unions of the Ampurdá comarca. It carried on from the Palafrugell publication. It became very important in that it was one of the few titles not suspended by the Dictatorship and its columns carried swingeing criticisms of Pestaña-ist possibilism, especially from Peiró, Carbó and Buenacasa. Other contributors included Narciso Llano and Fontaura.

3. - Published by the CNT of Baix Empurdá, 1978, two issues. A would-be continuation of the pre-civil newspapers listed above.

4. - Barcelona, publication of the CNT local federation, 1975-76, seven issues.

351. ARA, Pedro. Campodarve (Huesca) 1914 -Tarbes (France) 1972.

Anarchist activist involved with the most radical factions. He had a wretched childhood (abandoned by his mother) and from early boyhood knew the harshness of having to earn his crust (as a shepherd). He came into contact early with the CNT which provided his real education and by the age of 19 he was involved in the anarchist uprising in Aragon (1933) and was jailed in the San Cristóbal fortress, up until the Popular Front coalition swept to victory in the February 1936 elections. He fought in the war of 1936 before departing for exile in France. In France he was aligned with the orthodoxes and was a zealous advocate of the hard line of directly confronting Francoism. Consistent with these beliefs he was not content to so many others to prattle from exile in France but enlisted with the action groups operating in Aragon and Catalonia in the 1940s: in July 1947 he attended the clandestine national plenum of CNT regionals Madrid and the national plenum of the FIJL, representing Aragon and the MLE-CNT in France: shortly after that he returned to France, only to re-enter Catalonia at the end of that year to bolster the CNT regional committee for Catalonia. Later he returned to France and stayed there up until his death. At all times he argued the case for constantly harrying the Franco regime. His fighting tactics appear to have had much in common with the policy supported by Amador Franco's Libertarian Youth and by Carreñn within the CNT and also to have been consistent with the dynamic advocated by Peirats towards the end of the 1940s. Like very many anarchists of the time, Ara was more of a man of action than a talker and had educated himself until he had developed a rather mystical idea of anarchism as a philosophy of liberation - with Stoic overtones. He is a fine representative of the rank-and-file CNT membership, capable of making great sacrifices whilst asking nothing in return.

352. AURORA SOCIAL. Title of several newspapers.

1. - Zaragoza 1905. Anarchist weekly.

2. - Zaragoza 1910. Organ of the local federation of labour associations.

Prepared by José Prat, with contributions from Anselmo Lorenzo, Jorge Gracia, Aguado and Zuferrí. Achieved a print-run of some 5,000 copies.

353. MARTÍNEZ "Arín", Francisco. Shot in Seville in 1936.

Prominent pre-civil war CNT militant, a fine organiser and public speaker.

Employed in the metalworking sector, by 1918 he was already a labour spokesman of some standing (he represented the Barcelona copper-smelters at the congress in Sants) and shortly after that he turned up as secretary of the Barcelona metalworkers. Under the Primo de Rivera regime he was in touch (especially towards the end) with those calling for the overthrow of the dictatorship and the unleashing of revolution. Even under the latter years of the dictatorship he was the CNT representative at talks with military revolutionary committees hostile to the monarchy (in June 1930) and he began to be very scathing in his comments upon faísta activities (accusing the FAI of breaching the official policy of the Confederation). With the proclamation of the republic in 1931 he served on the CNT national committee and shortly afterwards sided with the treintistas, becoming an important militant on their behalf. At around this time his criticisms of the FAI grew more shrill and he joined the FSL headed by Pestaña. In 1934, when Pestaña severed his links, he took over as under-secretary of the FSL and worked towards reunification of the CNT. After the fascist uprising, at which time he was in Seville, he was arrested and shot by Queipo de Llano's troops.

354. ARTAL, Joaquín Miguel. Barcelona 1884-Ceuta 1909 (?)

Catalan anarchist, a barber's son educated at the College for Orphaned Children. By trade he was a wood sculptor (at the workshop of J. Nadal) and from a very early age seems to have had connections with anarchist circles. His popularity dates from 1904 (when he was 19 years old) when he

attempted the life of Maura (on 12 April 1904), injuring him slightly with a dagger. Arrested, he stated that he had had no accomplices and he was sentenced to 17 years' imprisonment which he served in the prison in Ceuta where he died. His action was widely covered in the libertarian press of the day (especially in *El Rebelde*, in which he also had a few articles published). His death was also widely reported in the libertarian press (*Tierra y Libertad* and *El Libertario* recalling his assassination bid). Artal has been described as a thin, wiry man, shy and well-mannered. Little else is known about his short life and he is remembered here for his attack on Maura.

355. AVENIR. Title of several newspapers and of a celebrated anarchist group.

1. - Anarchist group established very late in the 19th century and dissolved in 1910. It was made up of Leopoldo Bonafulla, Cortiella, Albano Rossell, Juan Llunes, Masgomeri, Roure, Vehil, Chassignet, Ismael Simó, Sallent and Usón. They published a review of the same name (see below). The group enjoyed a high profile (Carbó tried to join in 1905) in both labour organising and libertarian cultural circles: in this respect we should point out that the group deserves the credit for the bulk of the flourishing anarchist social drama and there can be no denying its crucial presence in the anarchist press of the day (especially in *El Productor*). It was characterised by the emphasis that it gave to education and culture, as well as by its very pronounced interest in reviving the Catalan tongue. (We know that Cortiella was denied the directorship of *Solidaridad Obrera* precisely because of his undue insistence upon using Catalan). So much so that, rather exaggeratedly perhaps, the group has been regarded as Catalanist (although no one can deny that its line was unmistakably libertarian).

2. - Newspaper written in the Catalan language, Barcelona 1905-06. Weekly sub-titled "Nous Horitzons de Perfecció". Directed by Masgomeri, with contributions from Rossell, Rossetti, Cortiella .. Published by the anarchist

group of the same name.

3. - Anarchist newspaper, Barcelona, 1982, two issues.

356. La CUÑA. Title of several newspapers.

1. - Gijón 1915-17. Monthly organ of the national federation of woodworkers' associations. 22 issues. Under the direction of Pedro Sierra.

2. - La Coruña, 1901-11. Especially to the fore in championing an overhauled syndicalism.

3. - Barcelona-Tarragona, 1898-1906. Newspaper championing the woodworkers of Spain.

4. - Badalona, 1898-1913, 138 issues. Organ of the carpenters and cabinet-makers (almost certainly linked with the preceding entry).

357. ESPAÑA LIBRE.

Initially appeared as the mouthpiece of the CNT's Centre regional in exile (1945), only to become within a short space of time the mouthpiece of the CNT national sub-committee in France, up until 1961, when it was wound up. Initially it was published in Paris, but after 1947 it appeared in Toulouse as a weekly. Its demise was due to Francoist pressure, but it seems plain that its days were numbered anyway after the reunification of the CNT in 1961 (although there were attempts made at the congress in Lomoges to turn it into a weekly targeting Spanish emigrants). It was very steadfast in its defence of the positions of the clandestine national committee of the CNT of Spain, even in respect of seemingly pricklier matters (such as CNT participation in the Giral government-in-exile, dialogue with monarchists..). Its directors included Emilio Vivas and Félix Lorenzo Páramo and contributors included Ramón Álvarez, Acracio Bartolomé and the cream of the minority fraction in exile. It carried previously unpublished texts by Peiró, but its popularity derived (rightly or wrongly according to point of view) from its inclusion of the famous manifesto entitled *Con España o Contra España* (18 November 1945). There is no denying that this was an important newspaper.

358. BALIUS, Jaime. Barcelona 1898?. Died in 1981.

As a member of a wealthy Catalan family, he received a splendid education (studying for his baccalaureate and then going on to a career in medicine which he abandoned after he was stricken by paralysis) and politically he subscribed to the Catalanist cause (Partido Nacionalista Catalán). He gave up on Catalanism with the advent of the republic, disappointed by its reformism, and threw in his lot with the libertarians (definitely by 1932). On account of his social origins, he was active in the FAI rather than in the CNT (although he also belonged to the CNT, having, apparently, been introduced to it by Liberto Callejas). He was a member of one of the FAI's groups (alongside Bruno Lladó, Cervera and Ruiz). He came to prominence with the events of May 1937 as the head of the Friends of Durruti Grouping (and of its mouthpiece *El Amigo del Pueblo*). In May 1937 he was calling for confrontation with the Stalinists, for the jettisoning of the CNT's reformism (which he put down to participation in government) and for espousal of revolutionary objectives. The May days saw him on the barricades reading a manifesto to Europe's workers and urging that the fight against the Communists be kept up; he was harsh in his criticism of the "pacifism" of the CNT and FAI leaderships. After the defeat he left for exile in France (*El Amigo del Pueblo* popped up again in Paris in 1961) and in the 1970s he resurfaced with the reorganisation of the CNT (writing articles for *Fragua Social* and *El Combate Sindicalista*), in spite of his advanced years. As a journalist he had been on the editorial staff of *Solidaridad Obrera*, a contributor to CNT and *Solidaridad* and director of *La Noche* (in Barcelona during the civil war). Balius has been a very controversial figure and it has to be said that the opinion held of him will be directly related to the individual opinion of the Friends of Durruti Grouping.

359. EL CHORNALER.

Newspaper written in the Valencian tongue and published in Valencia, 1883-4, 25 issues published. It was sub-titled "Newspaper championing those

who labour yet do not eat, bitter enemy of those that eat yet do no labour". It spread writings on the idea of anarchism, as well as lots of texts dealing with the agrarian problem.

360. THIRD CNT CONGRESS (Madrid 1931)

This was held from 10 to 16 July 1931 on the premises of the Conservatorio theatre in Madrid (which is why the congress is sometimes referred to simply as the Conservatorio congress) over 14 sessions chaired by Isgleas, Galo Díez, Avelino González, San Agustín, Mendiola, Peiró, Villaverde, Antonio Pastor, Carbó, Manuel Pérez, Piñón, Roig, Calderón and Domingo Torres. 418 delegates represented a membership of 535,000 (some critics advance different figures) from 511 organisations. The distribution was as follows: Andalusia-Extremadura (113 unions and 101,274 members), Aragon (31 unions and 24,739 members), Asturias- León-Palencia (38 unions and 25,453 members), the Balearics (4 unions and 1,625 members), Cantabria (9 unions and 893 members) Catalonia (164 unions and 294,616 members), the Centre (44 unions and 9,431 members), Galicia (48 unions and 13,208 members), Levante (70 unions and 60,662 members) and the North (8 unions and 2,867 members).

The congress proceeded in a very stormy atmosphere, with bitter arguments and clashes - all of them the results of the unspoken struggle between faístas and moderates (soon to become treintistas) and the crisis that the CNT was facing, itself the result of a generational conflict, many members having come to the organisation during its time underground under the Primo de Rivera dictatorship. None of which was conducive to proper dialogue.

The congress was opened by Pestaña (on behalf of the national committee) who declared that capitalism was in decline, but needed to be helped to make its exit. Francisco Arín, also from the national committee, reviewed the preceding period, focusing upon the CNT's dealings with politicians with a view to overthrowing the Dictatorship. On behalf of the IWA, Rucker cautioned against the democratic peril implicit in the republic. The debate

on the national committee's end-of-term report was very heated, with plentiful attacks upon the aforementioned collaboration with the politicians. The three main themes of the congress were: the peasant issue, the national federations of industry and the CNT's stance vis à vis the nascent republic (with which we shall be dealing at some length). But there were other issues of concern raised too, and agreement upon them was not always forthcoming: 1. - There was agreement that unions should receive votes in proportion with their membership numbers. 2. - Trade union office and political office were held to be incompatible with each other. 3. - A Propaganda school was to be established. 4. - There was to be a nationwide propaganda and organisation drive. 5. - A national newspaper was to be launched (this was to be CNT). 6. - A perceptive study of unemployment (its causes and consequences) was drawn up, and there was an appendix to this offering concrete solutions for countering the joblessness as it was at that time: the six hour working day, rejection of piece rates and overtime, confiscation of landed estates, capitalists compelled to invest, with their firms being seized by the CNT in the event of refusal, a refusal of lay-offs, the government and municipalities required to place the unemployed and propaganda among the workers to give a boost their spirit of solidarity. There was also lengthy debate as to whether the FAI should or should not be formally recognised by the CNT and, as a result, whether it should participate in CNT congresses.. In the end, after some scathing and bitter exchanges, no accord was reached on this.

As for the congress's three main themes, it has to be said that they brought to light the existence of two well-defined schools of thought within the CNT and also demonstrated that the organisation boasted leaders of unquestionable ability. The peasant issue was dealt with in a much more level-headed and sensible way than the others and accords were arrived at to which all could subscribe and which dealt with the claims of the landless as well as those of independent smallholders. The resolution passed called for seizure without indemnification of all landed estates; these would be taken under social ownership and would be handed over for the unions to

run along collective lines: it also urged the abolition of taxation burdening properties worked by their owners and demanded the abolition of the rents payable by small share-croppers: in addition, it stressed that the most important point was that the peasant masses must be prepared successfully for constructive, anarcho-syndicalist revolution.

The debate on the resolution on National Industrial Federations (rejected back in 1919) proved a lot more disputatious: it was part of a broader "Scheme for CNT Reorganisation". The working party, made up of Ballester, Miganola, Servet Martínez, M. Fernández, Segundo Blanco, Montes, F. Benito, M. González, Mira, San Agustín and Medina, drafted a minutely detailed resolution, from which Julio Roig disassociated himself, and which provoked a very lively controversy. Roig, Alberola, García Oliver and Moncada roundly attacked the draft resolution, charging it with being marxist, an affront to the trade union and generative of bureaucracy and officialdom, and with being anti-anarchist, etc., but Peiró's arguments, to the effect that there would be no trespass against the trade union and that the National Federations of Industry were an appropriate weapon for fighting against neo-capitalism, ensured approval for the resolution that stated that the object of the National Industrial Federation was to band together the unions of its industry on a national scale in order to combat capitalism, to coordinate its unions with an eye to securing better working and professional conditions and to gather statistics with regard to raw materials, labour costs, product pricing and markets..

It turned out that the debate on the stance which the CNT should adopt with regard to the republic's Constituent Cortes was even stormier. The working party charged with drafting the resolution was made up of V. García, Galo Díez, Subero, Melchor, Collado, Segundo Blanco, Niceto de la Iglesia, Corbella, Canet, Villaverde, Margalef, Mendiola, Ramos, Cipriano Mera and Benito: the resolution, obviously ambiguous in that it underlined the CNT's anti-political nature, also insisted upon some minimum demands. There was a falling-out even between the members of the working party. Mera, Ramos and Benito tabled a separate resolution criticising the very

inclusion of this item on the congress's agenda and they called for a resounding endorsement of anti-political and anti-parliamentary principles. Then again, one group of trade unions (the delegate signatories included Esgleas, Progreso Fernández, Ballester and Alberola) sought endorsement for a text that stated that "where the Constituent Cortes is concerned we have neither maximum nor minimum programmes, merely social revolution. Let us, then, be revolutionaries and not law-makers." It was left to Villaverde and Galo Díez to defend the working party report.

The Conservatorio congress has been subjected to assessments that differ widely according to whether the judgment is being made by a supporter of one faction or another: some see it as a success for the revisionists (Peiró, López, Pestaña and Orobón being their supposed figure-heads) who managed to push through the National Federations of Industry and afford the newborn republic a certain room for manoeuvre: others on the side of the moderates contend that the FAI prevented the congress from proceeding along peaceable lines and that the FAI minority tried to thwart the congress's progress, in which attempt they were disappointed, although it did succeed over the ensuing months in boycotting efforts to get the National Federations of Industry off the ground and in embarking upon a very violent campaign to harry the republic. Which is to say that the faístas were defeated at the congress but later succeeded on the streets.

Among those attending the congress, in addition to those already named, we might cite Alfarache, Pedro Cano, J Figueras, Fernando Trigo, Valdés, Xena, Luis Romeu, Auguet and the full national committee (Pestaña, Arín, Alfarache, Rivas, Baldo, Germán and Artoneda.)

361. FLORES, César. Killed in Bellcaire in 1938, strafed to death by fascist aircraft.

Very prestigious militant of the pre-civil war CNT. He seems to have been a native of La Rioja, from where he moved to Barcelona in the second decade of the 20th century. In Barcelona he was particularly active in the Construction Union, serving as its president during the republican period

after his release from the prison in which he had served many years for social offences (he seems to have attempted the life of an employer during a strike in the Basque Country). He is recorded as attending the regional plenum of the CNT and the FAI in June 1937, at which he served on the working party that agreed to rejoin the Generalitat and to set up a policy council inside the Catalan regional committee, a council that would include representatives from the FAI, CNT, FIJL and the peasants. He was also commissar with the 121st Brigade of the 26th Division.

From all of the foregoing it will readily be appreciated that Flores's biography is little known, so much so that some sources are adamant that he died in exile in France and that his forename was Ceferino.

362. FORNELLS FRANCESCH, Ricardo.

The life of this militant who died in poverty in Barcelona in 1942 greatly resembles the life of Corbella: he was a militant of some standing for a goodly number of years but fell by the wayside in 1939-40 by coming to an accommodation with the Spanish fascists. He came to notice during the teen years of the century as a CNT member of the first magnitude: in 1918 he was recorded as attending the congress in Sants (as the delegate from the Barcelona local federation) and the following year he was Catalonia's delegate to the La Comedia congress (he was working in the glass industry at the time and had earlier been a teacher). These were good years for Fornells who demonstrated that he was an excellent public speaker (he was one of the people who addressed the closure meeting of the Sants congress) and a perceptive writer (he used to write for the newspapers under the nom de plume of Estudiante Ronsard), with an education far superior to that of the generality of CNT members at the time.

After the advent of the republic, and following the Conservatorio congress, he aligned himself with the treintistas (as one of the signatories to their manifesto) and was on the editorial staff of Solidaridad Obrera when Peiró was its director (up until September 1931). He cut loose (and was expelled from the CNT in 1932), defecting to the Opposition Unions in which he

became a leading figure in Sabadell, the city where he was director of the Instituto Pedagógico Cultural, an off-shoot of the local federation of trade unions. He wrote plainly revisionist articles for the newspaper Vertical in 1934 and after joining the oppositionist FSL he finally crossed the line into politics proper by aligning himself with Pestaña and joining the Syndicalist Party (1934). But even when the Sabadell local federation joined the UGT in 1936, he did not become a card-carrying socialist. Up until the end of the civil war, his ideological evolution was in line with other well-known and historic syndicalist figures who were seduced by the opportunities that the republic appeared to offer: however, things took a deplorable turn when, in February 1939, he left for exile in France where he came up with the notion of setting up a re-patriation agency for militants like Corróns and Corbella prepared to cooperate with fascist vertical syndicates. That same year he returned to Spain only to be utterly disowned by his family and to eke out a living by working as a schoolteacher. Shortly after that, he moved to the province of Gerona where he was arrested (and held for six months in Gerona) and transferred to Barcelona where he was set free, only to end his days in poverty, deserted by everybody, but not before he had tried to talk Peiró into collaborating with the Francoists. What it was that induced him to collaborate with the fascists is unclear, even though - as in Corbella's case too - amorous motives have been hinted at. Articles by him can be found in Solidaridad Obrera, Vertical, El Combate Sindicalista (Valencia)..

363. EL LUCHADOR. Title of several libertarian newspapers.

1.- Toulouse 1968-73. Bulletin with restricted circulation. Connected with Spanish anarchists in exile.

2. - Barcelona, from 1931. Weekly that brought out a total of 182 issues. Its line was anarchist and opposed to treintismo and it was very violent (being suspended three times during 1932). Texts by Urales and Federica Montseny, who were its directors. It became famous through F. Montseny's campaign against Mira and Pestaña, who were the leaders of the Catalan regional and the national committees, respectively, of the CNT.

364. GONZÁLEZ GARCÍA MENESES, Antonio.

Cádiz engineering student who was living in Barcelona during the 1860s. He was a member of the very first Barcelona branch of the IWMA (1869) and in 1870 he represented the Cádiz labour associations at the Barcelona labour congress and at it championed the resolution on organising the workers which was eventually approved (and which, with only slight amendments, has survived in anarchist labour circles down through the years). Also with the approval of that congress he helped Marsal, Nuet and Farga to draft the manifesto to Portuguese workers urging them to join the IWMA (December 1870), a document in which he is listed as a "dyer". After completing his studies, he returned to Cádiz where he was arrested in 1873 on suspicion of being implicated in an insurrection. Thereafter he withdrew from militant activity (assuredly because of the suspicions raised in certain workers by his not being a worker like themselves). The last report of him had him in Seville in 1890 as a radical lecturer at the Instituto there.

365. MOGROVEJO FERNÁNDEZ, Restituto. Died in Mexico in 1949.

An army NCO who, with Tomás de la Llave and others led the revolt by the lower ranks of the army in January 1918 (he was chairman of the secret Action Committee), as a result of which he was discharged from the armed forces. Shortly after that he embraced anarchist ideas and joined the Madrid CNT, which was very tiny at the time. He operated out of the Ateneo Sindicalista alongside Bajatierra, Valdés and Pastor. Years later (in 1926) he was implicated in the Sanjuanada plot against the dictator Primo de Rivera and was forced to flee to Portugal. During the republic, he turned his hand to journalism and during the civil war he fought with the CNT columns as a quarter-master colonel on the Aragon front. After the fascist victory, he settled in Mexico where he mounted an intense press campaign and penned several books and pamphlets (founding the review *La Mérida Mejicana* and *España Nueva* in Mexico City) and he joined the Spanish Authors- and Journalists-in-exile Trade Association. As well as writing for local Mexican publications, his articles can be read in *Solidaridad Obrera*, CNT and *Fragua*

Social.. Author of: *El Dolor de España, Hechos Históricos Rigurosamente Exactos* (Mexico 1944), and *Historia de Un Crimen. Ni Franco ni la Monarquía* (Toulouse, undated, 1945?). Mogrovejo was a CNT member with impeccable republican credentials.

366. ORTO. *Revista de documentación social*. Valencia 1932-33, monthly. Founded and directed by Marín Civera, this review afforded great significance to syndicalism and for a time tried to reconcile anarchism and marxism. In its fifteen issues we find important articles by Orobón Fernández, Millet, Besnard, Cornelissen, Dauphin-Meunier, Nin, Pestaña, Leval, Martínez Rizo, Miguel Alejandro, Makariev, Pistrak, Strohg, Berneri.. Orto was, without doubt, the review that did most to help spread new thinking on syndicalism.

367. LUQUE ARGENTE, Juan José.

Most unfairly Luque's name is scarcely ever cited in any other connection than in attempts to heap upon his shoulders all of the blame for the "anarcho-monarchists" affair (1946-49), the impression being given that Luque popped up at that time, unbeknownst to anybody, to strike up relations with the monarchists.. But the facts are quite different. The product of a family from the upper bourgeoisie, he studied for a career as a road engineer, at which career he worked in the Canaries (overseeing the port facilities) during the Primo de Rivera period and even then he appears to have been closely connected with the CNT in the islands: his undeniable opposition to the dictatorship is borne out by two facts: he was deported to Cabo Jubuy for his refusal to back Primo, and he was a party to the Sanjuanada plot in 1926.

During the civil war years, he served on the CNT national committee in Madrid and, from what we have been told, was the only national committee member not to have abandoned the city in the face of the fascist advance in November 1936: his presence is also recorded at several high-ranking CNT get-togethers (in June 1938 he attended the meeting of the policy section of

the CNT national committee). At the end of the civil war he suffered imprisonment and it was in prison that he was to make Mera's acquaintance in 1944. On his release, he represented the Canaries on the clandestine national committee of the CNT headed by E. Marco Nadal (1946). It was from 1946 on that the ANFD and the CNT national committee, in their desire to accelerate Franco's downfall, decided to connect with the monarchists (this appears to have been done at the insistence of the British and Americans, without which they were not going to withdraw their support from Franco). Initially these dealings were handled by Vicente Santamaría, but were later handed over to Luque (who became the policy secretary of the CNT national committee and its delegate to the ANFD), precisely because it was thought that Santamaría had over-stepped the mark: after Marco Nadal was arrested, Luque stayed on as the highest-ranking CNT delegate to the ANFD and the talks with the monarchists carried on until August 1948, when the Pretender (the so-called Don Juan de Borbón) came to an accommodation with Franco and distanced himself from the libertarians and from anti-Francoists generally. Later, Luque would be dispatched outside the country as the delegate from the CNT of the Interior: on his return to Spain in 1952, his trail goes cold and we are assured that he died sometime during the 1960s.

A highly-educated and refined, yet extraordinarily straightforward man, the entire anarcho-monarchist episode has led to his being dismissed as an alleged 'plant', maybe even a double agent, a monarchist even.. But there is nothing in his record to suggest that there is any substance to this. At best, there are grounds for thinking that, as with the entire CNT in the Interior (as well as with the socialists and republicans) the false expectation - which had not, at the time, been proved false - that Franco's downfall required some consensus among all his opponents, led them to believe in the viability of something that was a noinsense (remember that the talks on the monarchist side involved Aranda, Beigbeder, the Duke of Alba and Gil Robles... rather too many to be trusted). It is surprising, too, that Luque should have been the only person held culpable.

368. IRON COLUMN (Columna de Hierro)

An anarchist militia column launched in Valencia in 1936; it was particularly feared by various Communists and reactionaries and little appreciated by the CNT leadership on account of its ideological steadfastness and resolution when it came to implementation of the social revolution and libertarian communism. It grew out of the anarchist shock forces (from the CNT, FAI and FIJL) that stormed the barracks of Valencia. That core group, itself made up of the staunchest, most uncompromising elements of Valencian anarchism, was joined by hundreds of prisoners released by the libertarians themselves and, together, off they set for the Teruel front (Barracas, Sarrión, Puebla de Valverde), holding the Valencian defensive positions along a line stretching from Andegüela to Forniche, holding up the fascist advance. No sooner had the column been formed that it equipped itself with a War Committee that included José Pellicer, Montoya, Pascual Rodilla, Ángel Gómez de la Higuera, Rufino, Elías Manzanera, Gumbau, Serna, José Segarra, Dolz, Cortés and Canet, together with professional soldiers Pérez Salas and Gallego and the commanders of the various centurias. Its fighting strength stood at 1,500, later boosted (in spite of difficulties created by the government and the regional CNT leadership) to some 3,000: its bases were located primarily in the Puerto Escandón, Sarrión and Puebla district, a comarca where libertarian communism had effectively been imposed. The column had two mouthpieces, a front-line newspaper called Línea de Fuego and another, in Valencia, called Nostoros (which also served as the FAI and FIJL organ).

The Iron Column quickly earned a reputation for its uncompromising anarchism, which prevented it from espousing pro-alliance and compromising stances.. which is the very reason why it was so vilified (especially by the Stalinists of the PCE). In October 1936 it issued an extraordinarily forceful manifesto in which, after rebutting the slander campaign mounted by reactionary 'plants' and 'antifascists' , it called for the disarmament and disbanding of the Civil Guard and the immediate dispatch

to front line service of the armed agencies of the State posted in the rearguard (the Carabineers, Assault Guards and Security Guards), as well as for the destruction of the archives and records of capitalist and State institutions.. And this manifesto was not mere verbiage, for these policies were shortly put into effect. Another thing that confirms the Column's extraordinary libertarian purity was the spectacular protest it raised at the entry of the CNT into the government. Shortly afterwards, when rumours started to spread about regularisation of the militias, the Column's delegates signalled its complete opposition to this (at a November 1936 plenum, one of the delegates flatly dismissed the idea that militarisation was any better than the militias). In January 1937 it was behind a meeting of all confederal militias in Valencia, a meeting at which, if Mera is to be believed, the Tierra y Libertad and Iron Columns alone opposed militarisation plans. After January 1937, the Iron Column was virtually on its own in keeping the flag of anti-militarisation flying (at which point, as many militants realised that the CNT was in favour of regularisation, the desertions started), but by this point it was felt that there was no stopping the rush to militarisation. A report from the column's War Committee that month spelled the facts out bluntly: "disbandment of the column, or militarisation of it". Two months later the central government, with the acquiescence of the reformist CNT and FAI leaders, issued an ultimatum: the militias on the Teruel front were to come under the control of the Ministry of War, which appointed Benedito as commander and it would also start to enforce the December 1936 regulations (signifying that funding for non-militarised units would be cut off). This government order caused outrage and by way of a protest the vast majority of the column decided to quit the front, leading to clashes in the rearguard with some units belonging to the State forces of repression, resulting in the arrest of almost a hundred militians. This obliged the War Committee to issue a manifesto wherein it was stated that the column "had asked to be relieved", but had been neither disbanded nor militarised. By mid-March 1937, the column had largely been disbanded in that very many of its members had pulled out of it.. against this backdrop, there was an

Assembly in Valencia (21 March 1937) and this decided to accept militarisation was the lesser of two evils.. Shortly after that, the remnants of the Iron Column (4,000 men out of the former total strength of 20,000) were renamed the 83rd Mixed Brigade under the command of José Pellicer, with Segarra as political commissar. Before the Column was wound up, its assets were shared among the rationalist schools, the CNT hospital service or used for the defence of anarchist prisoners and on propaganda and cultural ventures. The ex-column, militarised now, fought right up until the civil war ended, by which time it was under the command of Marés.

To sum up: a purely anarchist Column it was, for that very reason, much targeted by the usual enemies (Communists and rightwingers) as well as by "circumstantialists" (the high-ranking committees of the CNT and the FAI, including the CNT national committee, the FAI peninsular committee and the Valencian regional CNT committee..). Both sets of its enemies seized upon the excuse that there were ex-convicts in the ranks of the column (there were not that many of them and they were not all that bad anyway: suffice to say that when the column's War Committee learned that armed gangs claiming to be Iron Column members were engaged in looting, it had them arrested and executed). Obviously, at a time when counter-revolution and reinforcement of the State held charms even for certain CNT personnel, the Iron Column was an embarrassment.

369. HUMANIDAD LIBRE. Title of several newspapers of libertarian persuasion.

1. - Valencia 1902. At least three issues. Written by and for women. It boasted contributions by Claramunt, Soledad Gustavo, Rosa Lidán, María Losada, Angelina Vidal, Louise Michel, María Caro, Goldman. Was intended to appear fortnightly.

2. - Jumilla 1907. Anarchist weekly. Some sources claim it also appeared in 1903-05.

3. - Barcelona 1928. Anarchist newspaper published by the anarchist group Faro.

4. - La Línea de la Concepción, 1979, one issue. Organ of the Campo de Gibraltar CNT.

370. SOLIDARIDAD PROLETARIA. Title of several periodical publications.

1. - Seville 1932. Organ of the Andalusian CNT.

2. - Organ of the Andalusian Regional Confederation of Labour (CNT), 1947. Clandestine. Published in Madrid for sure.

3. - Barcelona 1921. Clandestine publication briefly replacing Solidaridad Obrera after the latter was suspended. In fact it was good old Solidaridad Obrera under a new name.

4. - Barcelona 1924. Weekly issued for the purpose of underpinning the syndicalist component of the CNT. It aimed to serve as the spokesman for the CNT which there were plans at the time to overhaul. It opposed those advocating that pride of place be given to the anarchist element in the Confederation. It drew contributions from the most prominent syndicalists of the day: its director was Ángel Abella, and its editorial team included Pestaña, Peiró, Arnó and Andrés Miguel. It survived for less than a year - from October 1924 until May 1925 - because of government harassment.

371. BALLESTER TINOCO, Vicente. Outstanding Andalusian CNT and anarchist militant. Born in Cádiz in 1903, he was shot in the same city on 19 September 1936, by the fascists.

From a working class family (the eldest of five siblings) he attended a school run by monks for a time and from his early boyhood earned a living as a French polisher and later as a cabinet-maker and carpenter (which was to be his eventual trade). His connections with anarchism date from 1920 in which year he joined the Fermín Salchovea anarchist group and three years later he represented the libertarians of Cádiz at a clandestine gathering in El Arahal. Little is known of his activities during the years of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, although it seems that he used the hiatus enforced by the dictator to complete his cultural baggage through self-education (he achieved a good familiarity with the anarchist classics, as well as the most

outstanding elements of progressive thought) and from 1928 to 1930 he taught Esperanto classes in Cádiz city. He came to the fore after the collapse of the dictatorship, becoming a figure of more than provincial stature and becoming a leading light of anarcho-syndicalism in the south: he was secretary of the Cádiz woodworkers' union, represented Cádiz at the conference in Seville in 1930, served as secretary of the Andalusian regional committee of the CNT in 1932, was a member, along with Peñas and Arcas of the Andalusian revolutionary committee in 1933 (the Casas Viejas episode), represented the Andalusian regional CNT committee at the Zaragoza congress in 1936 and was secretary of the Cádiz local federation in July 1936. During the republic he was prominent as a public speaker of some stature and a remarkable lecturer (holding huge rallies in Madrid, Barcelona, Zaragoza, Seville, Huesca and countless meetings in and around the Cádiz area). He was regularly jailed (after the October revolution in Asturias, for instance). Without question his heyday was in 1930-1934 and he went on to become a militant who was all-powerful in Cádiz, but a rather controversial name elsewhere, especially after he embraced the arguments of the Asturians and of Orobón in favour of the Workers' Alliance, of which he was the mainstay in Andalusia. (It should be pointed out that widespread suspicion was aroused by his sharing a platform with Largo Caballero at a rally in Cádiz in 1936).

Endowed with undeniable organisational talents, he was also a gifted writer, whether as a militant journalist or as a writer of popular literature. Author of several short novels and reportage: *La Voz de la Sangre*, *La Tragedia Vulgar de un Hombre Libre*, *El Último Cacique*, *El Asalto*, *Han Pasado los Bárbaros*.. Also wrote for *Solidaridad Obrera* of Gijón, *Acción Social Obrera*, *Despertad*, *Redención* and *CNT* (serving on the editorial team of the latter in 1933-34).

Short and energetic-looking and charismatic (at the Zaragoza congress he won favour through the wit and grace of his speech, not that this was any obstacle to his calling Carbó to account. Nor was there any praise forthcoming for his role in the working party drafting the motion of

libertarian communism). Convinced that a labour alliance could halt the onward march of fascism, he fought the enemies of the people to the very end. He represents a giant of Andalusian anarchism, on a par with Vallina, Rafael Peña, Arcas, etc.

372. ANFD = Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democráticas (National Alliance of Democratic Forces). Sometimes also known as the ANFUD.

Founded in October 1944 (that the CNT would participate had been determined by a clandestine national plenum of regionals on 13 March 1944), it embraced three great ideological blocs: socialists, republicans and libertarians (to be more precise, Acción Republicana, Izquierda Republicana, Partido Federal, the UGT, the PSOE, the CNT and the Libertarian Movement (ML)). The ANFD was intended as a replacement for Francoism at a point when the defeat of fascists across Europe hinted that the downfall of Falangism in Spain was imminent: it was an umbrella group which quickly spread to the entire peninsula and in Catalonia it offered places to the Catalanist and minority groupings (Esquerra, Estat Català, Acció Catalana, the Rabassaires, Unió Democràtica, the FAI, the POUM and the Socialist Youth, in 1945).

Almost as soon as it had been set up, the ANFD issued a manifesto ("Al país" - To the Country) in which we find the keynotes that were to govern its existence over the following years. After declaring that the war was not over yet, the manifesto underlined the "democratic, Spanish and republican" character of the ANFD, in contrast with the Falange's criminal record and it sought the backing of the United Nations: it also included an 8-point heads of agreement- restoration of the republic, creation of a democratic government to assume power until such time as a popular consultation might be feasible, steadfast maintenance of social and public discipline, a statement on the validity of government ordinances, amendment of the judicial order (culprits brought to book and dismissed from office and injuries undone), gradual recognition of public freedoms, general elections, government policy would be consonant with endorsement of the Atlantic

Charter, good neighbourliness, collective peace, with Spain, hopefully, looking to the west and with a special relationship with the Americas. The document closed with an appeal for a republic and this was endorsed by the PSOE, UGT, CNT and Spanish Republican Party.

Local and provincial and prisoners' aid committees were quickly set up, propaganda was distributed and bulletins published and there was considerable activity by the ANFD (which even had its own short-wave radio transmitter). The presence of the CNT within the line-up brought about a crisis inside the libertarian movement (for the most part, the exiles condemned the ANFD and fell out with the CNT of the interior on this count). The ANFD general secretary was the CNT's Sigfrido Catalá (arrested during 1944) and, later, the republican Régulo Martínez (arrested in February 1947). The ANFD went into a spin at the beginning of 1947, when 14 members of its National Council stood trial and Catalá was sentenced to death and when contacts with the monarchists also came to light: by the following year, the Alliance was only a shadow of its former self, even if there was a manifesto that September which insisted that it was still extant and showed that it had returned to the 1944 make-up. There seems no doubt that the CNT was the preponderant influence (Catalá, V. Santamaría, Luque, Juanel and Ejarque were prominent ANFD members).

Assessments of the achievements of the ANFD have varied very wildly, because although it seems obvious that it should be regarded as the leading anti-Franco organisation of the 1940s, from 1946 on its leaders embarked upon an open-door policy that was very open to question insofar as dialogue was even opened with the - allegedly anti-Francoist - monarchists. Relations with the monarchists, initially backed by all of the signatories to the ANFD, became, as time went by, virtually exclusively the property of the CNT leadership in the interior (backed by the minority faction among the exiles, but ferociously opposed by the majority faction) and obvious mistakes were made, seemingly because a few of them over-reached themselves, which led to the makers of the mistakes (Luque's supporters) being dubbed "anarcho-monarchists". The process leading up to such

degeneration was a lengthy one and by no means exclusive to the CNT, which is why we shall now plot its evolution.

A new phase began in 1946 after a meeting of the four (socialist, Communist, republican and libertarian) delegates on 24 June, at which an MLE motion (setting out the libertarian view of a resolution of the Spanish problem- unity and foreign backing, coalition, establishment of a national resistance committee, a transitional government and dissolution of the Giral government-in-exile) was discussed and it was determined that the Communists would draw up a draft manifesto. At a later meeting, the Communist draft was rejected and the libertarians were selected to do a new draft, approved three days later, calling upon all antifascists to strive for the republic. In July 1946 the decision was made to make overtures to antifascist not within the ANFD camp, to set up the national resistance council, form a transitional government and press Giral to send a delegate to the ANFD: in August the French embassy sponsored contacts between the CNT of the Interior and the monarchists (Beigbeder) and then the ANFD decided to draw up an agreed basis for dialogue with the monarchists (the programme reiterated the Alliance programme but substituted "an institutional plebiscite and constituent elections" for the word "republic". This common programme was resisted by the Communist delegate, but relations were established with the monarchists (Beigbeder, Pardo and Moscoso); these relations were overseen by the CNT's Vicente Santamaría (the MLE's political delegate and secretary of the ANFD). From September 1946 on, the Communists went their own way, launching a campaign to discredit the ANFD (whilst staying within it), which led Marcos (the CNT secretary) to ask that each of the Alliance's component groups have freedom of action (part of the CNT was all for expelling the PCE from the ANFD). When this was granted, the MLE (or, to be more precise, the CNT's underground national committee) opened talks with the monarchists (Marcos meeting with General Aranda.). It is at this point that things start to get more complicated, in that V. Santamaría overstepped the mark and made unexpected concessions to the monarchists (in a document signed by

Santamaría, Saínz Rodríguez and Gil Robles in Estoril) - it acknowledged the rights of the Church, the unions would abjure the right to strike, there was to be a plebiscite and the monarchy would be accepted if in fact it won the plebiscite. Santamaría's policy was not to the liking of the republicans and socialists and the CNT's own national committee and a short while later Santamaría was stood down from his post and replaced by another CNT member, Luque.. Meanwhile, abroad, the criticisms from the orthodox faction was growing ever more shrill (there were accusations about treating with the enemy, and sinking the republic's government-in-exile, among other things), but the contacts conducted by Luque and Marco Nadal carried on: in December the MLE sent a libertarian Message to the Pretender (Don Juan) and right after that forced the collapse of the Giral government. Giral was replaced by the socialist, Llopis (who enjoyed the backing of the CNT of the Interior).

With the advent of the Llopis government-in-exile, the socialists also drifted away from the ANFD and made no bones about their unease with the contacts with the monarchists. This left the CNT with the support of the republicans only. Shortly after that, the monarchist Pretender came to an accommodation with Franco and forgot all about his democratic commitments (?)... The CNT was now left high and dry, which of course allowed the exile community to step up its campaign against the CNT of the Interior.

With hindsight, the impression is that the CNT of the Interior (which, by virtue of its being clandestine, was obliged to act along executive lines, with little liaison with the rank and file membership) entered into this process too naively, placing too great a store by the monarchists' wishes to see Francoism brought down, and placing undue hope in the backing to be expected from foreign powers.. but it also has to be said that within the line imposed by the clandestine CNT (collaboration against Franco, the war not over yet, republican government-in-exile..), contacts with the monarchists were quite logical: what flew in the face of all logic was the persistence with which those contacts were maintained and there is a lot less logic to

the CNT's having taken the burden of responsibility for such contacts on to its own shoulders (marginalising the other groups somewhat) when, obviously, had the initiative prospered, the MLe would not have been the chief beneficiary. Without question, this murky affair can only be understood in the context of the 1940s when it was believed that Francoism was irretrievably doomed following the Allied victory in the Second World War.

373. FERNÁNDEZ, Aurelio. Asturian anarchist and CNT figure born in 1897. His activities were focused, not upon the area where he was born, but were instead bound up with the Los Solidarios group (García Oliver, Ascaso, Durruti...) in which he was a figure of the first importance. On the Liaison Commission elected at the 1922 anarchist congress, he had responsibility for the anti-militarist committees. With the advent of Primo de Rivera, he was arrested in March 1924. Later he lived for a time in Paris, working as a machine fitter, with García Oliver and then moved to Belgium. He returned to Spain in 1926 and was arrested in Bilbao along with his partner Luisa Tejedor, but freed after a short time. A little after that he spent two years in prison before being found not guilty of the charges. Under the republic, he was very active and had a hand in many faïsta operations during this time, working closely with García Oliver to whose theses about revolutionary gymnastics he also subscribed. He suffered the inevitable terms of imprisonment (being held in Burgos in 1933 for example) and was an important militant on the Barcelona and Catalanian local defence committees. After the outbreak of revolution in July 1936, he represented the FAI on the central antifascist militias committee of Catalonia and set about reorganising the control patrols in Barcelona. From September 1936 he commanded the Security Council up until it was dissolved in March 1937. After April 1937 we find him in charge of Health in the Generalitat government. Shortly after that he was jailed under the government crackdown (represented, on this occasion, by Basque nationalists) but was freed after García Oliver mobilised on his behalf. During the civil war he

was on the criticised Executive Committee of the Libertarian Movement (in Barcelona in May 1938) and, within months, (by January 1939) had gone into French exile with García Oliver. After the inevitable first few months of confusion, he resettled in Mexico where he espoused the Oliver-ist case as set out in the "Memorandum" (1942) and was secretary of the CNT group in Mexico the same year. When the CNT split apart in 1945 he stepped out of the controversy and, years later, was close to the breakaways. He died in Mexico during the 1960s.

374. ¡CON ESPAÑA O CONTRA ESPAÑA! (With Spain or in spite of Spain)

Title of a manifesto made public in the newspaper España Libre on 18 November 1945. Dated (27) October 1945, it was signed by several regional committees of the CNT-in-exile loyal to the CNT of the Interior - to wit, the ones for Asturias (Ramón Álvarez), the Centre (Eduardo Val), Euzkadi (C. Armesto), Andalusia (Pedro Rey), Extremadura (Olegario Pachón), Levante (E. Castilla), Catalonia (Manuel Díaz) and the North American Delegation (Rodolfo Rivas) - which is to say, by the faction that was later styled the National sub-committee and which had earlier been known as the CNT-MLE Committee in France. The manifesto clarified the ambiguous accords arrived at by the recently held Paris congress and its signatories advocated that precedence should be given to the underground CNT of the Interior which subscribed to beliefs very different from those of the vast bulk of the exile community. The manifesto set the seal on the split among the exile community which already existed in practical terms, so it is obviously overstating the case to hold its signatories to blame for that split.

The manifesto, divided into several sections, opened by pointing out that the MLE-CNT national committee in France had claimed precedence over the organisation within Spain itself and went on to recall that this was not the first time that some of the members of that committee had clashed with the clandestine CNT (specifically, it accused the Libertarian Movement's General Council of having abetted the execution of several fighters inside Spain by failing to feed in financial support. The same General Council was

accused of having acted without consultation with the membership and of having evaporated at the first sign of difficulty.. "a double betrayal and dereliction" in Spain and in France, the signatories called this, even if it had proved no impediment to the strengthening of the MLE). The manifesto went on to charge them with mounting campaigns that never let up until they had hoisted themselves into the national committee.. "a shameful spectacle, involving the contrivance of ready-made accords and candidates for the May congress" (the reference is to the congress in Paris in May 1945) and even of having "falsified the count". In the signatories' view, this entire process had culminated in the decision to "compete with the Organisation inside Spain", after a series of steps designed to sow poison and misgivings about the reality of the clandestine movement (sequestration of documents emanating from the Interior, cutting off the flow of funds from the subscriptions raised for Spain).. the whole thing amounting to "a set-up, a fraud and an outrage". Finally they stated that the Plenary of the CNT in France on 30 September and 1 October had breached the accords of the Paris congress, in that it had agreed "to lock horns, not with the Franco regime, but with the Organisation within Spain and to publicly disown its decisions".

After so crudely spelling out their views of the national committee-in-exile (to wit, the Esgleas group), the signatories moved on to their demands, stating that, in view of all of the above, the Spanish national committee's representation abroad (namely, themselves) was disowning this French committee, which they held responsible for the split and appointing a new committee to act henceforth and provisionally as the authentic representative of the whole of the MLE in France and of the CNT "in accordance with the Organisation within Spain, the only one acknowledged by all the Spanish libertarians in exile around the world".

Later, it was scathing in its criticisms of the exile community's decision, made at a time of intense repression in the Interior, and rejected any charges of arrivisme or ambition (the people they were denouncing were referred to as 'Negrín's beggars', as they had committed themselves to the

SERE and the JARE, signed the accords of the MLE regional plenum in Barcelona in 1938 and the October accords in Toulouse, as well as the document establishing the JEL "when such accords and signatures meant their holding on to their offices") and they emphatically stated that groups not accepting this manifesto were automatically disowned and were to be replaced by new committees loyal to their acting committee.

The closing declaration read: "This committee accepts and acts upon the accords of the Organisation within Spain and, consequently, we support and uphold comrades José E. Leiva and Horacio Prieto who represent the CNT in the Giral government."

A manifesto like this one can only be properly understood if we take on board the historical context in which it was issued: an underground CNT within Spain which had espoused collaborationist, republicanist theses so as to take on Franco, versus an exile community the bulk of which was hostile to political ventures and participation in government. The manifesto set out the beliefs of the possibilist, reformist faction but, to be sure, it represents an attack upon the opposition more than a defence of the CNT of the Interior. Whether or not one agrees with its contents, there is no denying that the format employed does not appear to have been the best way, insofar as there was no discussion of ideas and precepts, but, instead, an all-out assault upon the opposition camp.

The upshot of the manifesto, we know: its signatories were expelled from the CNT-MLE in France, whereupon the expelled set up what was to become the National Sub-committee, banding together those who favoured the principles of the clandestine CNT. This set the seal upon the split within the exiled Spanish libertarian movement - a split which was to all intents already in place, especially after the September-October plenary which had confirmed the differences of outlook between the clandestine CNT and a large segment of the exile community.

375. PI, Balbina. San Baudilio de Llobregat 1896 - Perpignan, France 1973. Anarchist and CNT member from the manufacturing sector, one of a

generation that threw up outstanding female militants (including Dulcet, Alegre, Lola Ferrer, Granjel...) Her activist career began in 1917, in which year she was the delegate from the Sabadell local federation. It was in Sabadell too that she addressed her first rally, alongside Pestaña. In the years that followed she earned a considerable reputation as a public speaker (especially when teamed up with Rosario Dulcet and Lola Ferrer), making tours of the Llobregat valley, Vallés and the Berga comarca (notably in her participation in the campaign in favour of those deported to La Mola back in 1920 and in her tour of the Upper Llobregat in 1923). Her special focus was to draw women into trade unionism. Equally notable was her important work with the drama groups in the ateneos (in exile in France she was to carry on taking part in the staging of plays on behalf of the CNT, the SIA and victims). . During the republic her activities were connected with the most radical elements among the anarchists and CNT personnel (according to García Oliver, it was she who stitched the earliest known red and black flags) and in the run-up to the revolution in 1936 she had taken a back seat because of her disagreements with the latest generations of militants. After the civil war was lost, she left for exile in France where she carried on working on behalf of her ideals, especially in the Paris region, up until 1970 when, by then very ill, she gave up her activism and moved away to Banyuls-sur-Mer where her condition worsened: she was taken into hospital in Perpignan and died of a heart attack. A woman of great beauty and solidarity, she was the mother of the singer Teresa Rebull. She contributed to Solidaridad Obrera using the noms de plume Margot and Libertad Caída.

376. SOUSA, Germinal de. Portuguese anarchist very closely bound up with Spanish libertarian organisations. He was born (in Lisbon?) in 1908 and died in the Portuguese capital in 1968.

Son of the celebrated anarchist Manuel Joaquín de Sousa, he was active in the Syndicalist Youth from 1925 (attending the 1926 congress) and was also a member of the Germinal anarchist group along with Emidio Santana. After

1926 he was active in the clandestine organisation and action committees of the Portuguese CGT (of which he, as a type-setter, was a member). Shortly after that we find him in Spain as a member of the Solidaridad group (1928), although it is not certain that this indicates that he was based in Spain by then. In 1931 he helped set up the Aliança Libertaria and also helped organise the FARP (Portuguese Regional Anarchist Federation) which was very much tied in with the Spanish FAI. In 1932, repression forced him over the border into Spain where he remained active, particularly in the anarchist groups. When the civil war erupted in 1936 he was serving on the FAI peninsular committee and in that capacity attended the Barcelona meeting on 3 November that gave the green light for the CNT to enter the government. By 1938 he was FAI general secretary, representing the organisation at many meetings (at the get-together between the national/peninsular committees of the CNT, FAI and FIJL in May 1938, and shortly after that he attended the meeting of the policy section of the CNT national committee). The revisionism into which he, like many another, descended, did not stop him from forcefully opposing the Prieto-ist arguments designed to turn the FAI into a political party. We ought also to point out that from September 1936 on he headed the Tierra y Libertad column which served on the Madrid front (in Tarancón and Cuenca) and in November 1936 he was keen to join Mera in defending the besieged capital (Mera declined his offer). In 1938, along with Santillán, he represented the FAI on the Popular Front national committee. When the war tilted in the fascists' favour, De Sousa left for the concentration camps in France, and from the camp at Vernet d'Ariège he was transferred to the camp at Djelfa in French North Africa (1942). He later lived in N. Africa, but no longer held any position of note (excepting that he served on the MLE General Council set up in Paris in 1939). In 1952 he returned to his native Portugal.

377. TATO LORENZO, José. Mondariz (Pontevedra) 1886 - Montevideo 1969. Prestigious libertarian propagandist whose activity essentially took place in Uruguay for upwards of a half century. A Galician by birth, he emigrated to

Brazil when he was scarcely 14 years old (living in Rio de Janeiro from 1900 before moving on in 1902 to Montevideo where he turned from a rebel into a fully-fledged anarchist. In 1903 he turned up in Argentina where he was active in Buenos Aires, standing out for his activity in libertarian circles there (on several occasions he ended up as director of La Protesta). This led to his being deported from Argentine soil. He was deported to Spain in 1911. He had scarcely arrived back in Barcelona that he made ready to return to Uruguay, which he did in 1912 via Portugal, with help from Sebastián Suñé. Settling once and for all in Montevideo he carried out impeccable anarchist propaganda work through several long-lived publications: El Hombre (1916-1931), Inquietud (1944-1950), Voluntad (1956-1965) and Solidaridad.. at all times keeping his ideas and usages very pure (in a celebrated polemic with La Batalla, he was ahead of his time in anticipating the degeneration of the soviet system), even at financial cost to himself. (although a friend of the Uruguayan president, he refused the gifts offered to him and lived in poverty right up until his death). He published lots of writings throughout the Spanish and American libertarian press, either anonymously or under the noms de plume of Samuel Blois, Antonio D. Alarcón, Walter Ruiz, etc. Author of: Maximalismo y Anarquismo (Mexico 1923), Gotas de Miel y Ajenjo (a posthumous work which seems to have been burnt). He is the towering figure in Uruguayan anarchism in the first half of the 20th century, friendly with Gustavo, Prat, Tárrida del Mármol and Ledo.

378. TIERRA LIBRE. Title of several newspapers.

1. - Valladolid (1901?)
2. - Barcelona 1908. Anarchist. With contributions from J. Chueca, Mas Gomeri, Pujol and Aguilar. Seven issues appeared.
3. - Sueca 1935. Anarchist weekly.

379. CARREÑO, Francisco.

Rationalist school-teacher who died in exile in France in Toulouse in 1947.

Prior to the civil war he seems to have lived for a time in Argentina: later he settled in Barcelona and joined the Faros anarchist grouping and came to prominence in faïsta circles. On the outbreak of civil war, he accompanied Durruti in his column and headed the column's War Committee: in October 1936 he made the trip to Moscow to take part in the October parades, and on returning he denounced the shortcomings of the soviet system: he was also present at the CNT plenum in 1936 which agreed on the establishment of a Defence Council (he was on the working party that drafted the motion). As the CNT began to lose its way and fell into the Stalinists' snares, he called for the annihilation of the Communists and joined the Friends of Durruti Group, in which group he was a militant of some note. Exiled in France at the end of the civil war, he was to the fore in the early stages of reorganisation, inclining towards the orthodox positions championed by the FIJL. Hence his impassioned criticisms of Juanel's stance. At the Muret plenum in 1944 he was appointed secretary of the CNT and in 1947 he was in charge of the administration of the CNT newspaper.

380. CAMPUZANO GARCÍA, Miguel. Valladolid 1884 - Caracas 1964.

Outstanding militant in the realms of education and journalism. He was educated in his native city, to such an extent that before he had reached the age of 18, he had earned the diploma that entitled him to teach. In 1913 he opened a school which was shut down after a few years due to clerical opposition, the venom of which was such as to force him to flee the city and teach all over Spain for the next ten years, during which time he became aware of the problems facing the country. In 1924 he embraced the anarchist case when he took over at the San Feliu de Guixols rationalist school. Years later (in 1929) we find him running another rationalist school in Valencia which had become the pioneer in new anarchist-tinted teaching methods, drawing down the inevitable harassment (he was arrested as a "dangerous anarchist") and he spurned offers from the Unión Patriótica which wanted to enlist him in its teachers' section. He departed for a time to France but by 1930 we find him in Arcos de Jalón and throughout the

years of the republic he ran the Mataró ateneo's school (in whose mouthpiece, *Albada*, he penned articles on educational matters). He remained in Mataró until the end of the civil war when he left for France (taking over a children's settlement in Banyuls). In 1940 he moved on to Santo Domingo (writing in *Democracia*) and three years later settled in the Venezuelan capital, Caracas - having beaten the malaria which almost cost him his life - and there he began a fresh chapter in his life, becoming a professional reporter: he was to serve on the editorial staff of *El País* (1943-48) and *Ultimas Noticias* (1948-1958), until finally he helped launch his last newspaper *La República*, on which he was to work right up until his death. In Venezuela he made no secret of his libertarian convictions and he rendered sterling service to the cause of democracy during the dictatorship years: he earned himself a high reputation, as is confirmed by the fact that he was awarded the National Journalism Prize in Venezuela in 1963 and a library named after him was set up. Author of a very readable book whose anarchist character cannot be mistaken: *Armonía* (Barcelona 1926). He wrote for many libertarian publications.

381. DULCET, Rosario. Villanueva y Geltrú 1890 - Carcassonne, France 1977. One of the most celebrated female propagandists on behalf of the anarchist and syndicalist ideal during the pre-civil war years. Daughter of a federalist father, she attended school up until the age of 14 (and was a pupil of Soledad Gustavo), which was certainly unusual for the time: in addition she was indebted to her father for access to the writings of anti-clerical and anarchist authors. On leaving school, she worked in the textile industry in her town and joined the *Tres Clases de Vapor*. By the age of 20 she had shown herself to be a temperamental woman with worries, capable of flying in the face of society's contentions: she became an active peddler of ideas of liberation and entered into a free union with a man (the first such instance in her home town) with the usual results: she was sacked and blacklisted (1912). She moved to Sabadell where she had a hand in 1913 in the textile strike (addressing the rally on 3 August). After that strike was

lost, she moved to France (1914), engaging in active anti-militarist propaganda among the troops in Sète, whereupon she was forced to depart for Montpellier. By 1917 she was in Barcelona and active in the protests calling for reduction of food prices (she even dared to speak against all political parties at a republican rally). From 1919 on she was a very well-known figure in Barcelona anarcho-syndicalist circles and participated in countless CNT rallies, as well as engaging in important work in the textile sector in El Clot. In 1920 she became the partner of Marcelino Silva and later endured the dark days of Anido's rule, after which she joined Libertad Ródenas in travelling to Madrid to give an account of the repression before an audience at the Ateneo in Madrid. She remained active under the Primo de Rivera dictatorship (and was jailed twice on charges of unlawful propaganda and incitement to rebellion) and throughout the life-time of the republic (especially in the early stages when she addressed numerous rallies in Catalan cities like Gironella, Manresa etc.). During the war she eased up on her activity, although she did leave Barcelona in 1937 (where she was working in the manufacturing sector) to tour Aragon to promote the collectives. In exile in France after the civil war, she stuck by her beliefs to the very end, when she was knocked down by a car.

382. CÉNIT. Title of several publications of the CNT-in-Exile in France.

1. - Toulouse, from January 1951, still going in 1983. "Review of sociology, sciences and literature". At first monthly then every two months (1964) and latterly quarterly (1970), with some exceptions. Its first director was A. García and it later boasted an editorial team made up of Ferrer, Fontaura and Peirats. In 1954 Peirats was left with sole responsibility. Later F. Montseny featured as editorial secretary: in 1958 the editorial staff comprised Montseny, Celma and Borraz and finally Montseny and Liarte. The review had a long list of contributors. J. Ruiz, Read, Hem Day, Carmona, Carpio, Relgis, Fedeli, Shujman, Puyol, Samblancat, Vallina, Poch, Fabbri, Capdevila, Esgleas, Desiré, Lazarte, Lamberet, Prudhommeaux, V. Muñoz, Paules, Muñoz Congost, Ocaña, Viadiu, V. García, Guerrero,

Abarregui, S. Campos and Floreal Castilla. Its articles have been very varied and of unequal quality. The finest non-political publication from the exile community.

2. - Organ of the CNT-AIT Exterior regional, Paris, from January 1983, publishing weekly and still going in mid-194. Its director was Celma, with Castilla, Montseny, Gorrón, Ferrer and Muñoz as correspondents. It replaced *Espoir* and *El Combate Sindicalista*, these having been wound up.

383. MARTÍNEZ RIZO, Alfonso. Valencian who died inside Spain in 1951 at the age of 74.

An industrial engineer and rationalist schoolteacher (some sources have it that he was a serviceman, too) he started to get involved in libertarian circles with the advent of the second republic, at which point he embarked upon extensive work as a populariser of scientific and syndicalist matters. During the civil war he fought with the Ascaso column as a militiaman, military expert and war reporter, until such time as he was sent back into the rearguard on account of his age. When the civil war ended, he was thought to have vanished, until he resurfaced in Catalonia in the 1940s to offer to help out against the Francoist regime. It seems that at the time he was a regular contributor to *Ruta* (in France). He wrote regularly for *Orto*, *Estudios* and *Cuadernos de Cultura* during the republic, publishing a series of rather interesting titles such as *La Urbanística del Porvenir* (Valencia 1932), *Agrarismo*, *Antecedentes Estadísticos* (Barcelona, 1936?), *El Comunismo Libertario Expuesto por un Ingeniero Español* (Valencia 1932), and *El Advenimiento del Comunismo Libertario* (Valencia 1933). He was concerned to analyse the country's economic potential with an eye to the implementation of libertarian revolution: as for his anarchist theses, he afforded great significance to syndicalism, not that that prevented him from underlying the role of localities (federated along CNT lines). Moreover he drew a distinction between libertarian communism and anarchy, arguing that the former was the avenue to achievement of the goal (anarchy). Others of his works include: *La Ciudad en el Porvenir*. *Comunismo*

Libertario (Valencia 1932), Los Aguiluchos en Aragón (Barcelona 1937) and ¡Venceremos! (Valencia, no date).

384. SÁNCHEZ SAORNIL, Lucía. Madrid 1901.

She studied at the Centro de Hijos in Madrid and studied painting at the San Fernando academy. After her mother passed away, she started her working life early, as a telephonist and from a very early age was associated with the new wave in poetry (first as a modernist and later as an ultraísta, some of her poetry being scattered around 1920s literary magazines - in Greece in 1920 for example). By the time the republic came along she was associated with anarchism: she took part in the big telephones strike and was victimised as a result (moving to Valencia). By this time she belonged to the CNT. She returned to Madrid and in 1933 we find her on the editorial staff of CNT and a secretary with the railway-workers National Federation of Industry. During the republic she carried out extensive propaganda work and contributed to the leading libertarian newspapers whilst keeping up her interest in poetry. After the outbreak of civil war she helped organise collectives in Castile and was especially involved in the organising of women: she was directly involved in launching the Mujeres Libres group (and was its general secretary) as well as the newspaper of the same name. In May 1938 she held the general secretaryship of the SIA and by 1939 had quit Spain and settled in France, living in Paris from then on. Initially she employed the pseudonym of Luciano San Saor. She wrote articles for Solidaridad Obrera, CNT, Mujeres Libres, Tierra y Libertad, Umbral, Tiempos Nuevos, La Revista Blanca, El Libertario... Author of: Horas de Revolución (Barcelona 1938) and Romancero de Mujeres Libres (Barcelona 1938).

385. SABATER LLIRÓ, Pablo. Geri de la Sal 1884 (?) - murdered in Barcelona 1919.

Known as El Tero, he has gone down in history as the first syndicalist murdered by the pistolero-police connivance during the days of white terrorism: his murder has been blamed on Luis Fernández, who was ordered

to gun Sabater down as he was leaving the police station on 18 July 1919. Sabater was a leading militant in the Barcelona manufacturing sector and the mainstay of the dyers' branch, of which he had served as chairman since 1916. His death signalled the start of a man-hunt targeting trade unionists.

386. ROSELL, Albano. Born in Sabadell, sometime around 1880 - died in Montevideo in 1964.

Rosell's reputation rests upon his intense efforts as an educator and also upon a very wide-ranging literary output that includes drama, essays, poetry and children's literature.. His activities in the libertarian camp began early: right back at the turn of the century he was friendly with Ferrer Guardia and Morral and looked after several Ferrerian schools on the outskirts of Barcelona: in 1905 he wrote a pamphlet in defence of integral education. Years later, he emigrated to the Americas where, right up until his death, he was to engage in very significant work as an educator and writer, the latter through his own publishing imprint (Analectos). He penned a huge number of works in both Spanish and Catalan touching upon a wide spectrum of topics, but all underpinned by his progressive outlook (hence the space afforded to women, children, naturism and utopia). Educationally, it has been said that he represented a school of thought in competition with Ferrer Guardia but this needs refining: Rosell agreed with Ferrer's ventures (and was loyal to the very end to the League for Rational Childhood Education) but it was his conviction that it was practically very difficult given the dearth of suitable teachers and books: he argued an integralist line akin to Robin's. In the dramatic field, he did extensive work and like many other anarchists of the day he was appreciative of Ibsen's innovations: what characterises Rosell is the steadiness and persistence with which he focused upon plays for children (instructive and entertaining). His concept of utopia is spelled out for us in a book, *En el País de Macrobia*. He contributed to countless newspapers such as *El Trabajo*, *Cultura Proletaria* (New York), *Umbral*, *Ahora* (Montevideo)..

Author of: Enseñanza Integral (Sabadell 1905), El Poder de la Educación (Paris, undated, written in Montevideo in 1940), La Educación de Vuestros Hijos, Hombres Libres, Albores, Naturismo en Acción, La Renovación de la Escuela desde el Punto de Vista Naturista, Naturología Humana, El Naturismo Integral y el Hombre Libre, Naturismo y Educación de la Infancia, Migala, Maternología, Fraternal, El Tío Corneja, Los Golosos, Cuando Seamos Mayores, Colonia de los Amores, Claror Lejana, Deberes, Espejuelos, La Argolla, En el Vacío, Aventando Cenizas, Risas y Llantos, Ruinas, El Condenado, Sirenas, Hipnosugestiomanía, La Otra Humanidad, En Plena Civilización, Flosilda Darien, Els Llaminers, Plors del Cor, Artistes, Els Llenyataires, El Dret a la Vida, La Fábrica, Calvari, L'Actual Moment Históric i Els Problemes Educatius, Instrucció i Analfabetisme.. He used many noms de plume, including Antonio Roca, Dr Frank Aube, Laurano d'Ore, Germina Alba and Victoria Zeda.

387. (LA) VERDAD. Title of several newspapers.

1. - Lérida, 1901.
2. - Seville, 1903-08. There was another anarchist paper, also in Seville in 1908. They may have been one and the same.
3. - Barcelona, 1915-20. Anarchist. Under the direction of Juan Rueda López. Eight (?) issues.
4. - Villajoyosa, 1932-33. Published by the Luz cultural group.
5. - Seville, 1920. Directed by Joaquín Julio Fernández. Every ten days. Anarchist, but opposed to the CNT (which was under syndicalist control). The Barcelona and Villajoyosa papers cited above were specifically entitled La Verdad and the last-named, Seville paper was entitled La Verdad en Andalucía.

388. MAYMÓN, Antonia. Outstanding anarchist militant born in Aragon in 1881 and who died in Mucia in 1959.

The product of a middle class family, she quit the paternal home at an early age, seemingly stifled by the atmosphere there and trained to be a teacher.

In 1905 she was living in Zaragoza where she married the rationalist schoolteacher Lorenzo Laguna. At around this time she embraced the anarchist ideal and came into contact with the Catalan women deported as a result of the Montjuich trials. She was active in protests against the wars in Africa and was brought to trial as a result (around 1910 we also find her among the editors of *Cultura y Acción*) and she fled to France (1911). Two years later she was amnestied and in the ensuing years she became an outstanding public speaker and journalist, known throughout Spain in spite of the fact that she was teaching in schools in Barcelona, San Feliu de Guixols (around 1927) and Beniaján, in which latter location she lived for quite a time and where she founded a cultural ateneo. When the civil war ended she remained behind in Spain and was arrested in Beniaján: after having been sentenced to death during those ominous times she was freed from jail in 1944, only to be rearrested two years later and held for nearly a year. Later she lived in her beloved Murcian comarca, in Espinardo and Beniaján, until, by now gravely ill, she moved to Murcia where she died on 21 December 1959. She had contributed to lots of like-minded publications such as *Humanidad Nueva*, *Cultura y Acción*, *Tierra y Libertad* and *Naturismo...* and was the author of: *Humanidad Libre* (Zaragoza, undated) and *Esbozo Racionalista*.

389. VIÑUALES, Mariano. Madrid 1900 - Mexico 1955.

Orphaned at an early age, he lived with his aunt Dominga in Galicia and grew very fond of her: later, he moved to Zaragoza and Barcelona, in which cities he was to get involved in social issues of an anarchist hue after turning his back on the family's wishes that he should go on for the priesthood (it was in the course of these studies that he acquired his familiarity with Latin and Greco-Latin literature). Under the republic, he earned himself a name as a publicist and journalist. After the civil war he moved to Santo Domingo and finally to Mexico. During his years in exile he wrote works of literature and contributed to various reviews and newspapers. Articles of his can be found in *Cénit* and *Solidaridad Obrera*

(Paris). Author of: *La Ciencia al Servicio de la Barbarie. Los Horrores de la Guerra Aeroquímica* (Barcelona, 1935?), *Blanquito* (Rennes, 1946, with foreword by Benjamín Jarnés), *Tintín y los Perros*, *Frente a la Criz del Sur*, as well as a number of unpublished or unfinished works, a selection of poetry dedicated to Tía Dominga. He had a particularly fond memories of his childhood.

390. VIÑUALES LARRAY, Evaristo.

Prominent member of the Aragonese CNT. A national schoolteacher by profession (one of the generation influenced by Acín) he played a significant role during the 1936-1939 civil war, so much so that he was in charge of the Information department on the Council of Aragon up until the collectives were destroyed by the Líster's Stalinists ((in August 1937). Fleeing from the Stalinists he enlisted with the 127th Brigade (the erstwhile Roja y Negra column) together with his great friend Máximo Franco, serving with the Brigade right up until the end of the war as a quarter-master captain and delegate to the Libertarian Movement's national committee. When defeat wbecame inevitable he committed suicide together with Máximo Franco in Alicante on 1 April 1939. It is true to say, therefore that he died in Alicante rather than in exile: reports to the contrary derive from the fact that there were two Viñuales - Evaristo and Mariano.

391. SÁNCHEZ CARNERERO MARÍN, Juan José. Manzanares 1900 - shot by the fascists in Ciudad Real in 1940.

A peasant addicted to study, he managed to acquire a respectable cultural baggage through self-education. Son of a small share-cropper, he strove unceasingly against the usurers who used to grind down families like his own and was prominent in the anarchist groups of La Mancha, of which he was an important mainstay (serving on the FAI's comarcal sub-committee) and active in the Fraternidad group. During the Primo de Rivera dictatorship he improved his educaion considerably and turned to writing: he was also active under the republic. However, his real heyday came

during the civil war, as an organiser of some stature in the grand undertaking of the collectives: he was secretary of the Manzanares CNT-UGT collective: the success scored with these collectivisations sealed his fate in 1939., Sánchez Carnerero is yet another instance of the fortitude of the usually overlooked anarchist militant, as comfortable with a pen as with action and organising: he also represents another example of the anarchist presence among the peasantry's having made itself felt through small sharecroppers and smallholders rather than through the day labourers.

We know that he penned two plays: Irresponsables and La Justicia Humana - both of which have been lost.

392. FIJL - the initials of the Federación Ibérica de Juventudes Libertarias (Iberian Libertarian Youth Federation)

A libertarian organisation founded during the second republic, initially in Madrid, with an eye to countering the influence of the Socialist Youth. It quickly spread to the whole of Spain and proved a remarkable success, so much so that the FIJL was accepted as the third major wing of the libertarian movement, on a par with the CNT and the FAI. Its name dates from 1932 and was not generally accepted in Catalonia, where the designation Juventudes Libertarias (J.L.L.) was preferred. Virtually from its inception, there were two schools of thought evident within its ranks, each adopting a distinct outlook: initially the differences of opinion between them were of an organisational character: the Catalans were against an overall youth organisation, their view being that independent groups and federations were a better option: later (from 1936 on) their differences were translated to other levels. What should the position be with regard to the governmental collaborationism into which the libertarian movement was sliding? Confronted by such a monumental issue, the Catalans (albeit not ALL of them) stuck to the classical position in opposing collaborationism. The FIJL's relations with its Catalan members were fraught with conflict and the latter secured considerable autonomy (in return for agreeing to the existence of a national organisation) at the national plenum of regions in September 1936, autonomy which in fact meant that they were given a

completely free hand in maintaining close relations with the FAI.

As the war evolved and the revolutionary factor in the republican camp began to wane, the FIJL stepped up its criticisms of the Libertarian Movement's other wings (these criticisms became very scathing from May 1937 on) and reinforced its own independence: this radicalisation accounts for the dropping of the pact with the Unified Socialist Youth (JSU) in Catalonia - the pact had been signed in November 1936 by Miró, Aso and Alfredo Martínez - and explains why at the April 1937 Madrid congress of the AJA (Antifascist Youth Alliance), the FIJL virtually severed all contacts with the Stalinists.

In February 1937, there was a national plenum of FIJL regionals in Valencia, which is how we know the membership at that point: 7,000 in Andalusia, 8,200 in Levante, 1,900 in Extremadura, 18,580 in the Centre region, 12,000 in Aragon and 34,000 in Catalonia: for other comarcas we have no details. At the plenum it was agreed that a revolutionary youth front should be set up and that propaganda should be stepped up nationwide under a single, modernised direction, that constructive revolutionary endeavour should be given every encouragement and there was an insistence that greater effectiveness and vigour be displayed in the management of the war.

The first FIJL congress opened on 6 February 1938 in Valencia and drew attendance from Catalonia, the Centre, Aragon, Levante, the South and front-line military units: there was little of interest in the congress, for the central issue was Catalonia's insubordination (evident in its refusal to abide by a motion which it construed as centralistic) and the congress ended up appointing a new peninsular committee to replace the one headed by Fidel Miró: the incoming committee was headed by Lorenzo Iñigo as secretary, with the other positions being filled by Cabañas, Aliaga, Rueda, Consuegra, Camín, Anselmo Blanco, Liarte, Leiva, Carmen Gómez, Miralles and Manuel López.

In the wake of defeat in the civil war the FIJL went underground and there were plenty of attempts at reconstruction in an extremely difficult setting:

these efforts regularly failed due to police repression. In particular there was an attempted reconstruction in Catalonia in 1943-44. In 1944 there was reconstruction in Catalonia (the San Marín de Cerdanyola plenum) spearheaded by Medrano and Rosa Carreras but the organisation was smashed by the end of year repression, whereupon Manuel Fernández took up the challenge and met with considerable success (the impulse had come from the re-launch at the National Plenum in Toulouse in April 1945).

Following that plenum in Toulouse the FIJL spearheaded the frontal assault on the Franco regime, supplying large numbers of activists to the action groups and with this came a resultant sequel of militants killed and imprisoned. Shortly after that (at the CNT congress in Paris the same year) the FIJL was conceded the autonomy for which it had been pressing (its aspirations in that direction were a constant source of problems within the exiled MLE). Moreover, it ought to be remembered that the greatest hostility towards the possibilist approach prevailing among the CNT in exile in 1943-45 had come from the FIJL (ably represented by Amador Franco) and that the credit for the defeat of the moderates is laergely due to the FIJL.

The committee formed in Toulouse (Milla, Lucio Gómez, Galdó, Germinal Gracia and Carballeira) did a lot to retrieve doctrinal purity as well as to organise Catalonia and reactivate the struggle against Falangism.

The FIJL's second congress (Toulouse, March 1946) was attended by delegates from within Spain (Manuel Fernández, Celedonio García and Santiago Amir), plotted anti-Franco activities and elected a new committee (Parra, Sarrau, Pintado and F. Martínez) and 3,400 members were represented. On the ensuing months the FIJL dispatched several militants into Spain (Carballeira, Amador Franco and Pérez) to help oit with the reconstruction and setting up the clandestine Ruta, all with the aim of bringing influence to bear upon the CNT of the Interior to modify its collaborationist policy: attempts to penetrate the Catalan CNT failed and all that was accomplished was that an anti-collaborationist FIJL peninsular committee (including Gómez Casas, Portales and L. Gómez) was set up (at a meeting in Madrid in September 1946), to counter the activity of the

existing collaborationist peninsular committee headed by J. García and N. Mallo. (We ought to point out here that the libertarian split of 1945 had hit the FIJL as well, albeit only slightly, and that, in exile, an FIJL peninsular sub-committee had been set up under the chairmanship of Germinal Siurana: if was favourably disposed towards the case of the underground CNT.

Sarrau's arrival in Spain (at the beginning of 1947) signalled a reactivation of the Libertarian Youth's struggle and (with some slight success) the creation of the MLR was mooted, regional and national plenums held and there was involvement in the campaign against Francoism.. but within a short time the combat groups had been wiped out and so, as a result, was the Libertarian Youth: the crackdown, with its high death-rate, resuscitated criticisms of the FIJL within the body of the MLE in France and it might be said that for almost ten years the Libertarian Youth lost its position at the head of the MLE, but its prestige began to recover after the reunification of the CNT in the 1960s and the resultant campaign of head-on confrontation with Francoism (through the DI and the DRIL)..

During the 1960s there were signs of reactivation of the FIJL (with Guerrero and F. Pérez attending a plenum of the exile community, the trial of Bayo and Boreo in 1962, the arrest of eleven FIJL members in Madrid the same year...) - assuredly because of the MLE's decision to resume the struggle against fascism within Spain (Delgado and Granados, who were executed in 1963, had been FIJL members). But nothing much came of this because of the French government's crackdown on the Libertarian Youth (militants rounded up, newspapers suspended, and eventually the organisation as such was banned in France in September-October 1963). An attempt was made to circumvent the ban on its operating in France by the holding of a clandestine congress (December 1963) which agreed to adopt a new name (Organización Juvenil - OJ) and to insist that direct action against Francoism be persisted with: also agreed were several measures designed to circumvent the French government's decision (the establishment of a delegation in Brussels headed by Abarca, publication of *Ruta* in Belgium,

the launching by French anarchists of a mouthpiece that would in fact be the FIJL platform). The confusion prevailing at the time within the MLE also affected the Libertarian Youth which lapsed into a further period of inactivity from which it began to emerge thanks to the First of May (Primero de Mayo) group which relaunched the struggle against Francoism: shortly after which the FIJL too succumbed to the disenchantment by which the CNT and the FAI were beset (at its 1969 plenum) and showed no signs of active presence until the CNT had been rebuilt inside Spain in the mid-1960s.

With the death of Franco their dreams sprang to life again but the re-emergence of the FIJL took second place to the need to bolster the CNT. In any event and even though different FIJL groups popped up throughout Spain, there was at no time a stable nationwide organisation to look to. It can almost be stated with certainty that the FIJL's presence was signalled only by the appearance of a few short-lived newspapers (including the newly resuscitated *Ruta*). As of 1982, the FIJL was non-existent.

393. SÁRRAGA, Belén.

Freemason, writer and anti-clerical linked with libertarian circles in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. We have few details about Belén Sárraga. Towards the end of the 19th century (in 1898) she was in Valencia, in which city she took part in demonstrations in favour of independence for Cuba and in opposition to the monarchy. Some years later (in 1901-03) she made repeated trips to Málaga (organising labour unions) and was also a frequent visitor to Córdoba where her friend Soledad Areales lived: it was in Córdoba that in 1902 she, along with Amalia Carvia and Soledad Areales launched the newspaper *La Conciencia Libre*, a freethought paper with a wide readership among libertarians. It was also in Córdoba that she was directly involved with the libertarian *Los Amigos del Progreso* society which was very active in organising labour. We are assured that she was also a member of the *Gracia* group (founded in 1900) together with Teresa Claramunt and Ángeles López de Ayala.

An outstandingly cultivated woman, a fine writer of prose and verse alike, her output is scattered throughout many of the libertarian papers of the day, such as *Adelante*, *El Porvenir del Obrero*, *La Protesta*.. and she was the author of *Municipias*.

394. DÍEZ, Paulino. Born in 1893, apparently in Málaga (some say Burgos) and died in exile in the Americas in 1980.

Anarchist and CNT militant of the first rank, the first reports of him place him in Burgos as a member of a carpenters' association at the age of 14. He served on the association's steering committee in 1909 and 1910 and in the latter year he left for Melilla in search of work. In that N. African city - his most frequent address from then on - he came into contact with socialists and anarchists (García Viñas, Manuel García, Victoriano Mairena..) and developed a passion for social issues: he was involved in the strikes of 1910-11, the setting up of a *sociedad de resistencia* in 1912 and the launching of Melilla's first anarchist group (1913), within which he took charge of the distribution of anarchist propaganda among the soldiery. In 1915 he was arrested as a "dangerous element" (this was the first of what was to become his roughly one hundred experiences of dungeons and prisons) and in the years that followed he was active up until he was expelled from the city following a strike in 1918. He moved to Barcelona and by 1919 was general secretary of the Barcelona local federation, serving on the strike committee set up following the outbreak of the La Canadiense strike (he took part in the famed Las Arenas rally) and he had a hand in the clandestine publication of the suspended *Solidaridad Obrera*. After a five month stay in prison, he travelled throughout Levante and Andalusia (the seamen's strike) that same year, returning to Melilla where he helped reorganise the unions. He attended the 1919 congress on behalf of the Málaga unions (signing up to the anarchist declaration of principles) and in 1920 toured Cádiz and was expelled from Málaga, finding employment with the woodworkers in Seville. His work in Seville was important: he took charge of the Andalusian regional committee and helped produce

Solidaridad Obrera. Shortly after that he was jailed in Málaga and again in 1921, only to be held in Las Torres, Viso and Torre de San Juan Abad, from where he escaped in September, spending some time with Aquilino Medina in Pueblo Nuevo del Terrible (working as a teacher). In 1922 he attended the Zaragoza Conference (on behalf of Melilla and Málaga) and thereafter carried out a successful tour of Andalusia with Seguí. By the start of 1923 he was at the Mataró Conference (representing the Andalusian regional committee and the CNT of Málaga) and was commissioned by the CNT national committee to make a propaganda tour of the North (campaigning against the government repression). That same year found him in Seville where he took charge of the CNT national committee and, in his capacity as secretary, was involved in dialogue with politicians in France with an eye to combating Primo de Rivera. He stepped down from this post shortly afterwards after he was arrested in Seville (at the start of 1924) and after six months in custody he left the country, returning in 1931 (after three years spent in Cuba and four in the United States). With the advent of the republic he bounced back with renewed energy: reorganising the CNT in Melilla, being arrested in connection with the incidents in Figols (he was deported to Almería and Burgos, a deportation that ended with his escaping in August 1932). By 1933 he was secretary of the CNT in Melilla, representing it at the Andalusian congress that year, in the closing rally of which he was a participant, along with Durruti and Ascaso (and served several months in El Puerto penitentiary). With the eruption of the October 1934 revolt in Asturias he spent nearly a year in hiding, emerging shortly after that to contact military personnel opposed to the army revolt in the hatching. The fascist revolt found him in Melilla where he had a hard time of things before finally reaching Morocco in April 1937 and travelling on to Barcelona. In the months that followed he took charge of reorganising the Andalusian CNT (the Baeza plenum that August) and was acting regional secretary up until he moved to Barcelona in mid-1938 (for a stomach operation) and recuperated in Perpignan. The fall of Barcelona precluded his returning to Spain: from France he helped assist the refugees as the

national committee's delegate in Perpignan and also helped the inmates of the concentration camps up until he himself was interned in St Cyprien. Four months later he was one of the lucky ones who made it out to the Americas: first to Santo Domingo, and then on to Havana and Panama where he was to retain his links with the CNT. A fine orator, he also wrote for the like-minded press, such as *Solidaridad Obrera* (Seville), *España Nueva*, *Cénit*... Author of: *Un Anarcosindicalista en Acción. Memorias* (Caracas, 1976).

395. MIRA, Emilio. Also known as Diego Valor.

An outstanding public speaker, by 1918 he was along on the famous national propaganda tour: that year he turned up in the North having fled from the Mediterranean coastal region and he threw himself successfully into spreading anarcho-syndicalist ideas, especially in and around Vizcaya: also in 1918, he attended the peasant congress in Valencia where he stood out for his radical, ultra-revolutionary message: his presence was also recorded at the congress in Sants. In the years that followed he remained prominent as an outstanding speaker to rallies (in Manresa in late 1920 for instance). With the advent of the republic, Mira (who seems to have been born in Valencia) jettisoned his radical stance and turned into one of the staunchest opponents to the advance of the FAI (plainly at the 1931 congress which he attended on behalf of the Onteniente and Alcoy unions). His frictions with the FAI became very acute from 1932 on: he threatened to resign his post (he was secretary of the Catalan CNT) if the January strike was given backing: he did give up the post at the Sabadell regional plenum (February) and in April 1933 (when he was secretary of the Sabadell local federation of unions) he forwarded a document to the regional committee attacking *faísmo* and this triggered the expulsion from the CNT of the entire Sabadell federation (and marked the establishment of the Opposition Unions). From 1933 he espoused a strictly syndicalist line and steadfastly advocated a break with the FAI, so much so that, come the reunification of the CNT in 1936, the Sabadell Local Federation refused to return to the fold

and Mira, together with Fornells and Moix, embarked upon the course that was to bring them into the UGT. What became of him thereafter, we do not know. Be that as it may, Mira is a clear instance of the tensions by which revolutionary labour was racked after the introduction of the republic, although the option preferred by Mira went far beyond Peiró, Pestaña and other more or less outstanding CNT personalities in terms of revisionism.

396. BARTOLOMÉ, Acracio.

Asturian militant especially to the fore in journalistic activity, but also a public speaker of some note. From at least 1915 he worked in the glass industry in Gijón and was an early recruit to anarcho-syndicalism. It seems that his career in journalism began with Solidaridad Obrera of Gijón (his earliest articles were signed with the nom de plume of El hombre que ríe - the laughing man). Later he ran important CNT and libertarian titles such as Solidaridad (1931-33) with Martínez and Blanco, CNT of Gijón (1937) and CNT, Barcelona (1938). During the republic he took part in propaganda tours throughout the North and was on the editorial staff of CNT in Madrid. And - this brought him great prestige - he addressed the closing rally at the Zaragoza congress. At the end of the civil war he left for exile in France, keeping up his activity (attending the Marseilles plenum of 1943, called to discuss the reconstruction of the libertarian movement). After the defeat of Nazism he was again in demand to address rallies commemorating the Spanish republic and he carried on with primarily journalistic activity: he wrote in Asturias and España Libre and was director of Hoy (Marseilles) etc. His time in exile was spent in Marseilles where his financial circumstances were always precarious and he died in that city in 1978. He supported the line of the moderates, being, like so many of the Asturians, affiliated to that faction (the Sub-committee faction). Author of: Vergüenza del Mundo (Marseilles 1946).

397. PARDIÑAS, Manuel.

Aragonese anarchist who won fame with his attempt on the life of

Canalejas. Details of his life are few: Buenacasa insists that he had known him in Zaragoza and he considered him incapable of involvement in violence. As a very young man he had departed for the Americas and we know that he spent time in Panama and the southern USA (in Tampa, he made the acquaintances of Olay and Pedro Esteve). Returning to Spain, he attempted the life of the prime minister, Canalejas (Madrid, 1 November 1911) who perished as a result and then Pardiñas shot himself dead. The assassination, very controversial in anarchist circles hostile to Canalejas, created a sensation and delayed the awarding of lawful status to the CNT. A fair amount has been written about Pardiñas's character, with his connections with spiritualism being highlighted: likewise, the attack on Canalejas has been linked with the repression directed against railway workers.

398. (La) TIERRA. title of several periodical publications.

1. - La Coruña, 1919.

2. - La Coruña, 1922-23. Weekly, 79 issues published. Organ of the Galician anarchist groups.

3. - Madrid, 1930-35. Organ of the CNT regional committee of the Centre. Directed by F. Benito Anaya, with texts from Peiró, Alaiz, Guzmán, Orobón and Agraz...

399. TIMÓN. Title of several papers.

1. - Barcelona 1938. Anarchist review under the direction of Abad de Santillán. It carried highly controversial articles by Horacio Prieto in support of politicism and in favour of converting into a party. Other texts by Peiró and Tornyho..

2. - Buenos Aires, 1939-1940. Continuation of the Barcelona title above.

400. BLANCO MANUEL, Luis. Riotinto 1916 - Dijon, France, 1971.

Anarchist and CNT member from a very early age. A bricklayer by trade, his popularity was achieved in exile in France after the civil war. He attended

the 1947 congress and was elected on to the first Inter-Continental Secretariat at the 1949 congress (a post in which he served from 1950 to 1951). Later he came to prominence as a great humanitarian and through the persistent efforts he made to facilitate reunification of the CNT, especially at the Limoges congress (1960). For the most part he lived in Dijon.

401. MARSEILLES, 1943 - NATIONAL PLENUM OF THE REGIONALS OF THE CNT IN EXILE IN FRANCE

Arranged for 5 December 1943 in St Henri, it was held in the end in La Fare (Marseilles) amid the greatest difficulty (the Nazi repression). Those attending included Juanel, Acracio Bartolomé, Sanclemente, Merino, Francisco García (Marseilles), Buenacasa (Free Zone), Germán and Berruezo (Cantal department), Señor (Toulouse), Paulino Malsand (Bordeaux) Cruz and the Béziers committee. The liaison commission reported on contacts with the delegates from Toulouse who had pressed for the Tourniac plenum to be put aside and criticised poor organisation, and it also reported on its abortive efforts to contact the national committee of the CNT inside Spain, on the state of the Organisation, on the matter of the Libertarian Youth (with their aspirations to autonomy), on the Béziers committee, relations with various anti-Francoist organisations as well as on the definitive wording of the famous Juanel Motion. Nothing crucial was agreed and yet again it was apparent that there were pronounced internal differences of opinion - in this instance the opposition to the committee came from the Béziers committee and from Bordeaux, and this necessitated the convening of a further Plenum shortly afterwards (this was to be the famous Muret plenum, March 1943). The main points agreed were: to oppose PCE influence, to bolster relations with the UGT, to recommend to militants that they join the French resistance, to endorse the work of the liaison committee and to return Juanel for a further term as secretary... all of which looks like implying victory for the Juanel faction, but it was a Pyrrhic victory, given the scathing nature of some of the speeches and the strong

opposition to the setting up of the Alliance of Democratic Forces (ANFD). In point of fact, Marseilles signalled that there would be further clashes between possibilists and orthodoxes over the imposition of policy upon the CNT and the Libertarian Movement, a contest that continued to favour the moderate case.

402. FRATERNIDAD. Title of several newspapers.

1. - Gijón, 1899-1900. Gijón's first ever anarchist paper. It dealt at some length with organisation and non-organisation. Directed by Ramón Álvarez, with Ángel García on the editorial staff. Texts by Urales, Suñé, Azorín, Bonafulkla, Prat and Claramunt.

2. - Madrid, 1946-47. Clandestine. Organ of the National UGT-CNT Liaison Committee.

403. GIL OLIVER, Antonio. Urrea de Gaén (Teruel) 1921 - Toulouse 1948. Also known as Antonio Sánchez Agorreta.

Member of the libertarian action groups which fought in the Catalonia region during the 1940s. Alongside Pareja, he was involved in executing the traitor Melis (in 1947). An advocate of the most radical line and of head-on confrontation with the Francoist regime, he gave his backing to the MLR, but his death in a traffic accident prevented him from cooperating more effectively with the anti-Francoist guerrilla campaign.

404. EL FRENTE.

Published as the War Bulletin of the CNT-FAI, it was the mouthpiece of the Durruti Column (26th Division) on the Aragon front. It was published in Pina de Aragón from 1936 to 1938 as a weekly distributed free of charge to militians. Its direction was in the hands of Juan Ferrer and Ramón Liarte and it could call upon the illustrator services of Helios Gómez.

405. LLAVE. Tomás de la. Born around 1895 in a place unknown and died at the start of the civil war in 1936 in the fighting in Alcolea del Pinar.

A professional soldier, he was cashiered from the army for conspiratorial activity in 1917. By the beginning of the 1920s he was living in Madrid and active in the CNT. Around 1925 he was connected with Buenacasa and involved in the clandestine fight against the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, making his name for his proselytisation efforts directed at young army officers. After the proclamation of the republic, he rejoined the army. On the outbreak of civil war he was one of the first to oppose the rebels. He had a hand in the storming of the Montaña barracks and left for the front, where he met his death shortly afterwards. Tomás de la Llave was one of those revolutionary servicemen from the pre-civil war era who thought of the CNT as the revolutionary organism best equipped to democratise the nation through and through by means of a federal republic (as did many other federalists). He had a penchant for poetry: and contributions of his can be found in the newspaper CNT.

406. MANCEBO, Benigno. Sanchorreja (Ávila) 1906 - Madrid 1940, shot by the fascists.

From an anarchist family he spent fifteen years in the care of his grandmother (1908-1923), far from his parents, who had emigrated to the Americas. After 1923 he was in Argentina where he got involved with the anarchist revolutionary labour movement and early on came into contact with the team publishing the legendary newspaper *La Protesta* (on which he served as a type-setter), completing his education: in Argentina he became a theatre buff (with the *Arte y Natura* group) and belonged to the Booklovers' Guild of which Abad de Santillán was the inspiration. Arrested by the military in 1930, he was interned on Demarchi island and then in Martín García and in the penitentiary in Ushuaia, before eventually being deported to Spain (along with his father, Pedro). Scarcely had he landed in Spain than he was arrested as a draft dodger and sent to complete his military service in Valencia: immediately upon discharge he joined the CNT and the FAI and launched (and directed) the important Madrid newspaper *El Libertario*. His journalistic activity was complemented by frequent

contributions to CNT, Tierra y Libertad and Solidaridad Obrera (which ensured that he was a regular visitor to the nation's prisons under the republic). During the civil war he carried out work of the first importance: he served on the regional committee of the CNT in Castile and on the commission charged with preserving the national heritage: in February 1939 he joined the CNT of the Centre's famous Defence Committee. Later he fled to Alicante where he was arrested. He was shot on 27 April 1940. Benigno Mancebo, less well-known than other "Argentines", was one of that legendary group of militants connected with La Protesta who played such a crucial part in the Iberian peninsula during the 1930s.

407. MAS GOMERI, José.

Pre-civil war Catalan anarchist and CNT member. One of a group of intellectuals which used to meet in the Cafe Español in Barcelona, he was particularly to the fore in journalism, writing in Catalan and Castilian alike and demonstrating great competence and staunchness of belief. As early as the turn of the century articles signed by him were appearing in El Productor and he remained active up until 1935 at least (when he had an article in La Revista Blanca calling for an anarchist programme). There were several highpoints to his life: in 1908 he served on the Solidaridad Obrera federal council; and directed the important newspaper Avenir and En Titella.. He seems to have been a metalworker and, as a writer, he belonged to the same school as Cortiella, calling for greater emphasis to be laid on the Catalan language. He used the pen names of El Cisteller and articles by him appeared in Avenir, El Productor, Tierra Libre, El Porvenir del Obrero, La Revista Blanca, etc. Author of: E Pur si Muove (Barcelona 1906). We have not been able to unearth any further details about him, but there is every reason to believe that Mas Gomeri was a militant of some stature and would merit thorough investigation.

408. FRUCTIDOR. Title of several newspapers.

1. - Weekly organ of the Ateneo Racionalista and Libertarian Youth of

Menorca, published in Mahón, 1935-36. Texts by Guardia, Baguer, Sintes, Esperanza Elías, Florián Cardona, Fernando Ferrer, Liberto Callejas. Its director was Clodoaldo Villalonga. Fortnightly to begin with, it improved greatly after Callejas arrived in Mahón.

There may have been another paper of the same name in Mahón in 1924.

2. - Reus, 1919-20. Anarchist fortnightly. Directed by Hermoso Plaja and Alaiz, with Barjau on the editorial team. Organ of the Tarragona provincial CNT federation: published in Tarragona for a time.

409. NOSOTROS. Title of several libertarian newspapers and name of a faïsta group.

1. - Valencian publication doggedly against the CNT's entry into the government during the civil war period starting in 1936. Officially, it was the organ of the Valencian FAI, but it could count upon the backing and guidance of the Libertarian Youth and the Iron Column. Valencia 1936-37, under the direction of Abraham Guillén.

2. - Publication of the CNT exiles in Australia. North Richmond (Australia). 28 issues printed up to 1974.

3. - Mouthpiece of the CNT-AIT Hotel and Tourism Union, Barcelona 1977, 4 issues.

4. - Organ of the FAI of the País Valencià. No place indicated. 1977-79. Several issues published.

5. - Mouthpiece of the FIGA, no place indicated (Bilbao) 1979, 1 issue published.

6. - Name adopted by the Los Solidarios group in 1931 when, attending a meeting of anarchist groups in Barcelona, they discovered that there was another group already in existence using that name. The group fell apart with the death of Ascaso.

410. DORADO PITA, Joaquina. La Coruña, 1917.

From a working class family, she emigrated to Catalonia in 1934: in Barcelona she learned her trade as an upholsterer and joined the CNT

woodworkers' union. Come the fascist revolt in Barcelona, she was very active in the fighting (as a member of the central Barcelona defence committee) and later joined the Libertarian Youth in Pueblo Seco, serving as the administrative secretary of the important woodworkers' union and was also secretary of the socialised woodworking industry's economic council (she ran the industry's wall newspaper). In May 1937 she resisted the Stalinists as a member of the Luz y Cultura group. After Barcelona was captured by the Francoists she crossed the Pyrenees and was interned in a home from which she escaped, settling in Montpellier with help from Paul Reclus. Later she moved to Toulouse (the hub of Spanish anarchism in France) where she did sterling work to rebuild the woodworkers' union (as a member of the coordinating commission). After the Paris congress and once the FIJL was up and running again, she joined the Tres de Mayo group (1946) together with Sarrau and Carballeira.. and re-entered Spain to participate in many operations carried out in the 1940s against the Francoists: she was involved in conspiratorial work inside Spain up until she was arrested, together with her partner, Sarrau, in February 1948. She was freed on licence in January 1949 and her efforts to return to France failed (she was arrested in Ripoll). Released again late in 1950 in order to seek hospital treatment, she was eventually sentenced to 15 years in prison. In July 1954 she was released from prison, very ill, but managed to recover and crossed into France in February 1957. She was living in Paris around 1973. Joaquina Dorado is one of the few women who entered Spain from France in order to engage in head-on confrontation with Francoism during the 1940s.

411. CARRASQUER LAUNED, José Pedro. Albalate de Cinca (Huesca) 1912 - Corbalán (Teruel) 1938, killed on active war service.

Member of a family highly regarded in anarchist and CNT circles. He studied to be a teacher, qualifying at the age of 19 and teaching in Canillejas and Esparraguerra, in which towns he stood out on account of his enthusiasm for educational innovation, his assistance to popular culture and

also a militant of the CNT (his personal charisma explains why the Canillejas UGT defected en masse to the CNT). Later, in 1934 in Aguilera (Huesca) he delivered avant-garde education (Freinet method) and the following year, with help from his brothers, he took over the school attached to the Ateneo Libertario in Las Corts, Barcelona, the first ever self-managing school in Spain. With the outbreak of civil war, he fought in the front lines with the 25th and 26th Divisions in spite of his short sightedness and refused to go back into the rear and was twice wounded: whilst recuperating from the second of these injuries, he took over the general secretaryship of the regional FAI and when the Aragonese collectives came under attack he doggedly resisted the Stalinists in his native village. At the time of his death he was a captain with the 26th Division. Steely-willed but easy-going, he asked a lot of himself and believed in anarchism as an ideology and liberating ethic: his untimely death prevented his achieving the prominence expected of him.

412. VALLINA MARTÍNEZ, Pedro. Guadalcanal (Seville) 1879 - Veracruz (Mexico) 1970.

Member of a middle class family, he spent his childhood in contact with nature and soon displayed a love of books (a love that never left him). In his native village he was a member of the republican committees and almost immediately declared himself an anarchist (as were two of his siblings, Natalia and José Antonio), an enemy of the Civil Guard and a champion of the oppressed. Later he moved to Seville where he studied for his baccalaureate, wrote poetry and articles for *El Programa*, waxed enthusiastic over Cuban independence fighters, frequented antiquarian bookshops and took part in (often, armed) demonstrations. At around this time he regularly visited Santiponce - where a brother of his lived - and there he met the physician Puellas. In 1898, after taking his baccalaureate, he departed for Cádiz, meaning to study medicine and to make the acquaintance of Salvochea, whose disciple he counted himself. In September 1899 he settled in Madrid alongside Salvochea, marrying his studies to very intense activity

as an anti-monarchist, anarchist revolutionary. In Madrid he was regular at the Federalist headquarters (where he met Estévez, Castell, Jaime, Latorre, Bermejo, etc.) and, p until he was arrested, he looked after a school set up by the bricklayers of the Porvenir del Obrero association. At around the same time he conspired with Castell and met Ernest Álvarez. In 1900 he attended the FTRE congress and was to the fore at Pi's funeral and at the sensational staging of Pérez Galdós's *Electra*. In 1901 he was at the FSORE congress in Madrid and the following year he chaired the Madrid rally in support of the Barcelona strikers.. His activism stretched to the female cigarette-makers' dispute and it seems that he even attempted the life of Portas (responsible for the Montjuich repression)... all of it punctuated by trips to prison. In 1902, after several months in jail, and certain that the military would see to it that he was jailed again, he left the country (in October). His arrival in Paris began a lengthy period in exile - interrupted by clandestine trips back to the Iberian peninsula - up until 1914. In the French capital he was in touch with Spanish revolutionaries (Ciutat, Estévez, Ferrer) and he rubbed shoulders with the cream of international anarchism: not that his presence passed unnoticed. In 1904 he made a trip back to Spain (to lay the groundwork for a revolution that was then postponed) and it seems that shortly after that, with Alfonso XIII making a visit to Paris, he undertook to trigger the revolution by assassinating the king.. which plan was eventually frustrated and led to his being held in preventive custody for 6 months, only to be acquitted after that and deported from France. His time in France was characterised by activism: he attended Louise Michel's funeral, anti-militarist rallies by Faure and had a direct hand in publication of *L'Espagne inquisitoriale*, opposed the visit of the king of Italy... and by regular arrests. From France he moved on to London with his friend Nacht (they both represented Spain and Portugal at the Amsterdam anti-militarist congress, out of which emerged an international committee of which Vallina was a member) and in London they were warmly welcomed by Jewish anarchists and Vallina resumed his studies of medicine: in London he kept up his activism; he was secretary

and treasurer of the international anarchist club, was in contact with Tarrida del Marmol, attended the international syndicalist congress in 1913, gave anarchist and neo-Malthusian talks and (with Combe) drafted the famous anti-Militarist manifesto in 1914, led the protests at the execution of Francisco Ferrer, etc.

In 1914 he availed of an amnesty to return to Spain via Portugal and settled in Berlanga and later in Seville where he completed his medical studies and practised as a doctor whilst keeping up his revolutionary activities, becoming a mainstay of Andalusian anarchism (representing Andalusia at the anarchist congress in 1918, attending the 1919 CNT congress, refusing to travel to Germany and Russia and launching the Seville newspaper *Páginas libres* in 1918 and chairing the committee running the tenants' campaign in 1919). As a result of which he came in for vicious harassment: he was arrested in March 1919 and with Sánchez Rosa and others was jailed in Fuenlabrada for three months, before moving on again in 1920 (playing his part in reorganising the CNT) to Fuenlabrada, Peñalsordo and Siruela for two years.. this time away was the source of the great prestige that Vallina enjoyed in that area (the Siberia of Extremadura). Later he settled in Cantillana where he set up a TB clinic and then it was on to Seville, where, in 1923, he served on the CNT national committee headed by Paulino Díez (acting as treasurer and, some sources claim, as general secretary as well) until he was jailed again. When Primo de Rivera came to power he served half a year in jail only to be deported to Tangiers, Casablanca and Lisbon; in Lisbon he was in touch with Mogrovejo, Magalhaes Lima and Miguel Pérez and was again targeted for repression, which led him to make his way back to Siruela (invited by the inhabitants) where he rebuilt his prestige as doctor and revolutionary. With the downfall of Primo de Rivera, he moved to Almadén and was jailed (for a month) in Estella and again in Siruela before being released and travelled through Andalusia, Catalonia and Madrid, taking the revolutionary temperature: the voting that brought the Republic had scarcely ceased than he was proclaiming it in Almadén, raising a rebellion in that mining town and then

he was off to Seville (and to great disappointment), the whole adventure ending in jail in Ciudad Real. With the Republic in place, he chaired the CNT national plenum of regionals in 1931 and settled in Alcalá de Guadira but shortly after that was implicated in the general strike in Seville and was jailed in Cádiz (three months). Also during the Republic, he attempted unsuccessfully to spread the October 1934 uprising in Asturias to Extremadura, was involved in the abortive La Tablada plot, caused a sensation with his views on agrarian reform and - shortly before the fascist uprising - oversaw the expulsion of reactionary mayors from the Herrera del Duque comarca, replacing them with revolutionary committees. Come the army revolt, he was in Almadén, of which town he was in control and of the revolutionary committee there he was the chairman; he also formed the miners' militias until, in August, harried by interference from politicians, he left for Sigüenza - along with Bajatierra - working as a doctor with the Baidés militia as well as acting director of the CNT hospital in Ceñete. In February 1937 he moved on to Valencia and months later enlisted in the army - when it became plain that his beloved militias were doomed - and was posted to Albacete (June 1937 to March 1938) and Barcelona. In January 1939 he crossed into France via Massanet; he was arrested in Perpignan and later sent on to Narbonne as physician to the English home for Spanish intellectuals. With the outbreak of war in Europe he took ship for Santo Domingo (where he stayed two years), eventually settling in Mexico, first in Mexico City and later, for thirty years, in Loma Bonita, treating Indians and peasants (he was outstanding during the 1944 floods) until, at a very advanced age, he settled in Veracruz where he died, exhausted by old age and poverty, but faithful to his anarchism.

Even though Vallina was primarily an activist, mid-way between romanticism and newer trends, he wrote for a large number of publications, like *El Porvenir del Obrero*, *El Programa*, *Revista Blanca* (and its *Almanaque*), *Tierra y Libertad*, *Germinal*, *El Heraldo de Paris*, *Der Freie Generation*, *'L'Espagne inquisitoriale*, *Natura*, *El Productor*, *Acracia*, *Páginas Libres*, *El Rebelde*, *La Anarquía*, *Cénit*, *Tierra y Liberad* (Mexico).. He also wrote

Aspectos de la América Actual (Toulouse 1957), Mis Memorias (Caracas and Mexico 1968, two volumes), Crónica de un revolucionario. Trazos de la vida de Salvochea (Choisy 1958).

Vallina, or Doctor Vallina as he was known, is one of the greatest activists Spanish anarchism ever had: to him, anarchism was a passion that he shared with his two other great enthusiasms - books and nature. He was enormously popular in Extremadura and Almadén, even to the extent of having songs written about him. He was one of the few militants of anarchism's heroic age to live through the revolution of 1936 and the civil war during which he was an advocate of the militias and an early proponent of guerrilla warfare.

