

Creating unity or division? The origins of the Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Dr Jason Garner

As anarchism was never a mass movement in either the United Kingdom or the United States it has often been the victim of equivocal, prejudicial and patronising (often sympathetic) interpretations.¹ Studies of the anarchist 'phenomenon' are often more anthropological than strictly historical. The result has been that studies of anarchism have generally centred on ideological issues to the detriment of the environment in which these evolved. Anarchism, or libertarian communism as it was often labelled, developed in the nascent industrialisation of late nineteenth century Europe and as such inter-reacted with both liberalism and socialism, enjoying a prominent role in the labour movement during this period. Anarchism 'simply put' was the revolutionary socialist alternative to Marxism. In Spain, where it was strongest, anarchism enjoyed a rich and diverse history that culminated in the political and social revolution that spread across northeastern Spain in the early period of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939).

The Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI) who along with the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) was the main force behind that revolution, celebrates its 75th anniversary this year. Research on the FAI has been almost exclusively focused on its relationship with the CNT, either during the Second Republic (1931-1936) or the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). This has led many historians to treat the FAI with a simplicity based more on rumour and myth than reality. As such the FAI is presented as a secretive organisation created with the single aim 'of controlling the offices of the CNT'.² That anarchism and revolutionary syndicalism in Spain were closely linked is beyond doubt; Spanish anarchism was a predominantly working-class phenomenon and as such many anarchists were prominent in the CNT due to the simple fact that they were workers. However, when the FAI was created the CNT scarcely existed, having been effectively dissolved by the Primo de Rivera dictatorship. So to say that control of the CNT was the FAI's *raison d'être* makes little sense. To understand the reason behind the creation of the FAI requires an appreciation of the desperate state of the libertarian movement (libertarian is the generic term for those ideologies that rejected state intervention, including revolutionary syndicalism which, due to its class basis, was not strictly speaking anarchist) in the mid-1920s both nationally and internationally. This article focuses on the latter area, the international outlook of the FAI.

Typically articles on the subject of Spanish anarchism concentrate solely on the apparent uniqueness of the ideologies appeal in the country, a debate that has been summarised by the Spanish historian Javier Paniagua.³ There are now numerous historical studies which, rather than basing their research on the peculiarity of the strength of anarchism in Spain, tackle this question, placing the appeal of anarchism among the working class within the economic and socio-political reality of a centralised, yet culturally divided, economically backward, yet modernising, military-dominated State.⁴ The aim of this article is therefore not to provide a socio-political analysis of the appeal of anarchism simply repeating what has been argued before but to go beyond this and focus on a question that has been ignored until now, why an Iberian Federation and not simply a Spanish one? As its name clearly states, the FAI was not a solely Spanish organisation, and the Portuguese anarchists played an important role in its creation. The answer can be found in two main areas: firstly, the desire of the Portuguese and Spanish anarchists to reinvigorate the movement not only in the Iberian Peninsula where State repression and internal division had taken their toll, but also throughout Europe and therefore set an example of unity not simply between tendencies, but across frontiers and, secondly, the origins to the creation of the FAI emphasise the close relationship between the labour and anarchist movements in the two countries. Only when attempts to create an Iberian Syndicalist Federation had failed did the process towards the creation of an anarchist federation really get underway. The reasons why the eventual result of the talks which began in 1915 resulted in the creation of an anarchist and not syndicalist federation can be found in the dramatic rise and fall of revolutionary syndicalism in the wake of the Revolution in Russia and the appearance of authoritarian dictatorship in the both countries as well as the languid state of the libertarian movement elsewhere. This was the

backdrop, and not the resurgence of the CNT in the 1930s, to the birth of the FAI. The FAI was created to re-invigorate both anarchism and syndicalism, both nationally and internationally.

The history of anarchism in Spain began with the arrival in the country of the International Working Men's Association (IWMA) delegate, Giuseppe Fanelli, in 1868. Fanelli was also a member of the International Alliance of Social Democracy which had been founded by the Russian anarchist, Mikhail Bakunin, to challenge the Marxists within the IWMA. The anarcho-collectivist (i.e. anarchism based around the labour movement) doctrine of the Russian revolutionary immediately gained greater support in Spain than the state-centric socialist approach and the Spanish section of the International (the Federación Regional Española, (FRE)), Spain's first ever national labour organization, supported the Bakunist position in the IWMA. From its very beginning then, anarchism in Spain was closely related to the labour movement. This was also the case in Portugal where anarchism was introduced in 1871 when the FRE was temporarily forced into exile due to repression in Spain.⁵ However, the following decades saw the rise of orthodox socialism and a decline in the influence of anarchism in both countries. Many anarchists became distanced from the labour movement, which they saw as both reformist and bureaucratic. Meanwhile anarchism became associated with the terrorism and the bomb outrages associated with the tactic of 'propaganda of the deed', which in turn led the labour movement to distance itself from the ideology.

The birth of revolutionary syndicalism, whose origins could be found in the IWMA, opened the way for a reunion between anarchism and the labour movement, representing an apparent synthesis between those sections of the union movement that rejected political action and those anarchists who were wary of the reformism that had become increasingly evident among unions affiliated to political parties. Revolutionary syndicalism was essentially the juxtaposition of the ideas of the Bakunist wing of the IWMA, in which the Spanish section played a leading role, and the economic and political realities of an industrialising society in which the political system did not provide a means for the amelioration of workers' standards of living or working conditions. Revolutionary syndicalism emerged from the writings of leading militants of the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT) in France, and its basic tenets were enshrined in the Charter of Amiens approved by the CGT in 1906.

The Charter defined that revolutionary syndicalism was 'suffit a tout' – sufficient in itself - requiring no outside assistance in the achievement of its aims, both in the short-term, day-to-day demands such as 'the coordination of workers' efforts, the increase of workers' well-being by the achievement of immediate improvements', and the long-term, the 'complete emancipation' of the working class and creation and organisation of a future society based upon the unions. Syndicalism therefore rejected the (parliamentary) political path towards emancipation of the socialists and forbade workers from bringing their party affiliations into the syndicalist movement. The revolution would be brought about by a general strike of such a scale that the capitalist state would collapse. For the strike to succeed the union needed to be as strong as possible. Revolutionary syndicalism therefore aimed to unite all workers within the unions irrespective of their political affiliations, provided that members, both individual and organisations, kept their politics outside the union. This concentration of the economic field of labour relations as opposed to the political field and the concomitant apolitical stance of early revolutionary syndicalism attracted the support of the anarchist movement. However, there were clear differences between the doctrines of revolutionary syndicalism and anarchism. For the revolutionary syndicalists the future society would be structured around the unions, whilst the more radical anarchists felt that, as they were the creation of the class system, the unions would have to disappear with the destruction of capitalism.

The years following the Charter of Amiens witnessed a surge of syndicalist activity across Europe. In Portugal a split emerged in the labour movement between the syndicalists and the socialists following the 1909 National Workers' Congress. The syndicalists formed the Congresso Studiale Cooperativista in which the anarchist influence was noticeable, although

the overall ideology was based on the Charter of Amiens. In an attempt to reunite the two factions, a unitary trade union organisation, the União Operaria Nacional (UON), was created in 1914. Meanwhile, in Spain the CNT was formed in 1910 only to be forced underground in 1911 following a general strike. However, the CNT was not the only nationwide labour organisation as the dogmatically orthodox-socialist Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT) had been established in 1888. The creation of the CNT did not represent a split from the UGT as the organisations that joined the Confederation had remained aloof from the socialist union, due to disagreement with its subordinate relationship with the socialist party and its overtly centralist stance. The relative lack of socialist militants within the CNT, served to strengthen the more revolutionary and anarchist elements, especially in Catalonia. Therefore although claiming to be revolutionary syndicalist, the CNT had a more libertarian stance than other syndicalist organisations. This was clearly evident at its 1910 congress which stated that syndicalism was a means, not an end i.e. was not 'suffit a tout'. Although not explicitly stated until the 1919 Congress, the end to which the CNT aspired was the introduction of a libertarian communist (i.e. anarchist and not dominated by the unions) society, although how this future society was to be organised was not fully clarified until the 1936 Congress.

The first official contact between the syndicalist organisations of Portugal and Spain came during the First World War, at the International Congress of Peace held at El Ferrol (Galicia) in 1915.⁶ The outbreak of war in Europe in August 1914 had halted moves that were in progress to create both a revolutionary syndicalist international and an anarchist one.⁷ However, at the same time it also gave strength to both movements by exposing the vacuous nature of social democratic internationalism and its constant threats prior to August 1914 to oppose war with a general strike.

Even in anarchist circles a number of leading figures supported the Allies, including the internationally renowned Peter Kropotkin, a position that was echoed by a small minority of anarchists in neutral Spain. However, the vast majority adopted the orthodox anarchist position of total rejection of the war. Internationally, the opposition to Kropotkin's position was led by the Italian anarchist Errico Malatesta and Sebastian Faure, the director of the French anarchist newspaper *Le Libertaire*. Faure's opposition to the war inspired members of the Syndicalist Ateneo in El Ferrol to organise an International Congress of Peace.⁸ The aims set out in the initial congress agenda focused on issues directly related to the war, though, as it transpired, the Congress of Peace focused predominantly on labour organisation and international relations.⁹

Eusebio Carbó, a prominent figure in the CNT at the time, claimed that worker and anarchist organisations from across Europe were making preparations to send delegates to the congress.¹⁰ However, passport problems meant that many of those invited were unable to attend and in the end all 47 delegates that attended the first session (of two) of the International Congress of Peace on 29 April 1915 were either Spanish or Portuguese (albeit that Portuguese militants also represented groups from France and Brazil).¹¹ The UON delegate at the El Ferrol Congress was Manuel Joaquim de Sousa. His stay in Spain was brief as, following the first session, the police expelled the delegates with foreign passports.

Nonetheless the congress made a number of significant decisions, some of which were intended for immediate effect, while others looked more towards the post-war world.¹² The latter category included a decision to create a labour International and, as a means of giving this new organisation strength, the Portuguese and Spanish delegates agreed to the creation of an 'Iberian Federation, the initial cell of the International Federation of Workers' Unions, against the war, against all wars, against the tyranny of the State'.¹³

Therefore two committees were created at El Ferrol, one for the Iberian Confederation, to be made up of both Spanish and Portuguese delegates, and one for the new International. Both were to be based in El Ferrol and neither appears to have survived long.¹⁴ It is possible that, following the expulsion of the Portuguese delegates, the former committee was never actually formally constituted, as there is no further reference to it in the press of the period.

However, a new International was created, although it appears that outside the Iberian Peninsula no one was aware of its existence. The International, which carried the title International Working Men's Association in homage to the First International, issued its first manifesto in early July 1915 and included the organisation's statutes. Following a suggestion by Carbó, it was decided that there was no need to write new statutes for the International as those of the First International would be more than adequate, although with slight modifications.¹⁵ The last sign of life that the IWMA gave was a call to the workers of Spain and Portugal to be on guard against forces within their countries that wanted to pressurise the governments of Spain and Portugal to end their policy of neutrality in the war.¹⁶ The rapid demise of the IWMA may have been as a result of financial differences or persecution. In both Spain and Portugal proposed propaganda tours aimed at informing militants of the deliberations of the El Ferrol congress had to be cancelled due to government crackdowns.¹⁷ Perhaps the greatest problem would have been the premature nature of creating an international whilst the war continued. Nonetheless in the following years it is clear that both the Portuguese and Spanish syndicalist organizations were in contact with syndicalist organizations in the belligerent nations.¹⁸

Despite its fleeting existence, the formation of this new International did have one important consequence. During the congress, Angel Pestaña, representing both *Solidaridad Obrera* and the Catalan section of the CNT, suggested that the reorganisation of the CNT would give greater force to the International. The congress agreed and it was decided that the committee in charge of the reorganisation should be based in Barcelona. *Solidaridad Obrera* published a manifesto announcing its intention to reorganise the CNT in early June 1916, followed by a series of articles explaining why it was essential that this should occur.¹⁹ The process of reorganisation was initially slow with membership rising from roughly 30,000 in mid-1915 to 50,000 in May 1916, but boomed following the social unrest of 1917. By the end of 1919 it was over 800,000. During the early period of the reorganisation, the close relationship between the CNT and the anarchist movement was immediately noticeable especially given the revolutionary atmosphere and widespread social unrest during the so-called Bolshevik Triennial in Spain following the general strike of December 1916. During these years a new generation of leaders rose to the forefront of the CNT, all of whom had close connections with the anarchist movement.

Meanwhile in Portugal the UON, which had proved to be relatively ineffectual, was eventually replaced by the Portuguese Confederação Geral do Trabalho (CGTP) which was founded at a National Workers' Congress at Coimbra in September 1919 with a membership of some 120,000. The CGTP had two main objectives: to unite together all workers in a single organisation and to maintain that organisation's independence from all political currents. Unlike in Spain and the majority of other European countries following the war (where ideological conflicts between socialists, communists and syndicalists had led to splits within the union movement), in Portugal the CGTP was the only national trade union organisation, and within its ranks could still be found all the different left-wing political tendencies, although the predominant strand was revolutionary, if not anarcho-, syndicalism.²⁰ This latter fact was principally because the Socialist party had lost prestige among the working class due to its role in the government. Indeed the CGTP was a more united organisation than the UON, largely because the influence of the Socialist Party in the unions was by then completely marginalized.

The CNT national secretary, Evelio Boal, had been due to attend the September 1919 Coimbra National Workers' Congress, originally scheduled to take place in July of that year, to discuss means of improving relations with other revolutionary syndicalist organisations in advance of the creation of an International, but was unable to do so due to events in Spain.²¹ The CGTP's national secretary, Manuel Joaquim de Sousa represented the CGTP at the CNT's national congress in Madrid in December 1919 where he was pleasantly surprised by the warm welcome he received from his Spanish comrades.²² In meetings between de Sousa and leading CNT members, the basis for a Latin Confederation was established.²³ The CNT and CGTP were to be the initial cells of the proposed organisation, which would include the CNT,

the CGTP, the Italian USI and the French CGT.²⁴ After de Sousa had made a brief speech to the congress about the history and policies of the CGTP, Boal declared that 'from today the fusion of the Iberian proletariat, the base of the Confederation of the Latin working-class, is a fact'.²⁵

The Latin Confederation never got beyond the planning stage due to the unenthusiastic reaction of the CGT in France, the combination of government repression and economic decline which affected the fortunes of the organisations that were to be its members, and the splits created within the revolutionary syndicalist movement by the machinations of the Communists who in 1921 set up the a revolutionary syndicalist international (the Red Trade Union International or Profintern) in Moscow in an attempt to try and unite the syndicalist movement under their control.²⁶

Despite the failure of the Latin Confederation, the plans to create an Iberian Confederation, discussed at the 1919 congress, continued. In 1922, both the CNT and the CGTP affiliated to the IWMA (albeit provisionally as the new syndicalist international did not officially come into existence until the Berlin Congress in December 1922), the CNT at the Zaragoza conference of June 1922; the CGTP at a national congress in Covilha in October 1922.²⁷ Both Confederations had expected that a new revolutionary syndicalist international would be created at the Berlin Conference of June 1922, but such a move was delayed until after the first congress of the Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire (which had recently been formed in France by revolutionary syndicalists opposed to the reformist policies of the old CGT) at the end of June and the second congress of the RTUI in November. Fearing that the other revolutionary syndicalist organisations might procrastinate further or even decide to join the RTUI, and therefore worried about being isolated internationally, both the CNT and the CGTP decided to strengthen their bilateral relations.

At Zaragoza, the CNT passed a motion on international relations which committed it to strengthening relations with the CGTU and the CGTP and to creating, if possible, a federal pact between the three organisations.²⁸ However, this tri-union pact was a dead letter as soon as the inaugural congress of the CGTU decided to join the RTUI. At Covilha, the CGTP also voted in favour of building closer ties with the CNT. Following the congress, the CGTP sent a questionnaire to the CNT, asking if they believed that 'the unification of the revolutionary proletariat of the two countries in one sole organisation, an Iberian Confederation, would be convenient and useful'.²⁹ The questionnaire was to be discussed at the CNT national congress which was scheduled to be held in June 1923, but was postponed due to the transport strike that paralysed Barcelona from 14 May to 12 July.³⁰

The CGTP once again took the initiative and, at the end of May or early June 1923, invited the CNT to a meeting to study the possibilities of creating a joint peninsular-wide committee for the two organisations.³¹ The resulting conference of the two labour organisations was held in Evora (Portugal) in July. The CGTP was represented by Manuel Joaquim de Sousa and Jose da Silva Santos Arranha, and the CNT by Sebastià Clará, Acrato Lluhi and Manuel Pérez.³² No record exists of the discussions held at Evora, but an editorial published in *Batalha* (the CGTP newspaper) in early July suggests that they concerned the logistics associated with the creation of the joint committee. The article argued that, as the two organisations were based on the principles of federalism, i.e. both had a horizontal organisational structure as opposed to the traditional vertical structure in which individual unions maintained independence of action and decision-taking on issues that directly affected them and as such the decision-making process moved upwards through the organisation and was not dictated from above, it was possible that the National Committee of the CNT resident in Barcelona could simply become the Committee of the Iberian Labour Confederation. The Committee would be composed solely of militants from the region where it was based. The CGTP would constitute a region within the new organisation and, given the decentralised nature of syndicalism, would still enjoy autonomy in issues solely affecting Portugal.³³

Following the Evora conference, progress towards the formation of an Iberian confederation

suffered a serious setback when, in September 1923, General Primo de Rivera's seized power in Spain in a military coup. The new military regime did not immediately ban the CNT, but instead introduced legislation that made it all but impossible for the CNT to continue functioning. The next official contact between the CNT and the CGTP was a letter sent by the Spanish organisation in September, requesting moral support from their Portuguese colleagues in light of events in Spain.³⁴ Eventually the CNT asked for more than simply moral support and in December 1923 a meeting between the two organisations was organised in Seville, the seat of the National Committee of the CNT, to discuss the possible participation of the CGTP in a planned insurrection that the CNT had been discussing with Republican and Catalan political forces opposed to the dictatorship. However, the Spanish authorities were aware of the plans and shortly after arriving in Andalusia, the two CGT delegates, Manuel da Silva Campos and Manuel Joaquim de Sousa (the serving national secretary of the Confederação and his predecessor), were arrested along with the members of the CNT National Committee. The Spanish government claimed to have foiled a communist-inspired revolutionary uprising and used this as an excuse for a further crackdown on the CNT in the region.³⁵

The repression severely weakened the CNT, and the national ban on the CNT in May 1924 dealt a fatal blow to the project to create an Iberian Syndicalist Confederation. Although both sides maintained contact, no further discussions took place between them on the subject.³⁶ Avelino Gonzalez (the CNT national secretary) attended the CGTP's second congress in September 1925. However, discussion about the creation of an Iberian Syndicalist Confederation was not on the agenda. The ban on the CNT meant that little, if any, progress was made by the time the military seized power in Portugal on 28 May 1926. A general strike organised by the CGTP in February 1927 failed to dislodge the military and the Portuguese Confederation was banned. The CGTP, like the CNT, continued to function underground and in exile, but the repression in the two countries effectively ended attempts to create the proposed Iberian Syndicalist Confederation.

Following the ban on the CNT in May 1924, the consequent repression against leading militants was such that many were forced to flee into exile either to Latin America or Northern Europe. The vast majority sought refuge across the border in France. Initially revolutionary plans took precedence as militants hoped that the exile would only be temporary, but as it became clear, especially after the failed rising of Vera de Bidasoa in 1924, that the Dictatorship was going to last, the focus moved to organisational issues. Eventually the Spanish exiles formed both an anarchist federation, the Federación de Grupos Anarquistas de Lengua Español en Francia (the Federation of Spanish Speaking Anarchist Groups in France, FGALEF), and a syndicalist organisation, the Cuadros Sindicales (Syndicalist Cadres). However, due to internal disputes and the increasingly vigilant and repressive policies of the French authorities, the activity of the two organisations was severely limited. The influence of the exile organisations on their comrades in Spain was more symbolic than real suggesting a semblance of continuity and unity in the hope of better days in the future. Meanwhile in Spain itself by 1927 the CNT has all but ceased to exist. This lack of activity, and in particular union activity, gave greater emphasis to ideology.

For the exiled anarchists there were clear lessons to be learnt from their experience in France. Both the CGT and the CGTU had claimed to represent revolutionary syndicalism and both had come under the control of political organisations. The pitifully weak state of what was left of the independent revolutionary syndicalist movement (the CGTSR) in France was in large part caused by its almost total abandonment by the 'decadent' and divided French anarchists.³⁷ In fact the CGTSR would not even have been created had it not been for the pressure which the IWMA and Spanish and Italian exiles exerted over their French comrades. Anarchism in France was very much a minority pursuit and, having lost contact with the masses, was in danger of becoming little more than the subject of café bar conversation. It was in this climate of relative despair and enforced union paralysis, re-enforced by the pitiful example provided by French anarchism, that the FAI was born. However, although the exiles found both the French anarchist and syndicalist movements a large disappointment, their

stay in France did provide the opportunity to make contact with exiled militants from other countries, including Portugal, who had been forced to flee repression at home.³⁸

Despite the failure of the proposed Iberian Syndicalist Federation, co-operation between the libertarian movements of the two countries had continued. Relations between the anarchist movements had grown alongside those between the syndicalist movements, although for the most part these were confined to personal or groups contacts and messages of support in the anarchist press of the two countries. However, in 1923 anarchists from both countries began the process towards the formation of an Iberian anarchist federation, which according to Francisco Quintal, a prominent Portuguese anarchist, 'would serve as an example for the syndicalist organisations of the two countries and help bring about an Iberian Confederation of Workers', a point that would later be echoed by the FAI itself.³⁹

In 1923 neither movement had a body that represented it nationally, a position which was rectified in the national anarchist congresses celebrated in Spain and Portugal which, by coincidence, both opened on 18 March. The Madrid Congress agreed to the creation of the National Committee of Anarchist Relations and to the publication of a national anarchist periodical, *Crisol*. The Committee was to be based in Barcelona, sharing the same address as the recently revived *Solidaridad Obrera* (the newspaper of the CNT), reflecting the revived strength of the radical anarchist wing within the CNT.⁴⁰ The National Committee of Anarchist Relations (and the various regional committees) would co-ordinate, but not direct, anarchist activity across regional and local borders.

Meanwhile at the Portuguese Anarchist Congress in Alemquer, the União Anarquista Portuguesa (UAP) was created. The UAP acted as a link between member organisations and a contact point with international organisations. In Portugal local groups would unite together to form regional federations which were independent of each other (there were 3 independent organizations: the Federation of the South Region; the Anarchist Federation of the Central Region and the Committee of Anarchist Organization and Propaganda of the North). The groups affiliated directly to the UAP, and not via the regional federations.⁴¹ So, whereas the Spanish anarchists simply created a national committee, the Portuguese created a union. The significance of this subtle differentiation between the Portuguese and Spanish anarchists is not simply a question of semantics between a national union and a national committee. What is important is the rationale that accompanied it, which was directly related to the relationship of anarchism with syndicalism.

In Spain, national organisation was limited to the Committee of Anarchist Relations rather than a national federation or union because, it was argued, the anarchists already had a national organisation: 'The CNT constitutes and represents our revolutionary organisation. Here in Spain, it is the only organisation that, without euphemisms, without political intentions, without parliamentary aspirations, is carrying out a completely libertarian programme'.⁴² If, as was constantly claimed, all the leading anarchists were also active within the CNT, there was no need for a further national libertarian organisation. At its inaugural congress, the CNT had declared that syndicalism was nothing more than a means of bringing about the revolution and, at its second congress in Madrid in 1919, it had agreed that the aim of the revolution would be the implantation of libertarian communism throughout the country. As the anarchist revolution depended on the CNT, the anarchists had an indisputable interest in ensuring that the CNT did not deviate from the revolutionary line it had adopted in 1919.

The UAP, on the other hand, represented a national union, independent of, but with close ties to the CGTP. The UAP supported the CGTP's goal to unite all workers together in one union. The Alemquer conference accepted that there were clear differences between syndicalist organisations and anarchist groups: 'The first have almost exclusively materialistic objectives, satisfying principally the selfishness of the masses, the others concern themselves with moral questions, trying to instil in the masses the greatest sense of the ideal as the only means of finding the solution [to their problems]'.⁴³ The UAP supported the view put forward by the Italian anarchist Errico Malatesta that the unions had to be open to all so as to allow the

anarchists the widest possible audience for its propaganda.⁴⁴ The unions provided a perfect arena in which anarchist ideals could be propagated to the working-class as a whole, and any attempt to enforce a political ideology, in this case anarchism, on the unions would lead to confrontation and division, would weaken the unions and thus reduce the potential audience open to the anarchists. In effect they would only be preaching to the converted. This is not to pretend that the UAP did not have a keen interest in union politics. As in Spain many UAP were prominent figures in the CGTP, but as anarchists, their role in the unions was simply to propagate their ideas among the masses and act to ensure that neither reformism nor communism took control of the CGTP.⁴⁵

The straightforward explanation for the different positions towards the syndicalist movement was that in Spain the anarchist movement was significantly larger than that of Portugal and had greater influence within the syndicalist organisation, although this fact may have in some respect resulted from the regional nature of Spanish politics. Where socialism was strong, the libertarian movement tended to be very weak and vice versa. This is particularly true in the case of Catalonia, the heart of the Spanish revolutionary syndicalist movement, where in 1919 the CNT had over 400,000 members whilst the UGT scarcely had 5,000. This may have made members in areas where the libertarian movement was strongest believe that in Spain there was no need for the type of revolutionary syndicalism that was open to all favoured by both the UAP and the CGTP.

The UAP decided at the Alemquer Congress that there should be closer 'reciprocal relations between the Spanish and Portuguese anarchists' and, to this effect, the conference directed the Committee of the UAP to contact the Spanish anarchists.⁴⁶ The Portuguese anarchists appeared to be more interested in the subject as although relations between the anarchists of the two countries were to be discussed at the Madrid Congress, from the brief reports that exist on the Spanish congress the subject does not appear to have been given much, if any, attention.⁴⁷ Given the relative strengths of both anarchist and syndicalist organisations in the different countries in terms of potential size it is easy to see why the Portuguese were initially the keener of the two.

According to the Brazilian historian, Edgar Rodrigues, at the meeting of the two syndicalist organisations in Evora in the early summer of 1923, Manuel Joaquim de Sousa of the CGTP suggested that the Portuguese and Spanish anarchists should amalgamate.⁴⁸ If this is so, he was most probably acting in response to the decisions taken at Alemquer. Nonetheless, whilst talks continued between the two Confederations about the creation of an Iberian Syndicalist Confederation, there was little progress towards the formation of a united anarchist organisation. The first official meeting between the Spanish and Portuguese anarchists took place at the national anarchist congress held clandestinely in Barcelona in April 1925.⁴⁹ A delegate of the UAP arrived towards the end of the deliberations and presented a paper calling for the creation of an Iberian Anarchist Union without delay. The congress established a commission to research the feasibility of such a project, which was composed of the UAP delegate and one other who would be chosen by the Catalan anarchists.⁵⁰

It is not clear whether this commission was ever actually set up. The Barcelona congress decided to transfer the Spanish Anarchist Committee of Relations to France and it appears that, due to the repression in Spain, contacts between the Spanish and Portuguese anarchists were conducted via the FGALEF.⁵¹ The formation of a combined federation was not discussed again until the FGALEF's inaugural congress at Marseilles in May 1926. The UAP was represented at the congress by Manuel Peres, whilst Manuel Joaquim de Sousa of the CGTP also attended. The Spanish anarchists had been in contact with their Portuguese comrades during the preparations for the Congress and the fact that the proposal to create the FAI was passed with little debate, suggest that it had been prepared well in advance.⁵² The congress agreed to the constitution of the Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI) but, given the situation in Spain, decided that the provisional Committee of Relations of the new Federation would be formed by the UAP and based in Lisbon. The UAP would then, when it believed it opportune, organise an Iberian congress which would see the definitive launch of the Federation.⁵³ The

congress also agreed to send a delegate of the FGALEF to the first congress of the UAP due to be held in July 1926.

The UAP congress was postponed following the military coup of 18 May 1926 which resulted in the arrest of numerous Portuguese anarchists and the closure of their newspaper, *O Anarquista*. The congress was eventually held in Lisbon in January 1927, with Josep Magriñà attending as the representative of both the FGALEF and, according to the acts of the congress, of the 'Spanish Anarchist Union' (probably the newly-formed yet still embryonic Spanish National Federation).⁵⁴ In the discussions on the formation of the FAI, it was proposed that the congress nominate the initial committee of the FAI, as had been agreed at Marseilles. It is not clear whether a provisional committee of the FAI was established or whether the Committee of the UAP itself simply acted as such.⁵⁵ In any case, the committee was unable to fulfil the tasks it assigned itself due to the intensification of government repression following the failed general strike in Portugal in February 1927.⁵⁶ The organisation of the Iberian conference was thus entrusted to their Spanish colleagues.⁵⁷

According to J. Llop of the Catalan Federation, the Spanish Committee of Anarchist Relations had drawn up a provisional agenda and had sent it out to the various regions for discussion. Each region had then discussed the agenda and drawn up the reports that they would present at the Iberian conference.⁵⁸ The conference was finally held on 24-25 July 1927 in Valencia, with delegates coming from Levante, Andalucía, Catalonia, Castile, and Madrid as well as the Secretariat of Relations of the National Federation of Anarchist Groups and the Catalan and Levante Regional Confederations.⁵⁹ The UAP was represented by its secretary, Francisco Quintal, and Germinal da Sousa, the son of Manuel Joaquim. The CGTP, the IWMA and the FGALEF were invited, but were unable to attend. The Valencia conference saw the creation of the FAI. The new Federation had three component parts: the FGALEF, the UAP and the Spanish National Federation of Anarchist Groups. The three organisations were to be linked together by a Peninsular Committee. It was agreed that one of the three would be responsible for the functioning of this Committee and that this responsibility would rotate from region to region. Initially, it was proposed that the Committee should be based in Portugal, but the UAP declined arguing that, given the proportional strength of the Spanish within the Federation, it should reside in Spain. It was eventually agreed that the Committee should be based in Seville where it remained until the spring of 1930.⁶⁰ The UAP's decision also reflected the difficulties that the Union faced at home following the failure of the general strike in February 1927. In 1928 the UAP Committee was forced into exile in the Portuguese West African colonies by the military dictatorship. An attempt to reorganise forces in Lisbon in 1929 failed and by 1931 the UAP had been disbanded and replaced by the Federación de los Anarquistas Portugueses exilados en el extranjero y en las colonias (Federation of Portuguese anarchists exiled abroad and in the colonies, FAPE). A sub-committee of the FAPE was based in Barcelona and the Portuguese involvement in the FAI in the following years was predominantly limited to the exiled movement in Spain.⁶¹ So, despite the fact that the Portuguese anarchists played such a vital role in the creation of the FAI, from the Valencia conference forward the FAI was, to all intents and purposes, a Spanish anarchist organisation.

With the Spanish libertarian movement divided by internal conflict and the victim of constant repression, the FAI sought to bring together anarchists of all shades to 'coordinating the (anarchist) groups in Spain and Portugal' and to provide 'solidarity, and re-enforce (anarchist) culture and action'.⁶² Thus the proposal to create a united Iberian federation evolved from the failed attempt to unite the syndicalist organisations of Spain and Portugal. The changing fortunes of the syndicalist movement between 1915 and the mid 1920s, from its spectacular growth following 1917 - which seemed to suggest that revolution was an imminent possibility - to its dramatic collapse in the face of the repression that accompanied the seizure of power by Primo de Rivera in Spain (1923) and Salazar in Portugal (1926), put an end to the proposed syndicalist federation, with both the CNT and the Portuguese Confederação Geral do Trabalho (CGTP) being forced underground. Only when the Iberian Syndicalist Federation became an impossibility did the process towards the creation of the FAI seriously began to

advance. The birth of the FAI corresponded to a heartfelt need to bring together the libertarian movement both in Spain and the Iberian Peninsula. It was also driven by the hope that this would find an echo in the international libertarian movement which, divided and confused by the apparent success of Bolshevism and then decimated by the violent reaction of the governments in the countries where anarchism had been strongest, appeared to be in a process of permanent decline. In 1927 both anarchism and syndicalism were in crisis and the FAI hoped to reverse this trend and revitalise the entire libertarian movement, both internationally and nationally, and this logically included the syndicalist movement. The FAI was not created to dominate the syndicalist movement, and the CNT in particular, as this scarcely existed, but to play its role in ensuring that the CNT and the ideas that inspired it did not simply fade away.

¹ The only works in English which solely concentrate on the FAI are Christie, Stuart, *We, the Anarchists: A Study of the Iberian Anarchist Federation* (Meltzer Press: Hastings, 1996) and Juan Gómez Casas' *History of the FAI*, (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1986.) Both authors have an anarchist background. Christie was a member of the angry brigade and Gómez Casas was a militant of the FAI and CNT (his book originally appeared in Spanish under the title *Historia de la FAI*, ZYX, Madrid, 1977). However, the English-reader would be most likely to have come across the FAI in more general texts on Spain and the Civil War by E.J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959) and *Revolutionaries*, (London: Phoenix, 1994), F. Borkenau, *The Spanish Cockpit*, (London: Pluto Press, 1986) and most frequently Gerald Brenan, *The Spanish Labyrinth*, (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1993, but originally published in 1944). The latter, written 60 years ago by an author sympathetic to anarchists (although he admitted in a letter to the Max Nettlau the Austrian anarchist historian, that there were huge gaps in his knowledge of the subject, Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (Amsterdam), Nettlau Archives, Film 6, letter from Brennan to Nettlau, 19 November 1938) is still the most commonly cited by students in seminars I have given on the subject!

² For a brief, yet impressive, survey of the historiography of the FAI see the first chapter of Gutiérrez Molina, Jose Luis, *La Idea Revolucionaria*, (Madrid: Ediciones Madre Tierra, 1993), pp. 9-20.

³ Paniagua, Javier, 'Una gran pregunta y varios respuestas. El anarquismo Español: desde la política a la historiografía', *Historia Social*, 12, 1992, pp. 31-57. In English, perhaps the best explanation of the appeal of anarchism, as much for its analysis as for its account of the social situation and although it focuses on Barcelona, is Nick Rider's unpublished doctoral thesis, *Anarchism, Urbanisation and Social Conflict in Barcelona, 1900-1932* (Doctoral thesis, University of Lancaster, 1987.) See also his chapter on anarchism in the Barcelona in the 1930s in Smith Angel, Ed., *Red Barcelona. Social Protest and Labour Mobilization in the Twentieth Century*, (London: Routledge, 2002)

⁴ Perhaps the best overall summary of the libertarian movement in Spain is Pere Gabriel's chapter on Spain in the Spanish version of George Woodcock's *Anarchism - El Anarquismo*, Barcelona, 1979 – which unfortunately does not appear in the English translation. In general the historiography of the movement focuses on the years of the Second Republic and the Civil War e.g. Casanova, Julian, *De la Calle al Frente. El anarcosindicalismo en España 1931-39* (Barcelona: Critica, 1997), Brademas, John, *Anarcosindicalismo y revolución en España* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1974) and/or on regional movements, e.g. Barrio Alonso, Angeles, *Anarquismo y anarcosindicalismo en Asturias (1890-1936)*, Siglo XXI, Madrid, 1988; Kelsey, Graham, *Anarcosindicalismo, libertarian communism, and the state : the CNT in Zaragoza and Aragon, 1930-1937* (Amsterdam: International Institute of Social History, 1991), Macarro Vera, Jose Manuel, *La Utopía revolucionaria; Sevilla en la Segunda República*, (Sevilla: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Sevilla, 1985), Montanes, Enrique, *Anarcosindicalismo y cambio político. Zaragoza 1930-6* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1989), Vicente, Laura, *Sindicalismo y conflictividad social en Zaragoza (1916-1923)* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1993), Vega, Eulàlia, *El trentisme a Catalunya. Divergències ideològiques en la CNT 1930-33*, (Barcelona: Curial, 1980) and *Anarquistas y Sindicalistas durante la Segunda República; La CNT y los sindicatos de Oposición en el País Valenciano* (Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1987) and Pereira, Dionísio, *A CNT na Galicia 1922-36* (Santiago de Compostela: Edicions Laiovento, 1994)

⁵ Anselmo Lorenzo, *El Proletariado militante* (2 Vols.), MLE-CNT en Francia, Toulouse, 1946, pp. 165-170.

⁶ Previously Manuel F. Quartel and Joaquim J. Canieira had represented the Portuguese National Federation of Rural Workers at the Congress in Cordoba of the Federacion Nacional de Campesinos in Congress in April 1913, 'Em Espanha O Congresso dos Trabalhadores Agricolas', *O Sindicalista*, 13 May 1913.

⁷ The creation of an anarchist congress was to be discussed at the International Anarchist Congress which was due to be held in Hackney in August 1914, but was cancelled due to the war. The

International Revolutionary Syndicalist Congress held in London in 1913, had previously agreed that the next such congress should create an international.

⁸ A manifesto by Faure against the war entitled 'Hacia la Paz' (Towards Peace) was published in *Tierra y Libertad*, 20 January 1915. The manifesto launching the Ateneo's initiative, also entitled 'Hacia la Paz' began by rendering homage to Faure's article, *Tierra y Libertad*, 3 March 1915.

⁹ The manifesto addressed to 'the Socialists, Syndicalists, Anarchists and workers' organisations' of the world called for the 'end of splits and acceptance that all are to blame for the war', *Tierra y Libertad*, 3 March 1915.

¹⁰ 'Congreso Internacional de la Paz', E.C. Carbó, *Tierra y Libertad*, 24 March 1915. Carbó claimed that organisations from Norway, Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands, Italy and Portugal were preparing to send delegates.

¹¹ 'Las Internacionales sindicales', A. Schapiro, *La Protesta (Suplemento Semanal)*, 24 August 1925. Among those invited who were unable to attend were Faure and Malatesta and a representative of the USI.

¹² Reports on the congress appeared in *Acción Libertaria*, 14 May 1915, *Solidaridad Obrera*, 13 May 1915, and *Tierra y Libertad* 12 May 1915. The committee, which was to reside in Portugal, appears to have had a very short life. By the end of May 1915 *Acción Libertaria* claimed that by deciding that it should reside in Portugal was tantamount to condemning it to death, *Acción Libertaria*, 28 May 1915.

¹³ 'El Proletariado ante la guerra - Congreso Internacional del Ferrol', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 13 May 1915.

¹⁴ The proposal to create an Iberian Confederation as a building block to the creation of a strong International was made by the Portuguese delegate, Ernesto Costa Cardozo, 'El Proletariado ante la Guerra - Congreso Internacional del Ferrol', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 13 May 1915. Costa Cardozo may also have been the author of an article by E.C. in *O Sindicalista*, (26/3/1915, Os trabalhadores Portugueses e la paz), which spoke of the existence of a Committee of International Union in Portugal just prior to the El Ferrol Congress.

¹⁵ 'O Congresso de Ferrol - A Comissao Organizadora', *A Aurora* (Oporto), 16 May 1915. Lopez Bouza was the secretary of the new IWMA. The revised statutes were published in *Tierra y Libertad*, 7 July 1915. Perhaps the most notable modification to the old statutes was that 'the economic emancipation of the workers is the great objective to which all political movement must be subordinate' became 'the economic and social emancipation of the workers, is the primary objective which every movement must aim for'.

¹⁶ *Tierra y Libertad*, 7 July 1915 and 'Uma Questão Palpitante', *A Aurora*, 1 August 1915. The organising committee of the El Ferrol congress reported a large deficit in early August, *Acción Libertaria*, 6 August 1915.

¹⁷ *Tierra y Libertad*, 10 and 17 November 1915 in particular 'Rompamos el círculo', 1 December 1915. In Portugal Quintanilha, who represented the young syndicalists at the congress was due to make a tour of conferences following the congress but was unable to do so "due to the political situation", 'O Congresso do Ferrol', *O Despertar*, 15 September 1915. Immediately after the last session of the Congress Carbó and Lopez Bouza (of the organising committee) were arrested. 'El Proletariado ante la guerra - Congreso Internacional del Ferrol', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 13 May 1915.

¹⁸ 'O II Congreso da CGT de Espana', M.J. de Sousa, *A Batalha*, 16 December 1919 and Angel Pestaña and Salvador Seguí, *El Sindicalismo en Cataluña - Conferencias dadas en Madrid el dia 4 de octubre de 1919*, Calamus Scriptorvius, Barcelona, 1978.

¹⁹ The initial manifesto of the re-launch was published on the front page of *Solidaridad Obrera*, 3 June 1915. Subsequent editorials referring to the reorganisation included 'Confederación Nacional del Trabajo', 17 June 1915; 'Por la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo', 8 July 1915; 'Hacia la constitucion de la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo', 22 July 1915 etc. Reaction to the reorganisation by the authorities was unsurprisingly hostile. The secretary of the CNT, Andreu Negre, was one of the many who were detained during this time, *Freedom*, April 1916. His successor, Francisco Jordán, was detained in January 1917, *Solidaridad Obrera*, 28 January 1917.

²⁰ See Freire, Joao, *Anarquistas e Operarios - Ideologia, oficio e practicas socais: o anarquismo e o operariado em Portugal, 1900-1940*, edicoes Afrontamento, Porto 1992. For a contemporary account see 'Subsidios para a historia do Movimento Sindicalista em Portugal de 1908 a 1919', pp.53-78, in *A Batalha Porta-voz da organizacao operaia Portuguesa Almanaque para 1926*, Lisbon, Seccao editorial de a Batalha, 1926.

²¹ 'O II Congreso da CGT de España', M.J. de Sousa, 16 December 1919 and 'Por Coma das Fronteiras', 26 May 1920 both *A Batalha* (the CGTP's newspaper). The Coimbra congress, originally scheduled for July 1919, was postponed due to a railway strike in Portugal.

²² 'A verdadeira harmonia iberica', *A Batalha*, 25 December 1919.

²³ Boal and Seguí were among the CNT's representatives at these meetings. The members of the National Committee based in Seville in December 1923 claimed that it was Salvador Seguí who had initiated the moves towards the creation of an Iberian Labour Confederation, 'A Revolução Iberica', *A*

Batalha, 1 January 1924. *Solidariad Obrera* (Seville) agreed; 'Portugal - Una Confederación Ibérica', 31 March 1923.

²⁴ 'Por Coma das Fronteiras', *A Batalha*, 26 May 1920. Following the Madrid congress the CNT sent delegates to France (Pestaña), Italy (Carbó) and Portugal (Vicente Gil) to raise support for a boycott of Spanish goods as well as discuss the Latin International.

²⁵ De Sousa's speech, which was translated for the congress by Buenacasa, and Boal's response appear in the minutes of the Congress published in *El Comunista* (Zaragoza), 2 January 1920.

²⁶ The RTUI was created at the end of the second Comintern Congress but, although syndicalist organisations had warmly welcomed the Revolution in Russia, this welcome did not extend to allowing the Comintern and as a result the differing national communist parties to interfere in the unions, as was permitted in the RTUI statutes. Revolutionary syndicalism rejected the party political system and therefore all political parties. Angel Pestaña was sent to Paris to talk to the CGT leaders about the creation of a Latin International. He was not impressed with the CGT leadership which seemed overtly 'bureaucratic' and did not expect much from them. He was more impressed by the revolutionary syndicalist minority led by Pierre Monatte. This minority (which contained communist and anarchists) eventually split from the CGT to form the CGTU and joined the RTUI. The anarchists' element eventually split to form the CGTSR. Letters from Angel Pestaña to the Committee (of the CNT), 19 and 22 April 1920, Archivo General de la Guerra Civil Espanola (Salamanca), Barcelona, File 1068.

²⁷ 'O III Congresso Operario Nacional', *A Batalha*, 7 and 8 October 1922. Initially the decision was only provisional but in a referendum held in 1923 the unions of the CGTP supported affiliation to the IWMA and not the RTUI by 104 to 6 with 5 abstentions, 'Confederação Geral do Trabalho', *A Batalha*, 30 September 1923.

²⁸ IISG, CNT Archive, Film 174 and 200, 'Preámbulo y Convocatoria de la Conferencia Nacional - Zaragoza'.

²⁹ 'Confederación Ibérica del Trabajo', Acrato Lluhi, *Solidaridad Obrera*, 6 May 1923 and 'La confederación ibérica del trabajo', Santillán, *La Protesta*, 21 June 1923.

³⁰ 'Para el Próximo Congreso Nacional', *Solidaridad Obrera* (Gijón) 22 June 1923 and *Cultura y Acción* 29 June 1923. Even before the scheduled national congress, the Northern region of the CNT had made clear it supported the formation of an Iberian Federation, 'Congreso de la Confederación Regional del Norte', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 27 April 1923.

³¹ It has proved impossible to locate the edition of *Solidaridad Obrera* that contains the invitation. Information about the invitation was provided by Jaime Aragó, 'Confederación Nacional del Trabajo IV - Catalanismo o Sindicalismo', *Acción Social Obrera*, 11 September 1926.

³² Edgar Rodrigues, *An-Arquia: Uma Visao da Historia do Movimento Libertario em Portugal*, published on the internet (website: www.ceca.org.br/edgar/Portugal.html), p.96, claims that J. Ferrer Alvarado attended and not Acrato Lluhi. However, according to a contemporary account by Juan Ortega, the CNT's delegates for the meeting were Clara and Acrato Lluhi and they left for Portugal in June 1923. Lluhi had previously shown an interest in, and knowledge of, the negotiations between the CNT and the CGTP. It is more than probable that Acrato Lluhi was the pseudonym for Ferrer Alvarado. 'La Verdad, es un delito?', Juan Ortega, *Acción Social Obrera*, 26 March 1926.

³³ 'Semente que Germine - A Confederação Iberica', *A Batalha*, 6 July 1923.

³⁴ The letter was discussed at a meeting of the CGTP Confederal Council, 'Confederação Geral do Trabalho', *A Batalha*, 30 September 1923.

³⁵ For information on the proposed insurrection see Díez, Paulino, *Un anarco-sindicalista de acción: memorias*, Editexto, Caracas, 1976, pp. 106-107. Previously Díez, who was the national secretary at the time, had met the Catalan nationalist leader Francesc Maciá, and leading Basque and Republican politicians at Font Romeu (France) to discuss the rising. See also 'Uma Revolução Iberica', 27 December 1923, 'Foram Presos', 28 December 1924, 'Revolução Iberica', 1 January 1924, 'A Revolução Iberica', Rafael Pena, 8 January 1924, 'Ja e tempo', 31 January 1924, and 'Enfim' 4 March 1924, all *A Batalha*.

³⁶ See for example 'Una Confederación Sindical Iberica', Quintanilla, *El Noreste*, 29 January 1926 and 'Confederación Nacional del Trabajo IV - Catalanismo o Sindicalismo', Jaime Aragó, *Acción Social Obrera*, 11 September 1926.

³⁷ Juan García Oliver, one of the more radical anarchists of the period and a future 'anarchist' minister in the Republican government during the Civil War, talks of the "decadent French pure anarchists" in *El eco de los pasos*, Ruedo Ibérico, Barcelona, 1978, pp. 83-4. In general the exiled Spanish anarchists were highly critical of their French counterparts. In particular they blamed the predominance of individualistic anarchism for the disunity and internecine squabbles that characterised the French movement in the 1920s. Sebastià Clara, a prominent figure in the CNT who was forced into exile during the dictatorship, lamented the fact that "[I]t is indisputable that the French anarchist movement is different from those of the other Latin countries. The French anarchist is almost always of an eclectic nature and seldom a revolutionary which makes one assume that he is only interested in social struggles as an intellectual exercise and distances himself from them when the struggle becomes a reality". Such criticism was common in the Spanish libertarian press of the period.

³⁸ Under the aegis of the IWMA an action committee was established in Paris to ensure that exiles had access to news and propaganda from the International. The Committee was made up from militants from the French revolutionary syndicalist movement and from the exiled revolutionary syndicalist organizations of Italy, Poland, Spain and Portugal.

³⁹ 'Anarquistas Ibericos', Francisco Quintal, *A Comuna*, 12 August 1923. Quintal was later the secretary of the UAP. The FAI itself announced its hope that the syndical organisation would follow their lead and create an Iberian Federation of Labour in a report presented at a national plenum of the CNT in January 1928, 'La Federación Anarquista Ibérica a la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo', *Acción Social Obrera*, 13 April 1929.

⁴⁰ 'A todos los Anarquistas', el Comité de Relaciones Anarquistas de España, *Solidaridad Obrera*, 10 April 1923.

⁴¹ See 'El movimiento anarquista en Portugal', Francisco Quintal, *La Revista Internacional Anarquista*, 15 May 1925.

⁴² 'Inquietudes revolucionarias - La C.N. del Trabajo', F. Caro Crespo, *Redención*, 22 March 1923.

⁴³ Theses adopted at the Alemquer conference on 'The position of the anarchists towards revolutionary syndicalism', 'A Conferencia Anarquista da Regiao Portuguesa', *A Comuna* (the journal of the UAP), 25 March 1923.

⁴⁴ For Malatesta, the overall mission of the anarchists in the labour movement should be to 'prevent the unions from becoming the tools of the politicians ... preach and practise direct action, decentralisation, autonomy and free initiative ... [and] strive to help members learn how to participate directly in the life of the organisation and to do without leaders and permanent officials'. 'Sindicalismo y Anarquismo', Errico Malatesta, *El Productor*, 8 January 1926. Malatesta articles on syndicalism appeared continuously in the Spanish, Portuguese and libertarian press in general during the twenties. For the UAP's position on Malatesta see 'Nuestra Respuesta', El C.N. de la União Anarquista Portuguesa, *Rebelde*, March 1928. See also 'Malatesta e o anarquismo portugues', *Ler Historia*, 6, (1985), pp. 35-49.

⁴⁵ The CGTP had so far avoided much of the ideological conflicts that befell the CNT in the early 1920s between the communist and revolutionary/anarcho-syndicalists. Support for Moscow was limited, as the vote on affiliation to the IWMA had shown. The communists eventually set up their own trade union federation in 1926 after the CGTP congress of 1925, held in Santerem, had decided that delegates "holding political positions" were not allowed to be members.

⁴⁶ 'A Caminho...A Conferencia de Alemquer marcou uma nova fase no movimento anarquista em Portugal', *A Comuna*, 1 April 1923. According to the Acts of the first conference of the Central Region (of Portuguese anarchists) an initiative committee set up at the Alemquer conference had sent an invitation to their Spanish comrades to send delegates to the conference, 'Tese votadas na Conferencia Anarquista da Região do Centro', *A Comuna*, 29 June 1924. No delegates were sent as the Spanish anarchists were celebrating their own congress at the same time.

⁴⁷ 'Convenience of a close relationship with the Portuguese anarchists', was the tenth and final item due to be discussed at the Madrid meeting, 'Congreso Nacional Anarquista', *Redención*, 1 March 1923.

⁴⁸ Edgar Rodrigues p.95.

⁴⁹ ANF, F/7/13443, 1925 (no exact date).

⁵⁰ At the Lyon Congress of exiled Spanish anarchist groups in June 1925 relations with Portugal were not discussed, the delegates were preoccupied with the prospects of revolution in Spain, 'Congreso de los Grupos Anarquistas de Lengua Española residentes en Francia celebrado en la ciudad de Lyon los días 14 y 15 de junio de 1925', IISG, Fedeli Archive, File 120.

⁵¹ In early 1926 a number of libertarian papers were forced to close and the accompanying intensification of government repression in Spain included the censor and checking of incoming mail, 'A Causa da Revolução em Espanha', *O Anarquista*, 16 May 1926.

⁵² 'O Sindicalismo em Portugal', Francisco Quintal, *Terra e Liberdade*, September 1930. Quintal was general secretary of the UAP at the time of the Marseilles Congress.

⁵³ 'Congreso de la Federación de Grupos Anarquistas de Lengua Española en Francia Celebrado en Marsella los días 13, 14, 15, y 16 Mayo 1926', IISG, Fedeli Archive, File 120. The decisions of the congress were also reproduced in *O Anarquista*, 20 June 1926.

⁵⁴ The Spanish National Federation of Anarchist Groups was set up sometime in late 1926, though it probably existed in name only and remained little more than an embryonic organisation until the Valencia conference of July 1927 at which it became the Spanish section of the newly formed FAI. Gómez Casas, Juan, *Anarchist Organisation, the History of the FAI*, Black Rose Books, Montreal, 1986, p.66, claims that the Federation was created at the 1923 Anarchist congress. This is incorrect. The reports on this congress make clear that only a Committee of Relations was created, while no mention is made of such an organisation at any time until 1927. Furthermore there is no reference in the libertarian press to any congress or conference at which such an organisation might have been established. According to a series of articles published by *El Productor* (which briefly renewed publication in 1930) the surge in reorganisation that led to the formation of the FAI began following the Marseilles congress. 'Antauen - Servo II - La Federación de Grupos Anarquistas de España' and

'Antauen-Servo III - La Federación Anarquista Ibérica', *El Productor*, 28 June and 5 July 1930. A letter from the Spanish Committee of Anarchist Relations to the delegates of a FGALEF plenum in September 1926 claimed that "the Spanish Anarchist Union will soon be a reality", 'FGALEF - Extracto de las actas y acuerdos tomados en el Pleno de Delegados Regionales celebrado los días 5, 6 y 7 de Septiembre de 1926, IISG, Fedeli Archive, File 120. This Union would be the National Federation of Anarchist Groups.

⁵⁵ The acts of the UAP congress were published in the first number of the *Boletim Informativo* of the UAP, April 1927.

⁵⁶ Following the rising, the anarchist and syndicalist press was decimated and the CGTP and its federations were closed with its offices destroyed by police. A large number of militants were imprisoned or deported to the Portuguese colonies of West Africa or Asia, where they would remain for a number of years, see 'Desde el destierro', Arnaldo Simoes Januario, *Rebelde*, August 1928 and 'Los deportados portugueses a la isla de Timor' *El Libertario* (the newspaper of the FAI), 17 September 1932.

⁵⁷ In its second circular issued in early 1928 the Peninsular Committee stated that the UAP had not been able to carry out the tasks entrusted to it due to the repression in Portugal, and that, after consultation with the other respective regions, including the FGALEF, it was agreed to relieve them of their duties, 'Circular N. 2 : A Los Individuos, Grupos y Federaciones de la Federación Anarquista Ibérica', Comité Peninsular, *Rebelde*, February 1928.

⁵⁸ Letter from J. Llop to J. Peirats reproduced in Gómez Casas, J, p. 107.

⁵⁹ 'Sintesis del acta de la Conferencia Nacional celebrada en Valencia en los días 24 y 25 de julio de 1927,' *La Protesta*, November 1927.

⁶⁰ Gómez Casas, J, p.116, states that the Committee remained in Seville only a short time before moving to Barcelona and that in the Catalan capital it was made up of Germinal de Souza, Ruiz and Jiménez. The evidence suggests this might not be the case. Until March 1930 the circulars from the Peninsular Committee were written from Seville and Ruiz was in prison in Valencia for much of the period. The latest definite date for the Peninsular Committee being in Seville is a response to an opinion poll by the newspaper *Despertad* dated March 1930. See 'La FAI contesta a la encuesta iniciada por el semanario *Despertad*, *Despertad*, 7 to 21 June 1930. The FAI first gave news of the transfer to Barcelona in a circular in July; 'Puntualicemos', El C.P. de la F.A.I., *Acción Social Obrera*, 26 July 1930. Jiménez was the general secretary of the Spanish National Federation of Anarchist Groups in 1927 which was responsible for the organisation of the Valencia Conference and de Sousa was a leading figure in the UAP so it is possible that the three mentioned by Gómez Casas were part of the organisational committee that helped arrange the Valencia conference.

⁶¹ See 'De Portugal - Los libertarios portugueses emigrados y refugiados en el extranjero', Comité de Relaciones de Anarquistas Portugueses residentes y refugiados en el Extranjero. Sub-comité (Barcelona), *Acción*, 7 March 1931.

⁶² According to Marín i Silvestre, Dolors, *De la llibertat per coneixer al coneixement de la llibertat. L'adquisició de cultura durant la dictadura de Primo de Rivera i la Segona República Espanyola*, Doctoral thesis, Universitat de Barcelona, 1995, pp. 427-428, this was the predominant view of the anarchists whom she interviewed who were active within the FAI during the dictatorship.