

1: Social Anarchism: The Spanish Anarchists

Anarchism in Spain has historically gained more support and influence than anywhere else, especially before Francisco Franco's victory in the Spanish Civil War of

Yet the Spanish anarchist movement failed the test that supposedly formed the heart of its program: The ideas and theories of revolutionaries must ultimately be tested by events. As Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky wrote at the time, "In opposing the goal, the conquest of power, the Anarchists could not in the end fail to oppose the means, the revolution. An aged, decrepit monarchy ruled the country, propped up by the twin pillars of the Catholic church and an aristocratic officer corps. Throughout the 19th century, peasant rebellions and military coups had broken out regularly, but none had shaken the hold of the aristocracy. The Spanish bourgeoisie, from its inception, was incapable of leading a determined struggle against the monarchy. Now even less than in the 19th century can the Spanish bourgeoisie lay claim to that historic role which the British and French bourgeoisie once played. Appearing too late, dependent on foreign capital, the big industrial bourgeoisie of Spain, which has dug like a leech into the body of the people, is incapable of coming forward as the leader of the people, is incapable of coming forward as the leader of the "nation" against the old estates, even for a brief period. The magnates of Spanish industry face the people hostilely, forming a most reactionary bloc of bankers, industrialists, large landowners, the monarchy, and its generals and officials, all devouring each other in internal antagonisms. The succession of juntas and palace coups that dotted Spanish history was but an expression of the inability of the Spanish bourgeoisie to lead the struggle for even the most basic democratic rights. But a new class was emerging in Spain that began to change this equation. Spain experienced a period of rapid industrialization during the First World War that led to the growth of a powerful and highly concentrated urban working class. Although Spain remained a predominantly rural country, the working class doubled in size between and . Politically these groups covered a wide spectrum. Some groups sought to escape from the existing capitalist system by forming alternative lifestyle communes in the countryside. This could mean anything from individual acts of terrorism to organizing small, local insurrections. Spanish anarchism emerged as an awkward combination of peasant communalism, petty-bourgeois individualism, direct action against the state, and radical trade unionism. Yet they shared in common the basic principles of anarchism: Many workers, even at the time of the civil war, were at most one generation removed from the countryside. These young workers brought with them a peasant anarchist tradition, and the grueling work and living conditions of urban life proved a fertile ground for the growth of a radical labor movement. Individualist and terrorist currents remained part of the Spanish anarchist movement. As late as , the CNT devoted an entire discussion at its national congress to the place of vegetarians, nudists, naturists, and "opponents of industrial technology" in a libertarian communist society. But the growing ferment among Spanish workers greatly strengthened the position of the anarchosyndicalists, who, like other anarchists, rejected all forms of authority and political action, but who looked to the power of the working class, organized through trade unions, as the force capable of overthrowing capitalism. In November , representatives from anarchosyndicalist unions across Spain met in Barcelona to found the CNT, a national union. As Vernon Richards describes: By its constitution the CNT was independent of all the political parties in Spain, and abstained from taking part in parliamentary and other elections. Its objectives were to bring together the exploited masses in the struggle for day-to-day improvements of working and economic conditions and for the revolutionary destruction of capitalism and the state. Its ends were Libertarian Communism, a social system based on the free commune federated at local, regional and national levels. Complete autonomy was the basis of this federation, the only ties with the whole being the agreements of a general nature adopted by Ordinary or Extraordinary National Congresses. FAI militants, for example, were instrumental in winning the expulsion in of a group of 30 CNT leaders, the treintistas, who sought to make the CNT more syndicalist and less anarchist, criticizing the CNT for allowing small groups of militants to substitute their own armed actions for mass struggle. At the national congress, the CNT leadership passed a resolution giving the workers of Spain a period of three months in which to enter the CNT, failing which they

would be denounced as scabs. The birth of the Republic Faced with growing opposition from Spanish workers after the First World War, the Spanish ruling class fell back on its traditional crutch, the military. In , General Miguel Primo de Rivera took power under a military dictatorship. When the Great Depression broke out in , Spain fell into a severe economic crisis, and the ruling class found that it could no longer contain the growing anger with brute force. In , Primo de Rivera was forced to resign. King Alfonso XIII called for democratic elections, ushering in the First Republic and five years of social unrest, during which the political right and left vied for control. Elections held in April went overwhelmingly to the republican parties, forcing King Alfonso to abdicate the throne and flee the country. The PSOE provided a left-wing cover for a strictly bourgeois government that, from the outset, showed little interest in pursuing all but the most innocuous reforms. Land reform was perhaps the most pressing issue in all of Spain. Of the 5 million peasants in Spain, 1. The immediate solution was the confiscation of the large estates and the redistribution of land to millions of poor peasants, but this reform went to the heart of Spanish capitalism. Land in Spain was mortgaged and heavily indebted to Spanish banks. Any expropriation of the large estates threatened not only the large landowners; it would wipe out loans owed to the banks, crippling Spanish capital. So the government stalled. It passed agricultural reforms that provided landowners compensation for any re-divided land. The national question was not simply a matter of justice for oppressed minorities; it was a matter of survival for the Republic. The colonial garrisons in Morocco were the most reactionary, brutal sections of the armed forces. The Spanish Foreign Legion and local mercenary groups that had carried out a war of attrition against the Moroccan people were a breeding ground for monarchist and fascist ideas. Any attack on the Republic would likely come from those sections of the armed forces. But the republican government would not give up its colonial possessions; it had its own imperial ambitions. In May , members of the Civil Guard shot 10 workers after a clash with monarchist groups. In July, a general strike broke out in Seville in support of a walkout by local telephone workers. The government declared martial law. Forty workers died and more than were wounded in the ensuing street battles. The republican government was paralyzed between the aspirations of the workers and peasants who had elected it into power and its continued defense of the bourgeoisie. It was incapable of carrying through even the most basic democratic reforms. Reforms could only be defended and extended by strengthening the power of working-class organizations. As Trotsky wrote prophetically in *The working class*, as Trotsky argued, was the only class capable of leading the fight for democratic demands for the peasantry and the oppressed minorities; but, in that fight, it was bound also to fight for its own, socialist aspirations. The anarchists had stood aloof from the democratic struggles for the republic. In Catalonia, a CNT stronghold, and in the Basque provinces, the anarchists did not advocate the right of self-determination, leaving the issue in the hands of the middle-class nationalists. Having played little role in the formation of the Republic, the anarchists then faced its betrayals and repression by leaping into an adventurous cycle of insurrections that paved the way for the return of the right wing. In January , anarchists launched an insurrection in the Catalan mining town of Alto Llobregat. The military suppressed it almost immediately. In January , they initiated a call for an insurrection in support of a strike of railway workers. Sporadic uprisings broke out in Catalonia, Valencia, and parts of Andalusia. They were uniformly crushed almost immediately. The centralized Spanish army had no trouble isolating and defeating each revolt in succession. Within the CNT everyone had his own opinion, everyone acted according to his own judgment, the leaders were ceaselessly criticized and challenged, the autonomy of the regional federations was inviolable, just as the autonomy of the local federations and unions was inviolable within the regional federations. To get a decision accepted Among the libertarians the ballot was repugnant; the unanimity they sought required interminable debates. In a characteristic statement during one of its uprisings in , the FAI declared that "all those who do not cooperate in the armed insurrection are traitors! The government ordered the military to restore order. In the fighting, the military killed hundreds, burning some alive. Thousands of union militants were arrested. As Murray Bookchin notes in his history of anarchism before the civil war, "Perhaps the example set by the uprising succeeded in fostering the militancy of the growing left factions in the Socialist Party, but apart from strike actions and terrorism, it completely exhausted the movement. The right-wing parties began cynically exposing the atrocities of the Casas Viejas massacre in their press, and even formed their own tribunals to examine abuses by the military. The CNT

played its part in the elections, arguing, "Workers! Destroy the ballot boxes Reaction and revolt The right-wing government that took power in November , headed by Alejandro Lerroux, did so against the backdrop of the rise of fascism in Europe. Hitler had been appointed chancellor of Germany in January by the conservative president Hindenburg. In March, the Austrian fascist, Engelbert Dollfuss, had convinced the Austrian president to cede him dictatorial powers. Austrian workers rose up heroically to defeat Dollfuss, but were crushed. Many Spanish workers feared that Spain would be next. The large left wing, led by the Socialist Youth, declared that they were preparing for a proletarian revolution. Lerroux formed a new cabinet that included four members of CEDA. In most places the strike was a tragic failure. The reformist PSOE leadership that had called for the strike had only partially committed to it. The start of the strike was postponed twice in hopes that an agreement could be reached with Lerroux to remove CEDA from the cabinet. When the UGT finally issued a strike call, it was on short notice and following a declaration of martial law that enabled the government to arrest hundred of Socialist organizers. Only in the mining center of Asturias did the strike take on truly revolutionary proportions. Joint militias attacked the barracks of the Civil Guards, disarming them. Miners marched on the capital, Oviedo, liberating towns along the route and gathering forces. When the miners took control of cities, they redistributed land to the peasants and seized the mines and factories. When they reached the capital, an armed column of 8, miners occupied the city. For 15 days the beleaguered miners of Asturias held out against the troops of the Foreign Legion. In the slaughter that followed, more than 3, were killed and thousands more were imprisoned. When the CNT national leadership rebuked the local CNT committee for having signed such a pact without their consent, the rank-and-file miners responded, "In social struggles, as in other wars, victory always goes to those who previously got together and jointly organized their forces. In response to the call for the Alianza Obrera, the anarchist leader, Buenaventura Durruti, argued, "The alliance, to be revolutionary, must be genuinely working class.

2: Spanish anarchists | Anarchists in the Gulag (and prison and exile)

Revolutionary Catalonia (July 21, -) was the part of Catalonia (an autonomous region in northeast Spain) controlled by various anarchist, communist, and socialist trade unions, parties, and militias of the Spanish Civil War period.

It is constantly portrayed as meaning chaos and violence. Nothing could be further from the truth. Anarchists believe in creating a classless society. They oppose capitalism as a system that puts the profits of a small minority of bosses before the needs of the vast majority. It is a system based on the exploitation of workers, a system that inevitably causes poverty starvation and war. They oppose the State meaning government, army, police, courts as an institution whose purpose is to enforce the will of a minority on the majority. Anarchists believe in class struggle, that the bosses and workers have no common interest and that the workers must organise to take over the running of society Ordinary workers are quite capable of running society. Anarchists stand up for the freedom of the individual and oppose all oppression on the basis of race, sex or sexual orientation. The only limit on individual freedom should be that it does not interfere with the freedom of others. From early on the anarchists opposed the building of bureaucratic State Capitalism in Russia. Initially they supported the revolution but were against the attempts of the Bolsheviks to take power into their own hands and create the seeds of the "dictatorship of the party". Anarchists hold that how you organise will reflect the type of society you want. Small minorities can not liberate the working class, the working class will have to emancipate itself. Democracy and accountability are the cornerstone of anarchist organisation. Direct action is the method. Rather than relying on small groups they say workers do have the power and strength to change society. That strength lies in their ability to organise at the place of work, a strength that should be used not only to win immediate reforms from the bosses but eventually to overthrow the whole system of capitalism. Bakunin Anarchism had, and still has, a long tradition in Spain. In the middle of the last century anarchist ideas were brought to Spain by Fanelli, an Italian supporter of Michael Bakunin who was one of the founders of modern anarchism. A Spanish section of the First International was set up and the majority within it took the side of the anarchists in the International. Anarchism developed rapidly due to the harsh economic conditions that workers and peasants had to suffer. Workers increasingly took up the ideas of syndicalism or anarcho- syndicalism, which were developed at the turn of the century. Syndicalism developed as a response to the reformism of the existing trade unions and to the growing isolation of anarchist revolutionaries from the mass of workers. Syndicalism was an attempt to provide a link between the anarchist movement and the workers on the shopfloor. Its basic ideas revolved around all the workers being in one big union. All the employees in a workplace would join. They would link up with those in other jobs in the same area and an area federation would be formed. Delegates from these would go forward to regional federations who were united in a national federation. All the delegates were elected and recallable. They were given a clear mandate and if they broke it they could be replaced with new delegates. Bureaucracy Every effort was made to prevent the growth of a bureaucracy of unaccountable full-time officials. There was only one full-time official in all of the CNT. Union work was done during working hours where possible, otherwise after work. This ensured the officials of the union stayed in contact with the shopfloor. The fear of bureaucracy was such that Industrial Federations that would have linked together all the workplaces of particular industries were hotly opposed. They were eventually conceded in but never fully built. Syndicalists distinguished themselves from the other unions by their belief that the unions could be used not only to gain reforms from the bosses but also to overthrow the capitalist system. They believed the Syndicalist union would become the battering ram that would bring capitalism to its knees. They believed that the reason most workers were not revolutionaries was that their unions were reformist and dominated by a bureaucracy that took the initiative away from the rank and file members. Their alternative was to organise all workers into one union in preparation for the revolutionary general strike. The CNT experienced rapid growth from the time of its formation and by the outbreak of the civil war it had almost two million members. Its strongholds were in Catalonia and Andulucia. Its main strength was among textile, building and wood workers as well as amongst agricultural labourers. The Popular Front, with its social democratic and Stalinist supporters, joined this list by showing it no mercy. It

was an industrial union. Indeed it constantly played up its a-politicism and argued that all that was necessary to make a revolution was for the workers to seize the factories and land. After that the State and all other political institutions would come toppling down. It did not believe the working class must take political power for them all power had to be immediately abolished. Because it was a union it organised all workers regardless of their politics. Many joined, not because they were anarchists, but because it was the most militant union and actually got results. In fact during the civil war its membership more than doubled this happened to the UGT too at least partly due to workers being obliged to join one or other union. So obviously the CNT was open to those who were not anarchists. There were many internal disputes, and tendencies did arise that were reformist. It was based on local affinity groups and was not a political organisation as such. It succeeded in this and many of its members became the leading lights of the CNT. There was no waiting around for government ministers to act, the workers took control. Anarchist influence could be seen in the formation of the militias, the expropriation and reorganisation of the land, and the seizures in industry. Militias The government found itself in a peculiar situation when the dust had settled after July 19th. While it remained the government it had no way of exercising its authority. Most of the army had openly rebelled against it. Where the rebellion had been defeated the army was disbanded and the workers now had the arms. The trade unions and left-wing organisations immediately set about organising these armed workers. Militias were formed and these became the units of the revolutionary army. Ten days after the coup there were 18, workers organised in the militias of Catalonia. The vast majority of these were members of the CNT. Overall there were , volunteers willing to fight whenever they were needed. This was no ordinary army. There were no uniforms neck scarves usually indicated what organisation a militia member belonged to or officers who enjoyed privileges over the ordinary soldiers. This was a revolutionary army and reflected the revolutionary principles of those in its ranks. The basic unit was the group, composed generally of ten, which elected a delegate. Ten groups formed a century which also elected a delegate. Any number of centuries formed a column, which had a war committee responsible for the overall activities of the column. This was elected and accountable to the workers. Columns generally had ex-officers and artillery experts to advise them - but these were not given any power. Workers joined the columns because they wanted to. They understood the need to fight and the necessity of creating a "popular army". They accepted discipline not because they were told to but because they understood the need to act in a co-ordinated manner. Members accepted orders because they trusted those who gave them. They had been elected from their own ranks. Militias were aligned with different organisations and often had their own newspapers. These were political organisations that understood the link between revolutionary politics and the war. The militias formed in Barcelona lost no time in marching on Aragon where the capital, Saragossa, had been taken by the fascists. The Durruti Column, named after one of the leading CNT militants, led this march and gradually liberated village after village. The aim was to free Saragossa which linked Catalonia with the second industrial region - the Basque Country, which as well as being a source of raw materials had heavy industries and arms manufacturing plants. The Durruti column showed how to fight fascism. They understood that a civil war is a political battle, not just a military conflict. As they gained victory after victory they encouraged peasants to take over the land and collectivise. The Column provided the defence that allowed this to be done. The peasants rallied to them. They fed the worker-soldiers and many of them joined. Indeed Durutti had to plead with some of them not to join so that the land would not be depopulated and the task of collectivisation could be carried through. As the anarchist militias achieved success after success ground was being lost on other fronts. Saragossa, though, was not taken and a long front developed. The militia system was blamed for this. The Stalinists said the workers were undisciplined and would not obey orders. They accused the anarchists of being unwilling to work with others to defeat the fascists. Of course this was nonsense. The anarchists continually called for a united war effort and even for a single command. What they did demand, though, was that control of the army stayed with the working class.

3: Revolutionary Catalonia - Wikipedia

SpanishDict is devoted to improving our site based on user feedback and introducing new and innovative features that will continue to help people learn and love the Spanish language.

Alejandra Baez March 26, The streets of Salamanca are full of history. On my way to class each day, I walk past the beautiful sixteenth century Old Cathedral and through the Plaza Mayor, which was finished in the eighteenth century and currently displays the faces of past kings and important Spanish figures, including Miguel de Cervantes. After two months in Salamanca, I began noticing the frequent repetition of an "A" symbol, spray painted on walls and even carved into the streets. I decided to dig a little deeper. With a little more research, I learned just how much of a role anarchism has played in the history and development of Spain. At that time, Spain was predominately rural and agrarian with little industry; the majority of the population illiterate. The laws in place tended to benefit merely the merchant and noble classes, meanwhile not protecting the rights of the laborers and exacerbating the harsh working conditions of the rural peasants. Growing social discontent led to anarchist movements and revolts. These movements were consistently repressed by the Spanish government, but the ideology remained popular among the labor class and rural peasants. With the establishment of these unions came the rise of anarcho-syndicalism, which maintains that an anarchist society can be achieved through large-scale mobilization of workers. The CNT was quickly declared an illegal organization. In general strikes in both and concentrated mainly in Barcelona, workers with CNT overtly protested the rising cost of living and poor work conditions; both manifestations were countered with military response and violent repression. These incidents are not isolated. Despite continuous persecution, CNT remains active in Spanish politics today and holds demonstrations each year. The organization has maintained a large following, particularly in Barcelona, Catalonia, and the Basque country. I found myself surprised by the reality of these anarchist movements in Spain. Anarchy always seemed like an abstract political concept that I learned about in class. All theory and no practical application. But anarchy is very real and a significant amount of people in Spain aspire to achieve it. Discover similar content through these related topics and regions.

4: The Spanish Anarchists | AK Press

Spanish anarchism is a doctrine which has gone through three stages. The first was the conception of pure anarchy which grew out of the writings of Rousseau, Proudhon, Godwin, and to a lesser extent, Diderot and Tolstoy.

Anarchism in Spain In the early 20th century, the popularity of socialism and anarchism grew throughout Spain. There was widespread discontent in Catalonia, which was heavily industrialized and was a stronghold of the anarcho-sindicalist trade unions. Further strikes followed in and amidst growing violence between the police and trade unions. Its radical members, who were also part of the CNT, exerted considerable influence on the other members of the trade union. Beginning of the war[edit] During the Spanish coup of July , anarchist and socialist militias, along with Republican forces including the Assault and Civil Guards, defeated the forces controlled by Nationalist army officers in Catalonia and parts of eastern Aragon. Through the various factory and transport committees, they dominated the economy of Catalonia. Anarchists enter the government[edit] Caballero government ministers November From left to right: Soon after, the CNT also joined the national government. They took control of the national ministry of justice, industry, health and commerce, respectively. Anarchist Minister of Health Federica Montseny later explained: These included railways, streetcars, buses, taxicabs, shipping, electric light and power companies, gasworks and waterworks, engineering and automobile assembly plants, mines, mills, factories, food-processing plants, theaters, newspapers, bars, hotels, restaurants, department stores, and thousands of dwellings previously owned by the upper classes. It was the first time I had ever been in a town where the working class was in the saddle. Practically every building of any size had been seized by the workers and was draped with red flags or with the red and black flag of the Anarchists; every wall was scrawled with the hammer and sickle and with the initials of the revolutionary parties; almost every church had been gutted and its images burnt. Churches here and there were being systematically demolished by gangs of workmen. Waiters and shop-walkers looked you in the face and treated you as an equal. I [11] Trade union control also spread to small businesses of the middle class handicraft men and tradesmen. In Barcelona, the CNT collectivized the sale of fish and eggs, slaughterhouses, milk processing and the fruit and vegetable markets, suppressing all dealers and sellers that were not part of the collective. Many retailers joined the collectives but others refused, wanting higher wages than the workers. After the first few days of euphoria, the workers returned to work and found themselves without responsible management. Lacking training in economic matters, the union leaders, with more good will than success, began to issue directives that spread confusion in the factory committees and enormous chaos in production. This was aggravated by the fact that each union Under this decree all firms with more than workers were to be collectivized and those with or less could be collectivized if a majority of workers agreed. Representatives of the Generalitat would be appointed by the CNT to these regional councils. However these plans for libertarian socialism based on trade unions was opposed by the socialists and communists who wanted a nationalized industry, as well as by unions which did not want to give up their profits to other businesses. In the region of Catalonia, more than seventy foundries were closed down, and production concentrated around twenty four larger foundries. In Barcelona, smaller beauty shops and barbershops were closed down, their equipment and workers being focused on larger shops. The newly liberated zones worked on entirely libertarian principles; decisions were made through councils of ordinary citizens without any sort of bureaucracy. The CNT-FAI leadership was at this time not nearly as radical as the rank and file members responsible for these sweeping changes. You were not allowed to employ workers. Not only production was affected, distribution was on the basis of what people needed. In many areas money was abolished. People come to the collective store often churches which had been turned into warehouses and got what was available. If there were shortages rationing would be introduced to ensure that everyone got their fair share. But it was usually the case that increased production under the new system eliminated shortages. In agricultural terms the revolution occurred at a good time. Harvests that were gathered in and being sold off to make big profits for a few landowners were instead distributed to those in need. Doctors, bakers, barbers, etc. Technicians and agronomists helped the peasants to make better use of the land. There was enough to feed the

collectivists and the militias in their areas. Often there was enough for exchange with other collectives in the cities for machinery. In addition food was handed over to the supply committees who looked after distribution in the urban areas. The organization, with 30, members at its disposal, set up schools to educate women and worked to persuade prostitutes to give up their way of life. According to professor Edward E. Malefakis, between half and two-thirds of all cultivated land in Republican Spain was seized. The targets were mainly small and medium landholders, since most of the large landholdings had fallen to the nationalists. These committees collectivized the soil of the rich and in some cases the soil of the poor as well. Farm buildings, machinery, transport and livestock were also collectivized. Food reserves and other amenities were stored in a communal depot under committee control. Locally produced goods were free if abundant, or bought at the communal storage. State issued convertible money was only used in trade with regions that had not adopted this system, and trade with other anarchist regions was done by barter. For the CNT, collectivization was a key component of the revolution, they feared that the small holders and tenant farmers would form the core of a new landholding class and act as an obstacle to the revolution. The Anarchists also believed that private ownership of land created a bourgeois mentality and led to exploitation. Those smallholders who refused collectivization were prevented from hiring any laborers and usually were forced to sell their crops directly to the committees, on their terms. They were also often denied the services of the collectivized businesses such as the barbershops and bakeries, use of communal transport, farm equipment and food supplies from communal warehouses. While some joined voluntarily, others, especially in the beginning of the revolution, were forced to join the collectives by anarchist militias. The anarcho-syndicalist periodical *Solidaridad Obrera* reported that: We know that certain irresponsible elements have frightened the small peasants and that up to now a certain apathy has been noted in their daily labors. According to Ralph Bates: The latter sentiment is expressed by historian Antony Beevor in his *Battle for Spain: The Spanish Civil War*, There had undoubtedly been pressure, and no doubt force was used on some occasions in the fervor after the rising. But the very fact that every village was a mixture of collectivists and individualists shows that the peasants had not been forced into communal farming at the point of a gun. Historian Graham Kelsey also maintains that the anarchist collectives were primarily maintained through libertarian principles of voluntary association and organization, and that the decision to join and participate was generally based on a rational and balanced choice made after the destabilization and effective absence of capitalism as a powerful factor in the region. The disillusioned middle classes soon found allies in the Communist party which was quite moderate in comparison to the CNT, was generally against the mass collectivization of the revolution and called for the property of smallholders and tradesmen to be respected. They defended the right of the small proprietor to hire laborers and to control the sale of his crops without interference from the local committees. Revolutionary militias and the regular army[edit] Women training for a Republican militia outside Barcelona, August After the military rebellion, the Republic was left with a decimated officer corps and a severely weakened army in the regions it still controlled. Since the army was unable to resist the rebellion, the fighting mainly fell to the militia units organized by the various labor unions. While army officers joined these columns, they were under the control of whichever organization had formed them. They were inexperienced and lacked discipline and unity of action. Rivalry between the various organizations exacerbated the lack of any centralized command and general staff. The appointed professional officers were not always respected. They also lacked heavy weapons. Republican officer Major Aberri said of the militiamen he encountered at the Aragon front: They knew nothing of discipline, and it was clear that nobody had bothered to instruct them on the subject. After a forty-hour week at the front they got bored and left it The committees, unions and parties widely disregarded demands from the ministry of war and retained equipment and vehicles for themselves and their own militia forces. They were organized into centuries with democratically elected leaders that had no permanent authority. Later it became the fashion to decry the militias, and therefore to pretend that the faults which were due to lack of training and weapons were the result of the equalitarian system. It is based on class-loyalty, whereas the discipline of a bourgeois conscript army is based ultimately on fear. The Popular Army that replaced the militias was midway between the two types. In the militias the bullying and abuse that go on in an ordinary army would never have been tolerated for a moment. The normal military punishments existed, but

they were only invoked for very serious offences. When a man refused to obey an order you did not immediately get him punished; you first appealed to him in the name of comradeship. The discipline of even the worst drafts of militia visibly improved as time went on. In January the job of keeping a dozen raw recruits up to the mark almost turned my hair grey. In May for a short while I was acting-lieutenant in command of about thirty men, English and Spanish. We had all been under fire for months, and I never had the slightest difficulty in getting an order obeyed or in getting men to volunteer for a dangerous job. The journalists who sneered at the militia-system seldom remembered that the militias had to hold the line while the Popular Army was training in the rear. It was the only anarchist unit which managed to gain respect from otherwise fiercely hostile political opponents. One exception was Durruti. They had a difficult time getting arms from a suspicious Republican government, so Durruti and his men compensated by seizing unused arms from government stockpiles. Modern historians tend to agree that it was an accident, perhaps a malfunction with his own gun. Widespread rumors at the time claimed treachery by his men. Anarchists tended to claim that he died heroically and was shot by a fascist sniper. Because of the need to create a centralized military, the Communist party was in favor of establishing a regular army and integrating the militias into this new force. They were the first party to dissolve their militia forces, including the fifth regiment, one of the most effective units in the war, and create mixed brigades, forming the core of the new Popular Army. The Communist party eventually came to dominate the leadership of the new army through their commissars, who used any means at their disposal, including violence and death threats, to increase party membership.

5: The Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Years by Murray Bookchin

October saw a series of arrests and murders by the Spanish security forces that dealt a massive blow to the anarchists action groups that were carrying on the fight against the Francoist regime.

I know that some were committed by the Republicans, and far more they are still continuing by the Fascists. But what impressed me then, and has impressed me ever since, is that atrocities are believed in or disbelieved in solely on grounds of political predilection. Everyone believes in the atrocities of the enemy and disbelieves in those of his own side, without ever bothering to examine the evidence. Seeing that it was very difficult to unravel the truth behind the conflicting accounts and citations, I decided to look at the evidence for myself. The following essay is the product of my investigations. Quotations may sometimes seem overlong, because I avoided cutting them whenever possible to eliminate any suspicion of creative editing.

Introduction The Spanish fascists used barbaric methods throughout the Spanish Civil War in order to establish a brutal dictatorship. The present essay aims to redress the balance. The essay then examines the economics of Anarchist-controlled Spain, focusing on both the policies adopted, their aims, and the results. I conclude with a philosophical dissection of the Spanish Anarchist movement, showing that their horrific behavior was largely the result of their incoherent view of human freedom, their unsuccessful attempt to synthesize socialism and liberty, and their uncritical and emotional way of thinking. While the present essay uses Fraser as a source, there is always a concern in a work of oral history that the experiences of the necessarily small number of people interviewed may not be representative.

The Militants and Terror In July of , officers throughout Spain tried to orchestrate a coup d'etat against the Republican government. Finding themselves more powerful than the regional governments and possibly the central government, the Spanish Anarchists seized the moment to implement some radical changes in those regions of Spain where they had a large following. One of these radical changes was the beginning of large-scale murders of people believed to be supporters of the Nationalists. In most cases, these supporters had taken no specific action to assist the Nationalist rebellion; they were singled out for their beliefs, or what people guessed their beliefs were. It is possible that our victory resulted in the death by violence of four or five thousand inhabitants of Catalonia who were listed as rightists and were linked to political or ecclesiastical reaction. As among the nationalists, the irrational circumstances of a civil war made it impossible to lay down what was or was not treason. The worthy died, the unworthy often lived. In East Andalusia, lorries manned by the CNT drove into villages and ordered mayors to hand over their fascists. The mayors had often to say that they had all fled but the terrorists would often hear from informers which of the better off people were still there, arrest them and shoot them in a nearby ravine. Often members of the working class would be killed by their own acquaintances for hypocrisy, for having kow-towed too often to their social superiors, even simply for untruthfulness. In Altea, near Alicante, for example, a cafe proprietor was killed with a hatchet by an anarchist for having overcharged for stamps and for the glass of wine that buyers of stamps were forced to take while waiting. Mere acceptance of theism, typically in its Catholic variant, provoked many of the Anarchist militants to violence. The burning of religious buildings, from cathedrals and churches to convents and monasteries was widespread, as was the murder of priests and nuns. This might puzzle the naive observer; after all, is not the Catholic church a perfect example of a communal, non-profit organization? Is not church property "held in common" by its adherents? The Catholic church seems to satisfy many of the social postulates that the Spanish Anarchists embraced. This did not save the lives of the unfortunate clergy, since militant atheism had been a feature of European anarchism at least since the time of Bakunin, and because the Catholic church had historically allied itself politically with conservative monarchism. As Bolloten states, "Hundreds of churches and convents were burned or put to secular uses. The church has already been brought to account. The temples have been destroyed by fire and the ecclesiastical crows who were unable to escape have been taken care of by the people. At no time in the history of Europe, or even perhaps of the world, has so passionate a hatred of religion and all its works been shown. Do not believe that by burning churches you are going to change that blood and that tomorrow everyone will feel himself, herself an atheist. The more you violate their consciences,

the more they will side with the church. Moreover, the immense majority of you are believers at heart. None of this implies, of course, that similar atrocities were not committed by the Nationalists and by non-Anarchist forces on the Republican side. It is to be expected that Communists, fascists, and the other bloodthirsty zealots of the 20th century would brutally murder people for their beliefs. One would be surprised if moderate Republicans, moderate Socialists, and moderate monarchists restrained themselves from widespread murder in the midst of a fratricidal civil war. But one would hope that a movement condemning the state for its age-old brutality, and advocating an end to all human domination, would have behaved differently. Instead, it is clear that Anarchist militants were at the vanguard of the murder squads on the Republican side. Stanley Payne finds the facts of the Republican repression to be rather more complex: This distinction is at best only partially accurate. In the early months the Nationalist repression was not at all centrally organized, whereas that in the Popular Front zone had more planning and organization than it is given credit for. This is indicated by the many executions in areas where social conflict was not particularly intense, and by the fact that many of the killings were done by revolutionary militia coming in from other districts. Nor did the political executions in the Republican zone end after the close of , though they did diminish in volume. Does it matter if the widespread Nazi attacks on Jews known as the Kristallnacht were centrally organized or "spontaneous"? No; if an ideology categorizes many people as sub-human, urging ever greater brutality, and recommending restraint only when it is tactically convenient, it is perfectly reasonable to castigate the entire movement centering around that ideology, whether that movement be Nazism or Spanish Anarchism. It is quite clear that the rhetoric of the Spanish Anarchists focused on crushing the enemies of the workers by any means necessary; safeguarding the rights of innocent people who happened to despise everything Anarchism stood for was simply not on their agenda. They were our worst enemies. When we looked at them we thought we were looking at the devil himself. And they thought the same of us. The Leaders and Collaboration The complicity of the Spanish Anarchist leadership in the aforementioned atrocities is sometimes hard to untangle; obviously, most of the murder orders were not publicly recorded. At the outset it is necessary to give some background on the pre-war organization of the Anarchists, which its supporters frequently claim was extraordinarily democratic. It was an established principle that any person belonging to a political party should not occupy any official position in the trade-union organization. The FAI, moreover, kept a close and constant supervision over the unions of the CNT, often threatening to use force to prevent deviationist trends when argument failed. To be sure, this domination - or at least attempted domination - by the FAI was not always openly acknowledged by the CNT and FAI and indeed was at times emphatically denied, but it was frankly admitted after the Civil War by other leaders of the CNT. Afterwards, this was no longer the case. Things changed with the creation of the FAI in It was they who now imposed their decisions This project would have spared the CNT the embarrassment of direct participation in the cabinet, but would nonetheless have given it representation in every branch of government. A movement that had cured itself of all prejudices and had always scoffed at mere appearances tried to conceal its abjuration of fundamental principles by changing a name This behavior is as childish as than of an unfortunate woman, who, having entered a house of ill fame and wishing to preserve a veneer of morality, asks to be called a hetera instead of a whore. This time his arguments prevailed. Bolloten notes and amply documents his remark that, "Not only did this decision represent a complete negation of the basic tenets of Anarchism, shaking the whole structure of libertarian theory to the core, but, in violation of democratic principle, it had been taken without consulting the rank and file. The Anarchists were even more eager to assume governmental powers in Catalonia, where they were strong enough to overshadow the regional Catalonian government, the Generalitat. Rather than officially enter the Catalonian government, the Anarchists chose to retain the Generalitat as a legal cover; but real power shifted into the hands of the Anarchist-controlled Central Anti-Fascist Militia Committee. Bolloten indicates that for all practical purposes this Committee was the government of Catalonia under a new name: Its power rested not on the shattered machinery of the state but on the revolutionary militia and police squads and upon the multitudinous committees that sprang up in the region during the first days of the Revolution. The work of the militia committee, attests Abad de Santillan, himself a member, included the establishment of revolutionary order in the rear, the creation of militia units for the front, the organization of the economy, and

legislative and judicial action. It should be further noted that these Anarchist-run councils and committees were not mild-mannered minimal states, maintaining order while allowing the workers to organize themselves as they pleased. They were "modern" states, concerning themselves with the economy, education, propaganda, transportation, and virtually everything else. A common pattern was for the non-Anarchists to push for some measure that the Anarchists opposed; the Anarchists would resist for a brief period; and finally, the Anarchists would agree to the original measure after changing some of the labels and minor details. By May of , after a mere ten months in power, the Anarchists found themselves out-manuevered on the national and regional levels by the Communists and other political enemies. There were a series of cabinet crises in the regional Catalanian government; the resentment of the non-Anarchists, especially the Communists, against the continued de facto Anarchist control of Barcelona burnt ever brighter. While the members of the CNT who held positions in the Catalanian government kept trying to reach an understanding with their fellow ministers, the rank and file Anarchists seem to have become increasingly alienated from their leaders. A raid on the Anarchist-controlled telephone company brought these feelings to the surface. The CNT ministers merely demanded the removal of the main people responsible for the raid; but hundreds of the rank-and-file Anarchists responded with rage, setting up barricades. As Bolloten describes matters, "That same night [May 3 -B. This is a spontaneous response to Stalinist aggression Their maximal demand was the removal of the [police] commissioner who had provoked the movement. As though it were not the various forces behind him that had to be destroyed! Always the form instead of the substance! Their requests were not heeded, as Bolloten notes: While the activists ignored the Anarchist leadership, the CNT ministers desperately tried to hammer out a deal with their fellow ministers in the Generalitat, who were by this point willing to endanger Catalanian autonomy by allowing the armed forces of the central government to re-establish order. All the Anarchists managed to do was to obtain a few delays and haggle over the formation of a new government, while they cajoled the rank-and-file to fall into line. We do not want this stigma to fall upon the Spanish Anarchists This is not the moment, in front of piled-up corpses, to discuss who is right. It is essential that you disappear with your weapons from the streets We must not wait for others to do so. We must do so ourselves. Afterward we shall talk. If you decide, when you discuss our conduct at our next assembly, that we deserve to be shot, then you may shoot us, but now you must obey our slogans. The power of the Communists was greatly enhanced at both the regional and national levels. A new central government was formed with Juan Negrin as Prime Minister. Bolloten amply documents that Negrin was a willing tool of the Communists, so it should be no surprise that the Anarchists lost all of their positions in the central government. One might think that by this point they would be thoroughly disillusioned with power, but the Anarchists now assumed the degrading role of the political beggar they held for the rest of the war. When Negrin formed his second government, he threw the CNT a bone by giving them the ministry of education and health. This is because Anarchosyndicalism cannot get involved with professional politicians and cannot humble itself before anyone Once the CNT left the government, the Communists intensified their persecution and terrorization of the Anarchists.

6: Anarchism in Spain - Wikipedia

Bookchin's "the Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Years" covers the period from to "that is, from Giuseppe Fanelli's introduction of the anarchist "Idea" to Madrid and Barcelona, to the beginnings of the military coup of

Beginning[edit] In the mid-19th century, revolutionary ideas were generally unknown in Spain. The closest thing to a radical movement was found amongst the followers of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon , known as federalists , the most famous of whom was Francesc Pi i Margall named, upon his death, "the wisest of the federalists, almost an anarchist" by anarchist thinker Ricardo Mella. There was a history of peasant unrest in some parts of the country. This was not related to any political movement, but rather borne out of circumstances. The same was true in the cities; long before workers were familiar with anarcho-syndicalism, there were general strikes and other conflicts between workers and their employers. The earliest successful attempt to introduce anarchism to the Spanish masses came in 1848. A middle-aged revolutionary named Giuseppe Fanelli came to Spain on a journey planned by Mikhail Bakunin in order to recruit members for the First International , an international organization that aimed to unify groups working for the benefit of the working class, which later came to be dominated by Marxists. The effect, however, was the same. Anselmo Lorenzo gives an account of his oratory: The oppressed and marginalized working classes were very susceptible to an ideology attacking institutions they perceived to be oppressive, namely the state with its corruption and brutality, capitalism with its gross divide between wretched poverty and grand wealth, and the supremely powerful and coercive institution of organized religion. A chapter of the First International was soon set up in Madrid. A few dedicated anarchists, first introduced to "the Idea" by Fanelli, began holding meetings, giving speeches, and attracting new followers. By 1849, the Madrid chapter of the International had gained roughly 2,000 members. Anarchism gained a much larger following in Barcelona , already a bastion of proletarian rebellion, Luddism , and trade unionism. The already militant working class was, as in Madrid, introduced to the philosophy of anarchism in the late 1840s. In 1849, a section of the International was formed in Barcelona. These centers of revolutionary activity continued to spread ideas, through speeches, discussions, meetings, and their newspaper, *La Solidaridad* English translation: Anarchism had soon taken root throughout Spain, in villages and in cities, and in scores of autonomous organizations. Many of the rural pueblos were already anarchic in structure prior to the spread of "anarchist" ideas. The Spanish section of the International was here renamed the "Spanish Regional Federation" also known as simply the Spanish Federation , and outlines for future organization were discussed. The Congress had a clear anarchist flavor despite the presence of non-anarchist members of the International from other European nations. It was looked upon with disdain by the mainstream press and the existing political parties, for the Congress openly attacked the political process as an illegitimate means of change and foreshadowed the future power of syndicalist trade unions such as the CNT. Socialists and liberals within the Spanish Federation sought to reorganize Spain into five trade sections with various committees and councils. Many anarchists within the group felt that this was contrary to their belief in decentralization. A year of conflict ensued, in which the anarchists fought the "Authoritarians" within the Federation and eventually expelled them in 1850. In the same year, Mikhail Bakunin was expelled from the International by the Marxists, who were the majority. Anarchists, seeing the hostility from previous allies on the Left , reshaped the nature of their movement in Spain. The Spanish Federation became decentralized, now dependent on action from rank-and-file workers rather than bureaucratic councils; that is, a group structured according to anarchist principles. Early turmoil, to [edit] In the region of Alcoy , workers struck in for the eight-hour day following much agitation from the anarchists. The conflict turned to violence when police fired on an unarmed crowd, which caused workers to storm City Hall in response. Dozens were dead on each side when the violence ended. Sensational stories were made up by the press about atrocities that never took place: Meeting halls were shut down, members jailed, publications banned. Until around the start of the 20th century, proletarian anarchism remained relatively fallow in Spain. However, anarchist ideas still remained popular in the rural countryside, where destitute peasants waged a lengthy series of unsuccessful rebellions in attempts to create " libertarian communism ". Throughout the 19th century, the Spanish Federation drew most of its members from

the peasant areas of Andalusia after the decline of its urban following. These small gains were largely destroyed by State repression, which by the mids had forced the entire movement underground. The Spanish Federation faded away, and conventional trade unionism for a while began to replace revolutionary action, although anarchists remained abundant and their ideas not forgotten; the liberal nature of this period was perhaps borne out of despair rather than disagreement with revolutionary ideas. Anarchists were left to act as *tigres solitarios* roughly "lone tigers" ; attempts at mass organization, as in the Pact of Union and Solidarity , had some ephemeral success but were destined to failure. The lack of revolutionary organization led many anarchists to commit acts of violence as a form of direct action , and occasional uprisings broke out, as in Jerez appeared the secret organization *La Mano Negra* , with the attribution of four murders, and the burning of several crops and buildings. Six people died in June when a bomb was thrown at the Corpus Christi procession in Barcelona. Police attributed the act to anarchists who met with the severest repression. As many as people were brought to the dungeons of the castle of Montjuich in Barcelona. International outrage followed reports that the prisoners were brutally tortured: Several died before being brought to trial, and five were eventually executed. *Salvochea* is considered one of the earliest pioneers in the propagation and organization along anarchist lines. The idea of syndicalism became popular or, after the early s, anarcho-syndicalism to differentiate from the reformist syndicalism in other parts of Europe. Purist " Anarchist Communists " were unwilling to adopt syndicalist ideas and became marginalized, although the two groups soon became indistinguishable. The organization adopted syndicalism on socialist libertarian principles. Its success was immediate: Many of these strikes had no visible leadership but were initiated purely by the working class. As opposed to reformist strikes, many of these strikers made no clear demands or intentionally absurd demands; for example, the demand to be given seven and a half rest hours in an eight-hour day ; in some cases workers demanded no less than the end of capitalism. But the decentralized nature of anarcho-syndicalism made it impossible to completely destroy and attempts to do so only emboldened the spirit of resistance. *Tragic Week* Catalonia Two events in bolstered support for another general strike in Barcelona. A textile factory was shut down, with workers fired. Across the industry, wages were being cut. Workers, even outside the textile industry, began to plan for a general strike. At around the same time, the government announced that military reserves would be called up to fight in Morocco , where tribesmen were skirmishing with Spanish troops. The reservists, mostly working men, were not keen to risk their lives or kill others to protect what they characterised as the interests of Spanish capitalists the fighting was blocking routes to mines and slowing business. The strike began in Barcelona on July 26, a few weeks after the call for reserves was made. It quickly developed into a widespread uprising. Anselmo Lorenzo wrote in a letter: No one has led it. Railroad lines leading into Barcelona were destroyed. Barricades sprang up in the streets. Eighty churches and monasteries were destroyed by members of the Radical Party who, it should be noted, were generally much less "radical" than anarchists or socialists , and six individuals were killed during the disturbances. After the revolt, about 1, individuals were indicted on various charges. Most were let go, but were sentenced. Twelve were given life imprisonment and five were executed, including Francisco Ferrer , who was not even in Barcelona at the time of the insurrection. Following this "Tragic Week", the government began repressing dissidents on a larger scale. Unions were suppressed, newspapers were shut down, and libertarian schools were closed. Catalonia was put under martial law until November. Rather than giving up, the Spanish working class became emboldened and more revolutionary than before, as workers adopted syndicalism as a revolutionary strategy. The rise of the CNT[edit] The anarchist movement lacked a stable national organization in its early years. During this congress, a resolution was passed declaring that the purpose of the CNT would be to "hasten the integral economic emancipation of the entire working class through the revolutionary expropriation of the bourgeoisie The national confederation was split into smaller regional ones, which were again broken down into smaller trade unions. Despite this many-tiered structure, bureaucracy was consciously avoided. Initiatives for decisions came largely from the individual unions. There were no paid officials; all positions were staffed by common workers. Decisions made by the national delegations did not have to be followed. The CNT was in these respects much different from the comparatively rigid socialist unions. A general strike was called a mere five days after its founding by

triumphant, and perhaps overzealous, workers. It spread across several cities throughout Spain; in one city, workers took over the community and killed the mayor. Troops moved into all major cities and the strike was quickly crushed. The CNT was declared an illegal organization, and thus went underground only a week after its founding. A few years later it continued with overt strike actions, as in the general strike organized in tandem with the Socialist-dominated UGT a rare occurrence, as the two groups were usually at odds to protest the rising cost of living. General Strike of [edit] A general strike broke out in , mostly organized by socialists but with notable anarchist activity, particularly in Barcelona. There barricades were built, and strikers tried to stop trolleys from running. The government responded by filling the streets with machine guns. Fighting left seventy people dead. Factories closed, unemployment soared and wages declined. Expecting class conflict, especially in light of the then recent Russian Revolution , much of the capitalist class began a bitter war against unions, particularly the CNT. Lockouts became more frequent. Known militants were blacklisted. Pistoleros, or assassins, were hired to kill union leaders. Scores, perhaps hundreds, of anarchists were murdered during this time period. Anarchists responded in turn with a number of assassinations, the most famous of which is the murder of Prime Minister Eduardo Dato Iradier. The CNT, by this time, had as many as a million members. It retained its focus on direct action and syndicalism; this meant that revolutionary currents in Spain were no longer on the fringe, but very much in the mainstream.

7: International Socialist Review

The "freedom" of the Spanish Anarchists was the "freedom" to live exactly as the Spanish Anarchists thought right. Many of the Spanish Anarchists were genuinely anti-statist in the standard sense of the word.

While a liberal political philosophy within a framework of capitalistic free trade and constitutional self-government dominated the greatest Western powers, mounting criticism developed against centralized government itself. Radical utopianism and anarchism, previously expounded mainly by religious sects, became secularized in works such as *Foundations of anarchist thought*. The first person to willingly call himself an anarchist was the French political writer and pioneer socialist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, detail of an oil painting by Gustave Courbet, c. 1848. Anarchy is "the absence of a sovereign" such is the form of government to which we are every day approximating. The rejection of political authority has a rich pedigree. It extends back to classical antiquity to the Stoics and the Cynics and runs through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, as illustrated by dissenting Christian sects such as the medieval Catharists and certain factions of Anabaptists. For such groups which are often mistakenly claimed as ancestors by modern anarchist writers the rejection of government was merely one aspect of a retreat from the material world into a realm of spiritual grace, and, as part of the search for individual salvation, it was hardly compatible with the sociopolitical doctrine of anarchism. In all its forms, that doctrine consists of 1 an analysis of the power relations underlying existing forms of political authority and 2 a vision of an alternative libertarian society based on cooperation, as opposed to competition and coercion, and functioning without the need for government authority. English anarchist thought The first sketch of an anarchist commonwealth in this sense was developed in England in the years immediately following the English Civil Wars in 1649 by Gerrard Winstanley, a dissenting Christian and founder of the Digger movement. Winstanley was not only the pioneer theorist of anarchism but also the forerunner of anarchist activism. The Digger experiment was destroyed by local landowners, and Winstanley vanished into such obscurity that the place and date of his death are unknown. But the principles he defended lingered on in the traditions of English Protestant sects and reached their ultimate flowering in the work of a former dissenting minister, William Godwin. In his masterpiece, *Political Justice*, Godwin not only presents the classic anarchist argument that authority is against nature and that social evils exist because men are not free to act according to reason, he also sketches out a decentralized society composed of small autonomous communities, or parishes. Within these communities, democratic political procedures would be dispensed with as far as possible, because, according to Godwin, they encourage a majoritarian tyranny and dilute individual responsibility. Godwin was a prophet of technological progress, and he believed that industrial development would eventually reduce the necessary working time to half an hour a day, provided people lived simply, and that this arrangement would facilitate the transition to a society without authority. William Godwin, oil painting by J. By the time of his death in 1836, however, he was almost forgotten. Although his ideas had a subterranean influence on the British labour movement through the work of Owen, they had virtually no effect on the quasi-political anarchist movement on the continent of Europe during the mid-19th century. In 1843 he won a scholarship to study in Paris, where he earned notoriety as a polemicist and radical journalist. His early works *What Is Property?* Proudhon was a complex writer who remained obstinately independent, refusing to consider himself the founder of either a system or a party. Yet he was justly regarded by Bakunin, Peter Kropotkin, and other leaders of organized anarchism as their philosophical ancestor. Although he was infamous for declaring in *What Is Property?* He thereby laid the intellectual foundations of a movement that rejected democratic and parliamentary politics in favour of various forms of direct action. Within the International, the Mutualists were the first opponents of Karl Marx and his followers, who advocated political action and the seizure of the state in order to create a proletarian dictatorship. Russian anarchist thought Bakunin had been a supporter of nationalist revolutionary movements in various Slav countries. Instead, he suggested that the means of production should be owned collectively, though he still held that each worker should be remunerated only according to the amount of work he actually performed. The second important difference between Bakunin

and Proudhon lay in their concepts of revolutionary method. Proudhon believed it was possible to create within existing society the mutualist associations that could replace it; he therefore opposed violent revolutionary action. The First International was itself destroyed by the conflict between Marx and Bakunin, a conflict rooted as much in the contradictory personalities of the two leaders as in their rival doctrines—“revolution by a disciplined party versus revolution by the spontaneous insurgence of the working class, respectively. In the Bakuninists set up their own International, which lasted as an active body until ; during this period its members finally accepted the name anarchist rather than Mutualist. Bakunin died in His ideas had been developed in action as well as in writing, for he was the hero of many barricades, prisons, and meetings. His successor as ideological leader was Peter Kropotkin , who had renounced the title of prince when he became a revolutionary in Kropotkin is more celebrated for his writing than for his actions, though in his early years he led an eventful career as a revolutionary militant, which he described in a fine autobiography, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* He reinforced this vision in *Mutual Aid: A Factor in Evolution* , where he used biological and sociological evidence to argue that cooperation is more natural and usual than competition among both animals and human beings. In his *Fields, Factories, and Workshops* he developed ideas on the decentralization of industry appropriate to a nongovernmental society. After the insurrections failed, anarchist activism tended to take the form of acts of terrorism by individual protesters, who would attempt to kill ruling figures to make the state appear vulnerable and to inspire the masses with their self-sacrifice. This dramatic series of terrorist acts established the image of the anarchist as a mindless destroyer, an image that was further strengthened as anarchist attacks on government officials, as well as on restaurants and other public places, became more widespread. Artists were attracted by the individualist spirit of anarchism. By the mids, however, the more militant anarchists in France began to realize that an excess of individualism had detached them from the workers they sought to liberate. Anarchists, indeed, have always found it difficult to reconcile the claims of general human solidarity with the demands—“equally insistent—“of the individual who desires freedom. In consequence, although a number of international anarchist congresses were held—“the most celebrated being those in London in and Amsterdam in —no effective worldwide organization was ever created, even though by the end of the 19th century the anarchist movement had spread to all continents and was united by informal links of correspondence and friendship between leading figures. National federations were weak even in countries where there were many anarchists, such as France and Italy, and the typical unit of organization remained the small group dedicated to propaganda by deed or word. Such groups engaged in a wide variety of activities; in the s many of them set up experimental schools and communities in an attempt to live according to anarchist principles. Revolutionary syndicalism In France, where individualist trends had been most pronounced and public reaction to terrorist acts had imperiled the very existence of the movement, anarchists made an effort to acquire a mass following, primarily by infiltrating the trade unions. The anarcho-syndicalists argued that the traditional function of trade unions—“to struggle for better wages and working conditions—“was not enough. The unions should become militant organizations dedicated to the destruction of capitalism and the state. They should aim to take over factories and utilities, which would then be operated by the workers. In this way the union or syndicate would have a double function—“as an organ of struggle within the existing political system and as an organ of administration after the revolution. However, although partial general strikes, with limited objectives, were undertaken in France and elsewhere with varying success, the millennial general strike aimed at overthrowing the social order in a single blow was never attempted. Nevertheless, the anarcho-syndicalists acquired great prestige among the workers of France—“and later of Spain and Italy—“because of their generally tough-minded attitude at a time when working conditions were bad and employers tended to respond brutally to union activity. Like anarchism, revolutionary syndicalism proved attractive to certain intellectuals , notably Georges Sorel , whose *Reflections on Violence* was the most important literary work to emerge from the movement. The more purist anarchist theoreticians were disturbed by the monolithic character of syndicalist organizations, which they feared might create powerful interest structures in a revolutionary society. At the International Anarchist Congress in Amsterdam in , a crucial debate on this issue took place between the young revolutionary syndicalist Pierre Monatte and the veteran anarchist Errico Malatesta. It defined a

division of outlook that still lingers in anarchist circles, which have always included individualist attitudes too extreme to admit any kind of large-scale organization. Revolutionary syndicalism transformed anarchism, for a time at least, from a tiny minority current into a movement with considerable mass support, even though most members of syndicalist unions were sympathizers and fellow travelers rather than committed anarchists. When it was established, the organizations that formed it could still boast a considerable following. In Britain, the influence of syndicalism was shown most clearly in the Guild Socialism movement, which flourished briefly in the early years of the 20th century. In the United States, revolutionary syndicalist ideas were influential in the Industrial Workers of the World IWW, which in the years immediately before and after World War I played a vital part in organizing American miners, loggers, and unskilled workers. Only a small minority of IWW militants were avowed anarchists, however. Anarchism in Spain The reconciliation of anarchism and syndicalism was most complete and most successful in Spain; for a long period the anarchist movement in that country remained the most numerous and the most powerful in the world. In the end, however, the influence of Bakunin was stronger. In his Italian disciple, Giuseppe Fanelli, visited Barcelona and Madrid, where he established branches of the International. In the anarchist movement in Spain was forced underground, a phenomenon that recurred often in subsequent decades. Nevertheless, it flourished, and anarchism became the favoured type of radicalism among two very different groups, the factory workers of Barcelona and other Catalan towns and the impoverished peasants who toiled on the estates of absentee owners in Andalusia. It retained its strength in working-class organizations because the courageous and even ruthless anarchist militants were often the only leaders who would stand up to the army and to the employers, who hired squads of gunmen to engage in guerrilla warfare with the anarchists in the streets of Barcelona. Solidaridad Obrera quickly spread throughout Catalonia, and, in 1917, when the Spanish army tried to conscript Catalan reservists to fight against the Rif in Morocco, it called a general strike. The torture of anarchists in the fortress of Montjuich and the execution of the internationally celebrated advocate of free education Francisco Ferrer led to worldwide protests and the resignation of the conservative government in Madrid. While there was recurrent conflict within the CNT between moderates and FAI activists, the atmosphere of violence and urgency in which radical activities were carried on in Spain ensured that the more extreme leaders, such as Garcia Oliver and Buenaventura Durutti, tended to wield decisive influence. The CNT was a model of anarchist decentralism and antibureaucratism: This enormous organization, which claimed 1,000,000 members in 1936, during the Civil War, employed only one paid secretary. Its day-to-day operation was carried on in their spare time by workers chosen by their comrades. Their antipolitical philosophy led them to reject the Republic as much as the monarchy it had replaced, and between the military rebellion led by Francisco Franco in 1936 there were several unsuccessful anarchist risings. In the anarchist communities, who over the decades had become expert urban guerrillas, were mainly responsible for the defeat of the rebel generals in both Barcelona and Valencia, as well as in country areas of Catalonia and Aragon, and for many early months of the Civil War they were in virtual control of eastern Spain, where they regarded the crisis as an opportunity to carry through the social revolution of which they had long dreamed. The internal use of money was abolished, the land was tilled in common, and village products were sold or exchanged on behalf of the community in general, with each family receiving an equitable share of food and other necessities. An idealistic Spartan fervour characterized these communities, which often consisted of illiterate labourers; intoxicants, tobacco, and sometimes even coffee were renounced; and millenarian enthusiasm took the place of religion, as it has often done in Spain. The reports of critical observers suggest that at least some of these communes were efficiently run and more productive agriculturally than the villages had been previously. In December four leading anarchists took posts in the cabinet of Francisco Largo Caballero, radically compromising their antigovernment principles. In May bitter fighting broke out in Barcelona between communists and anarchists. The CNT held its own on this occasion, but its influence quickly waned. Decline of European anarchism By the time of the Spanish Civil War, the anarchist movement outside Spain had been destroyed or greatly diminished as a result of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the rise of right-wing totalitarian regimes. Although the most famous anarchist leaders, Bakunin and Kropotkin, had been Russian, the anarchist movement had never been strong in Russia, partly because the larger Socialist Revolutionary

Party had greater appeal to the peasantry. After the revolution the small anarchist groups that emerged in Petrograd now St. Petersburg and Moscow were powerless against the Bolsheviks. Kropotkin, who returned from exile in June , found himself without influence, though he did establish an anarchist commune in the village of Dmitrov, near Moscow. In the south, N. In other countries, the prestige of the Russian Revolution enabled the new communist parties to win much of the support formerly given to the anarchists, particularly in France, where the CGT passed permanently into communist control. The large Italian anarchist movement was destroyed by the fascist government of Benito Mussolini in the s, and the small German anarchist movement was smashed by the Nazis in the s. The result was the most sophisticated exposition to date of anarchist ideas in the United States. Goldman, who had immigrated to the United States from tsarist Russia in , soon became a preeminent figure in the American anarchist movement. A follower of Kropotkin, she lectured widely and published numerous essays on anarchist theory and practice in her journal *Mother Earth*. Most of her campaigns were controversial. Library of Congress, Washington, D. After police killed two strikers at a rally at the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company on May 3, , a protest meeting was called for Haymarket Square the next day. The demonstration was pronounced peaceful by Mayor Carter Harrison, who attended as an observer. After Harrison and most of the demonstrators had departed, a contingent of police arrived and demanded that the crowd disperse. At that point a bomb exploded among the police, killing one, and the police responded with random gunfire.

8: Anarchists in Spanish | English to Spanish Translation - SpanishDict

Jose Peirats, Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution, translated from Spanish by Mary Ann Slocombe and Paul Hollow (Detroit,). Vernon Richards, Lessons of the Spanish Revolution () (London, revised).

The Catalan regional CNT committee – its secretary, Marianet, was being egged on by the soviet consul, Antonov-Ovseenko – decided to add a delegation to the Catalan party travelling to Russia to attend the [] celebrations of the October revolution, officially a visit by the Friends of the USSR Association. The CNT had always opposed Bolshevik methods and condemned the Russian dictatorship even though the latter professed to be a dictatorship of the proletariat but most of its leaders reckoned that they were living in special circumstances now and that if the Spanish revolution – indeed, the revolution worldwide – was to be salvaged, well, that was worth one Stalinist Mass. So on 23 October [] Durruti drafted a message to Russian workers and handed it over. Twenty years have passed since the Russian workers in the East hoisted the red flag, symbolising the brotherhood between the international proletariat, whom you trusted implicitly to help you in the mighty undertaking upon which you had embarked: The delegation reached Leningrad on 10 November. The station was packed with people and as they stepped down they were presented with bunches of flowers. Outside a rally was staged at which representatives from several trade unions spoke, praising the fight under way against fascism. We know that victory over the enemy will be costly, but we will win , come what may. The Communists, though virtually non-existent, were depicted as the carrying the main burden of the fighting. The crowd, of course, applauded the translator and cheered Stalin. At the Red Army headquarters, he chatted with some old officers, trading stories of revolutionary struggle. On 13 November, they arrived in Moscow and had to sit through a three hour speech by Kalinin, the president of the Soviet Union. There was some emotive questioning from a group of Russian children from the Model School. The militians had a soft spot for the boy and let him stay at headquarters. Everybody went looking for him but he was nowhere to be found. Some days after that, I was on a visit to a hospital and was very taken aback to find Pedro in bed. Then he told me about his odyssey. One day, moving around the headquarters, he overheard that the militians were planning an attack and so he, who was just itching to get into the war, moved up to the front without saying a thing to anybody and took part in the attack. On 20 November they visited the Comintern, the Communist International. He said that he had also brought greetings to the people, to the Russian workers who had offered the Spanish people their help in such difficult times –! The CNT has its own discipline and we have never been lacking in it. Our discipline has matched our needs and has been suited to them. At present when we need a war discipline, it is our columns that are setting the standard. And the Spanish people has its own ways of fighting, is not afraid of sacrifice and in its own way has known and shown how fascism should be fought. The Spanish people is not very well known around the world and the CNT even less so. Even in France they do not know us. Both have to give some ground. Nor can standards be handed down from above: The Spanish people is all grown up and we of the CNT are grown-ups. They also carried a snapshot of him in the overalls of a guerrilla. On 22 November, the delegation travelled to Kiev: Official Ukraine was in attendance there. The commander of the Kiev garrison, an old Bolshevik, gave a welcoming address. In one shack a steelworker with a huge family showed them a clipping from Pravda with a snapshot of Durruti and another clipping with a photograph of Makhno. Watch out, now that this one [Durruti] is dead, that they do not besmirch his memory. The horrified bureaucrat promised to deal with the matter but no more was ever heard of it. Finally they managed to get to speak with Russian anarchists who told them how tough life was for them, barred as they were from doing anything and with most of them banished to Siberia. Irked by the constant misrepresentation of his message in the press, he showed the reporter the door. They rounded off their report with this word of warning: We have had occasion to speak with some who have come from the latter. The entire delegation was received with full honours at the Russian consulate in Barcelona. The CNT group was the biggest delegation: At the time, Russia was shipping arms and advisers to the Republic and Federica Montseny was not stingy in her praises of freedom there: Member of the Friends of Durruti. One-time secretary of the IWA in the s. Spokesman for the counter-revolutionary Stalinists. After May he was the CNT

representative on the Generalitat government, taking a conciliatory line. Appointed to head the Security Council in Catalonia. Removed in May Was secretary of the Catalan CNT for a time. Headed the Security Council in Catalonia until May Minister of Health in the Generalitat government until jailed in a central government crackdown. In charge of educational planning in Catalonia after Financial specialist and economist who joined the CNT after the revolution and served it loyally on the Council of Economy in Catalonia.

9: Anarchism | Definition of Anarchism by Merriam-Webster

Living Utopia is a unique documentary that blends the historical account of the origins and development of the Spanish anarchist movement, focussing on the 1.

Mary Slessor of Calabar (large Print Edition) Northrop story, 1929-1939 I would rather be assassinated Identifying theme worksheets for middle school Capitalism, economic individualism to todays welfare state Glencoe Earth Science Vimalakirti, the sutra and the person Grilled cheese cookbook Jan Fabre, Artist: National rules for electrical installations 4th edition The arrangement series The roommate and the cowboy Italian Workers of the World Questioning the Heiress Federal rules of civil-appellate-criminal procedure ; Supreme Court rules Voice and Laryngeal Disorders Theodore Roosevelt, outdoorsman Gomer Little Gomer Rev. Adam Wallace, D.D. 1825-1903 : a biographical sketch Head of credit job description Its all relatively calm : how to get along with almost anyone Hawaiian-Emperor Seamount, Central Pacific Ocean Response to death Peroxiredoxin systems of protozoal parasites Marcel Deponte, Stefan Rahlfs and Katja Becker The ultimate mousse cookbook Public worship for non-liturgical churches Mountain Biking (Outdoor Adventures) Digestion in stomach in humans Practical Spoken Chinese Coming home from home Capitalization theory and techniques Short guide for sermon exegesis King Alfreds Old English version of St. Augustines Soliloquies The news about objective journalism The last days of old media Right here on this spot Acknowledgments and executive summary Pt. 4. Listening to western classical music. Biotic Homogenization The Beginners Guide to Forgiveness