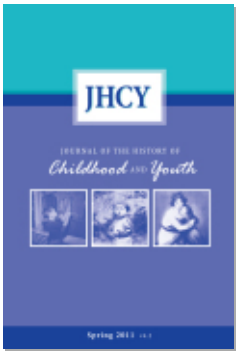
Too Young to Fight: Anarchist Youth Groups and the Spanish Second Republic



Jordi Getman-Eraso

The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth, Volume 4, Number 2, Spring 2011, pp. 282-307 (Article)

Published by Johns Hopkins University Press
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1353/hcy.2011.0019

JORDI GETMAN-ERASO

TOO YOUNG TO FIGHT: ANARCHIST YOUTH GROUPS AND THE SPANISH SECOND REPUBLIC

The first decades of the twentieth century witnessed an unprecedented mobilization of young people across Europe. A significant number of youth organizations emerged, set on achieving political and social objectives for their increasingly visible young constituencies. The youth phenomenon arrived in Spain later than in other countries due to the country's slower industrial and political development.[1] Like their European counterparts, Spanish youth groups tended to be ideologically radical. They employed modern techniques of mass mobilization and resorted to violent rhetoric and political violence, which fit the dominant trend in Europe.[2] However, Spanish anarchist youth groups, commonly referred to as *juventudes libertarias* (libertarian youth), differed in a very significant way from the rest of their Spanish and European contemporaries. Up until the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), the established policy of the *juventudes libertarias* was to reject violence as a bourgeois-tainted and, thus, an unacceptable mode of action. Unlike other youth organizations in Spain and the rest of Europe, the anarchist *juventudes* were adamantly opposed to engaging in political violence, restricting themselves instead to "education and propaganda" duties. Yet, in the summer of 1936 these strongly held beliefs gave way to the practical realities of the Civil War, and led the would-be educators of the future utopian anarchist society to take up arms and fight.

Recent scholarship has generally attributed to youth organizations a decisive role in undermining the political structures of the Second Republic (1931–1936) and, by extension, contributing to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in July 1936.[3] The young militants of these political organizations also directly participated in the fighting by joining in large numbers the militias and army units that waged war in battlefields across Spain. Moreover, they made up the bulk of the half million dead left behind by the fratricidal conflict.[4] The outbreak of hostilities on July 19, 1936, saw the spontaneous mobilization of thousands of

Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth (v4.2)

young men and women associated with the anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist movement. Armed with any weapons they could find, young members of the anarchist youth groups *Juventudes Libertarias de Catalunya* (Catalan Libertarian Youth, or JLC) and *Federación Ibérica de Juventudes Libertarias* (Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth, or FIJL) fought hand in hand with other groups to defend the Republic and defeat the rightist *golpistas* across Spain in the first days of the war.[5] In cities such as Barcelona, resisting the military coup quickly gave way to widespread spontaneous revolutionary acts that replaced established authority structures with the most radical experiment in self-rule in twentieth-century European history. Anarchist youth instigated many of the revolutionary actions in this early phase of social transformation.[6] Within days, the same young anarchists departed for the front, where they made up the bulk of the militias fighting the Nationalist troops.[7] The young activists' critical contribution to the war effort was venerated by the anarchist press. In early August 1936, the anarchist weekly *Tierra y Libertad* celebrated the anarchist youth for their valorous and determined contributions to the revolutionary cause:

> [The youth] were the first to aim their rifles at the fascist iniquity. They were the first to take their posts at the barricades and the war fronts. They were the first to give their lives in exchange for the liberation of the Spanish proletariat.[8]

The anarchist youth's engagement in violent actions represented a sharp change in organizational policy. Just months before the rightist coup, organizational plenary meetings had ratified the anarchist youth movement's complete disassociation from violence.[9] Violent conflict, the *juventudes* founding statutes stated, fell on the shoulders of its parent organizations, the anarchist *Federación Anarquista Ibérica* (Iberian Anarchist Federation, or FAI) and the anarcho-syndicalist *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* (National Confederation of Labor, or CNT).[10] In May 1936, as violent political confrontations in Spain neared a point of no return, anarcho-syndicalists attending a CNT national congress deemed appropriate the *juventudes*' decision to not engage in "revolutionary actions."[11] Even the FAI leadership, made up of many anarchist *pistoleros* (gunmen) notorious for inciting insurrectionary attempts between 1932 and 1933, supported the *juventudes*' antiviolence stance.[12]

The *juventudes*' position on violence was inherently tied to the ideological and strategic foundations of Spanish anarchism, the movement's rejection of authoritarian structures and its interpretation of the concept of "youth." A close reading of anarchist ideological treatises and organizational meeting notes reveals a distinct role reserved for youth in the prophesized anarchist

revolution. The *juventudes*, considered by movement ideologues to be ideologically pure and untainted by bourgeois culture, were assigned the vital role of educating society. Anarchists believed education to be the cornerstone of a successful libertarian revolution. From Anselmo Lorenzo to Buenaventura Durruti, anarchists asserted that libertarian education would transform society by eliminating the bourgeois influences that had made the capitalist system so inequitable and damaging to the poor. The violent imposition of authority was among the most odious attributes of capitalism. Indeed, capitalist militarism and imperialist wars clashed with anarchism's strong antistatist and antimilitaristic principles. As the advocates of pure anarchist theory, the *juventudes* had to reject violence if they were to succeed in thoroughly edifying society. Anarchists believed that if the youth fell prey to the temptation of using violence to spread anarchist ideals, the movement's revolutionary aims would be undermined, deviating instead toward an authoritarian dictatorship similar to Bolshevik Russia.[13]

It was this perspective on education and ideological purity that granted youth such distinct status within the anarchist movement. It also dictated a conception of age that was singular among Spanish political movements. While youth organizations of other ideologies in Spain set maximum ages for their membership, typically between thirty and thirty-five years old, the JLC and the FIJL had no such limits.[14] The concept of "youth" was determined not so much by a specific age, but rather by educational achievement and ethical maturity. These definitions of youth and education were rooted in the ideological foundations of the anarchist movement dating back to the late nineteenth century. However, they were also influenced by the young age of a great majority of the movement's militants and the practical experience of organizing workers in Spain's urban centers and rural areas. Together, these factors shaped the development of the *juventudes libertarias* movement, the evolution of its ideological rhetoric, the conceptions of social organization, and the parameters of action for its young followers.

YOUTH MOBILIZATION, VIOLENCE, AND POLITICAL INSTABILITY IN 1930s SPAIN

Although the mass political mobilization of young people in Spain dates back to the middle of the nineteenth century, the first political youth organizations did not appear in the country until the turn of the twentieth century.[15] They typically emerged in urban centers as subgroups of the political movements that arose in the wake of the political crisis that followed Spain's military defeat by the United States in 1898. The best known and most notorious of these

early youth organizations was the provocatively named *Agrupación de Jóvenes Bárbaros* (literally, Association of Barbarian Youth) that in 1904 surfaced inside the *Juventud Republicana de Barcelona* (Republican Youth of Barcelona), which in turn was linked to Alejandro Lerroux's extremist republican *Partido Radical* (Radical Party).[16] The also aptly titled *Batallones de la Juventud* (Youth Battalions) grew out of the conservative Carlist movement. In 1907, they were joined by the *Requetés*, founded to channel the activism of the Carlist movement's young followers.[17] The political left was not far behind. The *Federación de Juventudes Socialistas de España* (Spanish Socialist Youth Federation, or FJS) was founded in Bilbao in 1903.[18]

Though theoretically independent, these early youth organizations functioned primarily as propaganda and education sections of their parent political parties until the late 1920s. Using modern techniques of mass mobilization, the youth groups aimed to draft young followers who could be shaped into future militants for the parent organizations. The socialist FJS, for example, was kept on a short leash by the *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, or PSOE), which closely controlled policy decisions and enrollment efforts.[19] In fact, the FJS's subservient role to the PSOE prompted the youth organization's more radical pro-Bolshevik factions to break away in 1920 to create the *Partido Comunista Español* (Spanish Communist Party, or PCE).[20]

These Spanish youth groups were characterized by their use of violence in implementing their political programs. The fulfillment of their propaganda duties increasingly devolved into violent confrontations with opposing groups, the authorities, or innocent bystanders. The intransigent Carlist *Batallones* and *Requetés*, known for their intimidatory militaristic marches down the streets of Madrid and Barcelona, also published periodicals with such fitting titles as *El Cañon* (The Cannon) and *La Trinchera* (The Trench).[21] Followers of the conservative *Federación Nacional de Juventudes Mauristas* (National Federation of Maurista Youth) actively promoted taking to the streets to regenerate Spain's outdated Restoration parliamentary political system.[22]

The collapse of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship in 1930 and the arrival of the Second Republic a year later brought about a sharp shift in the youth organizations' position vis-à-vis their parent political parties. The modernization of the Spanish political system and the broadening of democratic participation which accompanied the founding of the Second Republic encouraged an unprecedented mobilization of Spain's young people and the emergence of new political platforms that better reflected their concerns. Emboldened by their newfound influence, many youth organizations began to steer away from their parent parties in search of their own direction. They created and occupied

new political spaces that better represented their young constituencies and their concerns.[23]

During the Second Republic, many youth organizations (but not including the *juventudes libertarias*) eschewed their previously submissive roles in favor of more radical political platforms that tended to push parent organizations down the road of extremism. The rhetoric of violence and violent confrontation rose notably with this turn to radicalism. As political tensions grew, ideological positions diverged, and commitment to the democratic process dwindled, opposing political factions increasingly searched for extralegal tactics to impose their political perspectives. These clashes produced young militants hungry to institute social and political change with little regard for established public authority. On the right, the recently formed *Juventud de Acción Popular* (Popular Action Youth, or JAP) and the fascistic *Falange Española* (Spanish Phalanx, or FE) took to the streets in search of violent encounters—for them, the ultimate expression of masculinity.[24]

Leftist youth groups also subscribed to political violence. Frustrated by the slow implementation of legislative change in the early years of the Second Republic, the socialist FJS increasingly turned to revolutionary rhetoric and violent action, even though its parent organization, the PSOE, formed part of the ruling parliamentary coalition. The electoral loss of the PSOE in 1933 intensified the radical turn of the FJS, ever intent on pushing the PSOE toward radical revolutionism. At its fifth annual congress held in 1934, FJS militants debated adopting a resolution that would demand that the PSOE break off relations with centrist republican parties.[25] In October 1934, young activists from the FJS, PSOE, and communist PCE participated in large numbers in the socialist-led revolutionary insurrection in Asturias and Catalonia.[26] The growing radicalism and increased reliance on political violence that characterized Spanish leftist and rightist youth organizations, especially after 1934, contributed significantly to the breakdown of democratic politics and the building of social tensions that culminated with the outbreak of civil war in July 1936.[27]

THE PECULIARITIES OF ANARCHIST YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

The Spanish anarchist movement was notably absent from early twentieth-century efforts to form youth organizations. The movement had attracted a large number of young followers since the emergence of the first anarchist organizations in the 1870s. Even so, the movement's militancy resisted for years the prospect of creating a separate youth organization. Neither the anarcho-syndicalist CNT, founded in 1910, nor the anarchist FAI, established in 1927 to promote the *trabazón*—melding of the ideal (anarchism) with the

practical (syndicalism)—had separate youth organizations until the birth of the Second Republic.

As a radical ideology, anarchism had traditionally appealed to a more rebellious, younger population. The sharp demographic increase experienced by Spain during the first decades of the twentieth century contributed to a growth in anarchist ranks. Between 1920 and 1936, young people aged sixteen to twenty-four made up the biggest population group in Spain. The mass migration of young workers from rural areas to urban industrial centers in the 1920s and 1930s filled Spain's factories with large numbers of impressionable young men and women looking for ways to adapt to their new lives.[28] This shifting social situation was fertile ground for anarchist and, especially, anarcho-syndicalist groups to draft members in great numbers.

Bolstered by an attractive ideological message that offered frustrated youth answers to the harsh realities of capitalist industrialism, and especially by its aggressive *acción directa* (direct action) tactics, the CNT quickly became the largest and most dominant worker union in Spain. By 1919, CNT constituency topped seven hundred thousand members throughout Spain, with over two hundred fifty thousand in the city of Barcelona alone.[29] As strongly utopian as anarchist revolutionary rhetoric was, in practice the movement it informed was characterized by strong pragmatist tendencies. *Acción directa*, the rejection of government intervention in labor negotiations, proved very successful in attaining for industrial workers important improvements in working conditions and significant salary raises. While the FAI was made up largely of anarchist purists, the CNT was composed more strictly of anarcho-syndicalists or simply syndicalists. The relatively small number of radical anarchist militants in the CNT, where the great majority of the membership belonged to the union for practical work-related reasons, dictated a more pragmatic approach to labor relations and, by extension, political intervention.[30] The CNT remained apolitical—members were regularly expelled for belonging to political parties—and the union carried out aggressive abstentionist campaigns during political elections, but its constituents were not necessarily married to the concept(s) of revolution proclaimed by the most radical anarchist militants.[31]

The Primo de Rivera military dictatorship (1923–1929) outlawed the CNT and forced it underground, temporarily threatening its existence. However, the fall of the dictatorial regime and the advent of the Second Republic in April 1931 drew workers back into the newly legalized CNT's ranks, quickly returning it to its previous position of power. By the end of 1931, the CNT had topped eight hundred thousand members across Spain, challenged only by the socialist *Union General de Trabajadores* (General Worker's Union, or UGT) for the position

of most influential worker organization.[32] In fact, in industrial cities CNT syndicates handily dominated industrial labor relations, while the UGT generally had more sway with agricultural and service sector workers.[33]

Many young people were integrated into the higher echelons of the anarchist movement, so initially the creation of a separate youth organization seemed unnecessary. The first anarchist youth organization finally emerged in 1931 with the creation of the JLC subsection of the Catalan regional of the FAI, nearly thirty years after its socialist counterpart, the FJS. Yet, the JLC was not a truly independent youth organization. It remained under the direct control of the FAI, which limited the JLC's actions to purely informational duties: the propagation of the anarchist ideal and the inculcation of anarchist culture.[34] The first truly independent anarchist youth organization appeared a year later with the establishment of the FIJL in July 1932. The FIJL's stated objective was the creation of "an organization that encompassed the revolutionary enthusiasm of the great quantity of young people enrolling in the [CNT] Syndicates" with a strong commitment to "detach from political organizations the rebellious but unconscious youth."[35]

Despite the *juventudes*' descriptive name, the members of the JLC and FIJL—especially its leaders—were not necessarily "young" or even new to labor organization. When the Civil War broke out, the most active faction in the JLC had members that were over thirty-five, while Valeriano Orobón Fernández, an influential member of the FIJL in Madrid, was thirty-five when he died in 1935.[36] The ages of these anarchist youth leaders were on par with many of their "adult" counterparts. On the eve of the Civil War, the famous militants Francisco Ascaso and Ricardo Sanz (both members of the Catalan Regional Committee of the CNT) were thirty-five and thirty-eight years old, respectively.[37]

The establishment of the JLC and the FIJL was certainly influenced by the broader growth of youth organizations in Spanish politics, but it was also a practical response to deal with the rapid increase of young militants who rushed into the FAI and CNT after the fall of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship. Young followers joining in 1930 and 1931 had little or no syndical experience and were largely uneducated in anarchist ideological rhetoric because the CNT had been illegal during their entire working lives.[38] In this context, the creation of the *juventudes libertarias* organizations served the practical purpose of ensuring the ideological education of the rapidly growing militants who would direct the movement through the Second Republic. Indeed, the *juventudes* came to fulfill an especially useful role in an organization that had little in the way of ideological treatises but had a strong commitment to education as a critical transformative step in the revolutionary process.

YOUTH AND EDUCATION IN THE SPANISH ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

In contrast to other political movements, Spanish anarchism was characterized by a strong commitment to education as the primary instrument of social change.[39] Prominent nineteenth-century anarchist ideologues Mikhail Bakunin and Peter Kropotkin both underlined the importance of education to the long term success of the anarchist revolution, though they found it of little use as an agent of revolutionary change.[40] The conception of education as an active catalyst in bringing about social transformation emerged with the contributions of the French Bakuninist Paul Robin in the late nineteenth century.[41]

In Spain, it was Francesc Ferrer i Guardia and his "rationalist" pedagogy that most significantly influenced ideas about education and youth in the Spanish anarchist movement. Inspired by Robin and French Modern School theories, Ferrer established in Barcelona *escuelas modernas* (modern schools) based on the principles of "rationalism, secularism and non-coercion" with the aim of educating children to become "free thinkers."[42] Ferrer dismissed structured curricula and rejected corporal punishment, which paralleled closely the antistatist and antimilitaristic principles that identified the anarchist movement.[43] Ferrer was executed by government authorities in 1909 for allegedly participating in the *Semana Trágica* (Tragic Week) popular uprising in Barcelona, but his pedagogical vision lived on to inspire the radical views on education of the bourgeoning anarcho-syndicalist CNT, created the year after Ferrer's death.[44]

In its 1910 founding congress, CNT constituents underlined the importance of a strong educational program, which they considered to be the path to true enlightenment and the liberation from the mental shackles of bourgeois capitalist society.[45] Although short on resources in its early years, CNT syndicates labored to establish or help fund *escuelas modernas* for its members' children. Though militants devoted much time to "reeducating" adults as a path to liberation, it was the youth who they thought offered the greatest emancipative potential. Children, they argued, were uncontaminated by bourgeois culture and could therefore be educated to become morally and ideologically pure in their anarchist beliefs. Conscious and pervasive education, militants argued, was the first step to mental, social, and cultural emancipation.[46] As a consequence, educating the youth was seen as the starting point on the path towards a successful revolution.

As the CNT grew in numbers and influence, the organizational commitment to education increased accordingly. At a national congress held in Madrid in December 1919, CNT militants approved a dictum calling for the establishment of *escuelas racionalistas* (rationalist schools), based closely on the principles

of Ferrer's *escuelas modernas*, with the aim of educating the adult and youth population in the principles of "free thinking" anarchism. The dictum called for the creation of a national education committee in charge of coordinating the training of new teachers and the opening of new schools where possible. The initiative was to be funded by an obligatory monthly contribution of ten cents from all union members, something very rare within the CNT as the union had no strike fund, union locals were expected to be self-sufficient, and the national committee received limited funding from regional federations.[47]

The belief in the importance of education within the anarchist movement reached its height during the Second Republic. The formation of the JLC and FIJL reflected the institutionalization within the movement of the *escuela racionalista* pedagogical model. It also signified the official recognition of "youth" as a separate category in the anarchist movement. Established as the branch of the anarchist movement devoted to "education and propaganda," the *juventudes* took on two vital responsibilities: teaching the ideological principles of anarchism and drafting new members into the movement. As purveyors of pure doctrine, the young *juventudes* were expected by the movement's parent organizations to interpret and expound with great precision anarchist ideological principles. Older militants, it was argued, could not fulfill these duties as well as the younger members because their exposure to bourgeois society had, at least partially, corrupted their minds. Children and youth had to be kept away from bourgeois schools, taught instead in *escuelas racionalistas*, where the damaging effects of bourgeois culture could be filtered out and teachers could concentrate on the development of "rational" and "free-thinking" individuals.[48] Only those shielded from bourgeois culture could attain "the emancipative cognition" necessary to establish the foundations of a completely new and separate future utopian revolutionary society.[49]

It was this premise of ideological purity that dictated the *juventudes*' disassociation from violence. Although in practice anarchists displayed a penchant for violent direct action tactics, the movement's ideological doctrine postulated the outright rejection of violence, which was considered a product of the corrupt capitalist "material and moral" world.[50] The envisioned anarchist revolutionary society would be rid of such "unnatural" and "corrupting" influences because peoples' moral commitment to libertarian equality would make state authority and violent enforcement of repressive laws redundant. Of course, reaching such a state of utopian perfection required destroying all vestiges of capitalism, a process that could only be achieved through violent conflict. After all, militaristic capitalists would not give up without a fight.

Anarchist ideologues ascribed the responsibility of developing the tactics to undermine the capitalist system to the movement's older "adult" militants. These tactics varied widely, from general strikes to bombings to assassinations, but all included the prospect of violent confrontation. In order to ensure that postrevolutionary society was untainted by violence, those responsible for building the revolutionary society—the anarchist youth—could not be exposed to the violence intrinsic to the capitalist system they were to replace. Older anarchists also were considered better prepared to endure the mental pressures related to violent "military" actions. Because younger militants were thought to be in a formative process, there were doubts as to the solidity of their ideological conviction. By engaging in physical confrontations before they had a well established ideological constitution, young militants ran the risk of losing their faith and losing their way, veering off the path of a successful revolution. Thus, the movement's militancy was adamantly opposed to the *juventudes* participating in any violent revolutionary actions.

Anarchist educational pedagogy reinforced the rejection of violence. The influential anarchist educator Joan Puig i Elias held that participating in any violent behavior would upset the natural educative process and inhibit the proper development of the latent libertarian "germ" in youth that would allow "a man to become that which he is and that bad social education makes it impossible for him to be."[51] For Puig i Elias, it was necessary for youth to maintain their ideological and psychological purity in order to succeed in creating (through their educational efforts) the utopian anarchist revolution. Engaging in violence, a behavior synonymous with bourgeois society and culture, could pollute the youth's purity of mind and, ultimately, undermine the success of the revolution.

Herein lay one of the strategic reasons for the creation of anarchist youth organizations which were separate from their parent organizations: keeping the utopian objectives of the movement apart from the practical tactics used to attain them. Likewise, distinguishing between "young" and "adult" followers of the anarchist movement allowed the movement's militants to avoid rhetorical contradictions, simultaneously laying claim to utopian perfection (as embodied by the "ideologically pure" *juventudes*), while at the same time justifying the immoral conduct (engagement in "bourgeois" violence and destruction) necessary to attain such perfection. In this context, the differentiation between "youth" and "adults" turned into an essential interpretative boundary line for both anarchist ideologues and pedagogues. The placement of that boundary, and the perception of the roles and responsibilities it implied,

became the source of continued debate among anarchist militants. Indeed, the definition of "youth" rarely drew consensus and often spurred hostile disagreements between the many different factions vying for control within the FAI and CNT.

MANIPULATING THE CONCEPT OF "YOUTH"

The definition and direction of the *juventudes* organizations became enmeshed in the internal debates of the anarchist movement throughout the Second Republic. Opposing factions attempted to manipulate the concept of youth to best fit their ideological and operational strategies.[52] By early 1932, the division over the definition of "young" and "old" militants reflected a growing schism that had deeply divided the CNT. The internal fracture followed ideological lines, splitting the CNT into two major camps: moderate *treintista* syndicalism and radical *faísta* revolutionism.[53] The moderates emphasized the syndicalist aspect of anarcho-syndicalism arguing that it was necessary to first build an organizational structure strong enough to carry out the revolution. Radical *faístas*, on the other hand, stressed the need for immediate revolution.

The *treintista-faísta* division almost immediately took on an age dimension. While radicals accused moderates of falling prey to the "old" ways of the capitalist system (the anarchist revolution represented the "new" or "young" generation of human existence), moderates ascribed the *faísta's* revolutionism to their "immaturity" in labor organization (too "young" to understand how to properly undermine a complicated and well-established capitalist system).[54] In effect, the *treintistas* came to be identified, both physically and ideologically, with being "old," while the *faístas* were equated with being "young." However, the association of age with ideological inclination had little foundation in fact. Most prominent militants became active in the movement at a young age, typically under the age of twenty. Well known *faísta* activists Buenaventura Durruti, Francisco Ascaso, and Juan García Oliver of the action group *Los Solidarios* (The Solidarians) became famous within the movement in their late teens and early twenties.[55] Their exploits during the 1920s—assassinations and bank robberies—interpreted by García Oliver as "revolutionary gymnastics," built up their reputation as energetic and dedicated anarchist revolutionists, pure in their dedication to the revolution.[56] The romanticized image of these *faísta* "men of action" attracted many young followers, impatient to effect immediate change in society and desirous of the glory which surrounded revolutionary action within anarchist circles.[57] However, by the Second Republic, most *Solidarios* members were in their mid-thirties. The moderate *treintista* militants they

ardently opposed within the CNT such as Joan Peiró and Angel Pestaña, both of them veteran leaders of the movement with more than twenty years of labor organization under their belts, were only five to ten years older.[58]

Although relatively close in age, these two factions nevertheless represented widely divergent interpretations of anarchist ideology, revolutionary action, and organizational policy. While radical factions devoted to "revolutionary gymnastics" saw in the energy and passion of young followers the determining momentum in bringing about the revolution by whatever means necessary, moderate factions tended to see in youth an excellent tool for the sober and calculated propagation of anarchist ideas and the education of a society that would ensure the long term success of the revolution. These tactical differences were not so much the result of age disparity, but rather of differences in experience. Peiró and Pestaña had joined the anarcho-syndicalist movement during the 1910s, a period of vigorous union building that focused on structural development and massive membership enrollment during which *acción directa* labor relations provided advantageous increases in salaries and reductions in the duration of the workweek for CNT membership. The largely pragmatist experiences of the *treintistas* determined their syndicalist tactical and doctrinal outlook. Durruti and García Oliver, on the other hand, had joined the movement after the First World War, during the infamous *pistolerismo* (gun slinging) period characterized by violent clashes between CNT and *pistoleros* (gunmen) of the management sponsored *Sindicatos Libres* (Free Syndicates). The *faísta*'s preference for all-or-nothing revolutionist *acción directa* was heavily influenced by the aggressive and conflictive surroundings in which they developed as militants.[59] As such, the concept of youth in the anarchist movement was not so much tied to age, but to strategic and tactical preferences. The more radical the militant's orientation, the "younger" the militant was considered to be. Conversely, the more moderate the militant was in his tactical preferences, the "older" he appeared. In this manner, someone young in age could be "old" in ideological maturity while an adult could be "young" in conviction.

During the Second Republic, the radical *faísta* factions used the issue of age to undermine the strong influence of *treintistas* within the CNT and to implant their revolutionist tactics. At a national congress held in Madrid in 1931, Durruti and García Oliver openly accused the "old" *treintistas* of political collaborationism with leftist Republicans and Socialists, something equivalent to ideological blasphemy within the apolitical CNT. Under the mounting pressure, Peiró resigned from his post as editor in chief of the CNT's main newspaper,

Solidaridad Obrera, and Pestaña left the union's National Committee. They were replaced by "young" *faístas* in tune with Durruti and García Oliver. By early 1932, the CNT was split in two as local syndicates that opposed the radical takeover were either expelled from the union or left on their own in protest to create the more moderate *Sindicatos de Oposición* (Opposition Syndicates). The *faístas* steered the syndicate back onto a more "revolutionary" path over the following two years, inciting three separate revolutionary insurrections known as the *tres ochos* (three eights).[60]

As with the definition of "youth" described earlier, the debate over the meaning of adulthood also constituted a reinterpretation of ideological disagreements through the age prism. The *juventudes* organizations became center stage for these discussions. While pragmatist *treintistas* tended to zero in on labor production as a defining marker for the entry into adulthood, more ideologically strict revolutionary *faístas* leaned toward doctrinal maturity as a sign of becoming an adult. The *treintista* interpretation equated entry into adulthood with entrance into the workforce. The moderate anarcho-syndicalists envisioned individuals reaching the higher level of cognition and responsibility of adulthood by becoming "producers" in society.[61] Whether manual or intellectual, labor enabled individuals to care for their families and contribute to the well-being of society. The workplace also functioned as a window into the harsh realities and corruption of the capitalist system and bourgeois society. It was in the factories and rural estates that workers could experience firsthand the injustices of the capitalist system.[62] Following this argumentative thread further, *treintistas* considered producers the driving force of the social revolution, both as leaders of the popular overthrow of capitalism and, subsequently, as educators of the new libertarian revolutionary society. Not only would they supply society with needed food and products, the structured environment of the workplace would remind workers of moral codes and encourage their responsible fulfillment. On the other hand, the *faísta* perspective of adulthood developed from conceptions about anarchism's ideological particularity. Anarchist youth were understood to become adults after reaching a certain level of ideological maturity. For revolutionist radicals, this meant recognizing capitalism as a severely corrupted social and economic system that necessitated immediate eradication. Revolutionary action, they argued, was the only logical path to follow once this level of emancipation had been reached. Becoming an adult meant becoming a revolutionary.

Because the anarchist *juventudes* were not created until the start of the Second Republic, the older generations of the movement imposed this debate from above. The forced clandestinity of the CNT during the Primo de Rivera

dictatorship in effect froze the movement's ideological and organizational development for seven precious years during which Spanish society evolved significantly. It created a generational gap between militants who had joined the anarchist movement before 1923 and those that joined the anarchist movement after the proclamation of the Second Republic in 1931. This explains, in part, the uncommonly older age of some militants in the *juventudes* during the Republican period. It also helps to understand that the debates of the early 1920s still dominated the discourse of anarchist youth groups a decade later. The fact that the older militancy continued to dominate the CNT and FAI during the Second Republic period ensured that the ideological discourse and internal debates that characterized the anarchist movement, including the definition of youth, were ideas that had not changed since 1923. It might also suggest a reason why, ideological considerations aside, the heavily influential Catalan FAI regional remained resolutely opposed to the unification of all *juventudes libertarias* under the FIJL, preferring instead that the JLC continue under its direct control as a "propaganda and culture" subsection.

Perhaps most significantly, the continued influence of older youth in the *juventudes* during the 1930s obscured the emergence of a new conception of youth among younger *juventudes* militants who had not experienced the predictatorship conflicts of the *pistolerismo* period that had so deeply marked the older militancy. These younger *juventudes* were for the most part forced to abide by the policies imposed by the well-established older militancy. However, the truly young anarchist *juventudes* of the Second Republic were not always in agreement with the definitions of youth and adulthood imposed from above. They sought, instead, to establish a new space and function for themselves within the anarchist movement. As the Republican period progressed, their voice started to surface, changing the discourse and even the raison d'être of the *juventudes*, pulling them out from the shadow of the FAI and CNT.

Jacinto Toryho, one of the most vocal of these younger militants, used his position as contributor to *Solidaridad Obrera*, the official CNT daily newspaper, to argue in favor of reinterpreting the most basic definitions of youth within the anarchist movement. In June 1933, Toryho called for "a 'new' youth that reflected the new times." For him, this "new" youth aimed to "purify" the anarchist ideal without necessarily "yelling day and night, hurrah for Libertarian Communism!"[63] He also branched out in new directions by underscoring the benefits of playing popular sports, including soccer, which had been staunchly rejected by purists for being "too bourgeois."[64] Because more and more young militants joined the *juventudes* in the 1930s and the "older" debates grew old, the new viewpoints of these younger militants began to dominate rhetorical

debates and affect organizational policy. The new agendas of the younger "youth" changed the direction and purpose of the organizational debates about engaging in violent actions, the collaboration with other youth organizations (which represented a strong divergence with FAI and CNT policies), and the eventual active participation in resisting the military coup and fighting the Civil War in 1936. This directional shift steered the anarchist *juventudes* toward a tactical path much more typical of other youth organizations in Spain, bringing the *juventudes* closer to mainstream politics than they had ever been before. As the notion of impending violent confrontation appeared on the horizon of Spanish politics in late 1935 and early 1936, the young anarchists believed their time to shine had come. It was, in the words of Jacinto Toryho, "the youth's time."[65] The events of the following year, especially the outbreak of war in July 1936, would offer the younger *juventudes* an opportunity to take center stage in the debate over the role of youth in the anarchist movement.

GROWING PAINS: SHIFTS IN FIJL POLICIES ON VIOLENCE, 1935–1936

In late 1935 and early 1936, the FIJL national committee worked hard to change the *juventudes'* tactical objectives in order to merge them with those of the CNT and FAI. In a communiqué distributed to regional FIJL federations in early January 1936, the national committee instructed regional federations to join the CNT and FAI in any future "revolutionary general strikes." In towns or areas without CNT and FAI representation, it was expected that the *juventudes* themselves would lead revolutionary efforts.[66] This about-face in tactical direction incited immediate denunciations from FIJL regional federations. In a letter addressed to the national committee, the Zaragoza federation protested the higher organ's "irresponsible behavior" and discredited its authority to make pronouncements that fell outside of the FIJL's stated objectives. In the words of the Zaragoza federation, "The FIJL is a revolutionary organization in that its tactical objectives are to create an anarchist conscience; but that as an organization should never engage in street fighting!" The participation of its members in revolutionary actions, Zaragoza reminded the national committee, should be decided individually. FIJL members had "the freedom to carry out their actions within the FAI or [its] defense groups, the organizations destined to carry out the revolution."[67]

The national committee responded by criticizing the Zaragoza regional for its outright disregard of the chain of command, insisting that their supposed "order" was not as the Zaragoza regional had characterized it, but rather was a set of tactical "instructions" made necessary by the "present political moment."[68]

The pamphlet, the committee argued, "was clearly not authoritarian" in tone, but, rather, reflective of the direction other regional federations had taken.[69] In early February 1936, Zaragoza's concerns were echoed at a plenary meeting of the FIJL's northern federation held in San Sebastian, which comprised *juventudes* groups from the whole of the northern Atlantic coast (Galicia to the Basque country). Specifically, the region's FIJL militants considered whether the FIJL could "take part in revolutionary acts," or whether it should "restrict itself to libertarian propaganda and enrollment." A heated exchange gave way to an agreement that the *juventudes* had to concentrate on "libertarian education." More specifically, all its efforts had to be "directed to creating conscious youth who will move into the *cuadros* (action groups), defense groups and FAI action groups." In the case a revolutionary situation presented itself, those within the FIJL who were "not connected to any action group" should let "their conscience dictate the path they follow, whether enrolled in the revolutionary groups that will emerge spontaneously or as auxiliaries to the Revolution." The pronouncement was followed by a stern rejection of any participation in war, based on the movement's antimilitaristic ideological origins. A decision was also reached to keep the FIJL from establishing alliances with other youth organizations.[70]

On the issue of political participation in the upcoming national elections, the FIJL federation maintained its traditional position of strict abstentionism, accusing all political parties of "intoxicating" the electorate with "lies" and vowing to notch up their antipolitical propaganda efforts.[71] This stance ran counter to the position taken by the CNT and even the radical FAI to support—directly or indirectly—the leftist Popular Front coalition in order to oust the center-rightist coalition installed in government since 1933.[72] Although off the record the FIJL membership was encouraged to vote for the leftist Popular Front coalition as a means of obtaining amnesty for anarchists imprisoned after the October 1934 insurrection, the FIJL went further than any other anarchist or anarcho-syndicalist organ in denouncing electoral participation. This strict doctrinal interpretation had negative consequences, however. The meeting ended with the reading of a note forwarded by the Santander local accusing the FIJL of being "somewhat bureaucratic" and announcing that it was leaving to join the FAI.[73]

It was becoming clear the FIJL had become divided between those factions set on revising the FIJL's modus operandi in order to place it on the same level of revolutionary engagement as the larger and more influential CNT and FAI and those resolute in their defense of the FIJL's founding ideological principles. As the most visible representative of the revisionist trend, the FIJL national committee justified its tactical turn as a reaction to the practical necessities of an increasingly combative political climate. In the eyes of the national committee,

the threat of a "coup d'état or military mobilization" obliged the *juventudes* to reconsider their repudiation of violent action. The unification of tactical criteria with the parent anarchist organizations (the CNT and FAI) would lead to the "growth of our movement in the face of the reigning confusion and the implantation of . . . libertarian communism."[74]

The FIJL national committee's intention to add violent revolutionary action to its tactical repertoire encountered strong opposition from the FAI. The belief that violent conflict, considered a capitalist malaise, could corrupt the purity of the youth's "anarchist soul" continued to concern FAI militants. However, the FAI's reticence was not so much ideological as it was pragmatic. The recognition of the FIJL's right to engage in violent actions would have granted the FIJL equal standing with the FAI as a revolutionary organization, removing the main motivation for youth to leave the FIJL and join the FAI.

In early 1936, attempts were made to ameliorate relations between the FIJL and the FAI. The FIJL national committee was allowed to address the representatives of FAI regional federations at a national congress held in Madrid January 31 through February 1, 1936. The concerns of the FIJL were twofold. First, the FIJL committee requested the aid of FAI congress attendees in easing the tensions between local FAI and *juventudes* groups. Friction between the two, the committee representatives conveyed, not only weakened the anarchist struggle, but tended "to demoralize the young members of the FIJL that do not yet have strong conviction in their ideas."[75] Secondarily, the FIJL committee asked that local FIJL groups be allowed to step out from the shadow of the FAI and operate independently. The most egregious FAI encroachment denounced by the FIJL was the direct poaching of FIJL members to pack local FAI groups, a tactic that, in the words of the FIJL committee was "in detriment of the anarchist movement, and would demoralize the rest of youth groups with its internal disputes and disparate criteria." These tactics, the FIJL committee continued, were especially damaging in view of the present "moment, [which] is quite another," referencing the increased rapprochement of opposing factions within the anarcho-syndicalist movement in early 1936.[76]

The FIJL made a final appeal to the congress attendees, requesting that they specifically ask the Barcelona FAI groups to persuade the city's FAI-dominated JLC groups to desist in their fractious attitude and join the national FIJL. The FAI representatives present at the congress received the FIJL's requests with relative indifference. After a drawn-out debate over existing relationships between FAI and FIJL groups in different regions, the only action on which the *faístas* could concur was informing their respective constituencies of the FIJL's concerns. It was agreed that decisions regarding the association of FAI

and FIJL groups would remain in the hands of local federations—in effect, no change at all.[77]

The experience of the *juventudes* paralleled in many ways the path followed by another peripheral group within the anarchist movement, the *Mujeres Libres* (Free Women). Founded in May 1936 with the stated aim of empowering and liberating women in Spain, the *Mujeres Libres* came to mobilize over twenty thousand women during the Civil War.[78] Much as the *juventudes*, the *Mujeres Libres* aimed to give voice and influence to a marginalized group within the anarchist movement. Ideologically, the women's groups were closely tied to the concepts of individuality and equality akin to the anarchist movement.[79] Like the *juventudes*, they undertook education and propaganda functions with their *capacitación* (preparation) and *captación* (incorporation) programs. However, their educational campaigns were substantively geared toward women, speaking out against the exploitation of women in arenas ranging from homemaking to prostitution.[80]

Like the *juventudes*, the *Mujeres Libres* struggled to gain recognition from the "parent" organizations of the anarchist movement. Unlike the *juventudes*, however, their requests to be recognized at CNT congresses as a separate organization were never accepted, even though they too would contribute to fighting the war and had played a role in the revolutionary transformation of society. The ingrained sexism of their male CNT and FAI counterparts proved too entrenched.[81] The *juventudes*, on the other hand, enjoyed a privileged conceptual position as future leaders of the revolution. Whereas there existed a clear physical delimitation between *Mujeres Libres* and their male counterparts, in the case of the *juventudes* the generational boundaries were more blurred. This grayness allowed the *juventudes* to integrate into the anarchist movement more easily, but it also contributed to the slower evolution of the *juventudes* and ensured the *juventudes* remained much longer under the influence of the older generations within the anarchist movement, with their established ideas and aims.

THE *JUVENTUDES LIBERTARIAS* AND THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

The FIJL remained alienated from the FAI and other anarchist organizations until July 1936, when the outbreak of the Civil War radically changed the situation. The active participation of anarchist *juventudes* in the fighting that followed the rightist coup pushed aside previous characterizations of anarchist youth, placing them front and center in the practical reality of the fight against "fascism" and the implantation of the social revolution. The FIJL and the JLC finally united in November 1936, motivated by the growing need to better coordinate the war effort against Nationalist forces. The FIJL also effected an

about-face in its attitudes towards other leftist youth organizations. Forgetting its staunch opposition to collaborating with socialists and communists, the FIJL was the only anarchist organization to officially join a leftist coalition organization when it united with socialist youth groups to create the *Frente de la Juventud Revolucionaria* (Youth Revolutionary Front) in November 1936.[82] Rather than draw criticism, the move was commended by the FAI and CNT. *Solidaridad Obrera* extolled,

> And the youth? Their blood . . . boiling in the red arteries of their revolutionary song modeled the great fraternity of youth. In those critical moments, nobody spoke of "unity" or "alliance" of youth. The unity in the fight was created in each barricade, where youth died for the color of their ideals, whether tricolor, red or red and black. The youth alliance was born spontaneously in the weapons factories amidst the hammering . . . wherever the rhythm of work imposed on the revolutionary youth the need to unite.[83]

The new respect granted to the *juventudes* translated into the concession of separate recognition for the FIJL and JLC at CNT and FAI congresses. The *juventudes* had been denied autonomous status at organizational meetings before the Civil War. The youth militants who attended pre-Civil War meetings were forced to do so as members of the CNT or FAI, not the FIJL or JLC. After the start of the war the *juventudes*' active contribution to the fighting, it was argued, justified their attendance at congresses under their own banner.[84] Even so, the conception of youth and its role within the anarchist movement did not evolve significantly during the Civil War. The practical demands of fighting gave the *juventudes* a greater level of respect and recognition from the CNT and FAI. The *juventudes* became in many ways the image of the revolution and the fight against "fascism." However, the recognition was not as much substantive as it was symbolic. After the initial weeks of fighting, as the CNT hierarchy established increased control over the militias that had been spontaneously organized in the first days of the war, the militia members of the FIJL and JLC were encouraged to concentrate once again on educational efforts behind the front lines.[85]

The fear remained with many CNT and FAI militants that allowing the anarchist youth to engage in violent confrontation would poison the anarchist ideological well, which would by extension ensure the failure of the revolution. Mature "adult" activists were considered more secure in their ideological determination and commitment to the revolutionary cause. Their exposure to the corrupt bourgeois world undermined their ideological purity, but it also better prepared them to combat and destroy the capitalist system. The envisioned revolutionary process placed "adult" militants at the front lines, sacrificing

their lives to ensure the defeat of capitalism, while anarchist "youth" followed behind to create the new society out of the ashes of the old. The loss of "old" militants during the fighting was acceptable if it ensured that "young" activists could undertake their educational duties without having been exposed to and contaminated by capitalist culture.

This reading of the role of youth in the revolutionary process reflected a continued devotion to heavily romanticized notions of youthful purity (or the ability to reach such purity) that were impossible to fulfill. They were the consequence of overly dogmatic interpretations of the social and political reality of Spain borne by the most rhetorically strict anarchist militancy, whether young or old, who, nevertheless, were intent on imposing their interpretations and, therefore, control on the anarchist movement. That in 1936 the practical necessities of fighting a war instantly changed the *juventudes*' entrenched principles on violence reveals a certain ideological naiveté within the anarchist movement, one for which anarchists were heavily criticized during the Civil War and thereafter, and which contributed, at least in part, to the ultimate Republican defeat in 1939. To this day, both political and scholarly interpretations of the Civil War tie the failure of the anarchist revolutionary effort after July 1936 to a "juvenile" understanding of the practical necessities fighting the Civil War presented. However, the stress on education and the idealization of the movement's youth also showed an uncompromising dedication to the "psychological" success of the social revolution, beyond the simply material, which was quite unique among political groups in 1930s Spain. Without it, the anarchists could not conceive of a revolution and, by extension, could not envision fighting during the Civil War.

NOTES

1. The first Spanish youth organizations can be traced to the late nineteenth century, but it was not until the 1920s and the 1930s, with the emergence of democratic political participation during the Second Republic (1931–1936), that organizations founded specifically to defend and serve the needs of youth became commonplace in Spain. Eduardo González Calleja and Sandra Souto Kustrín, "Juventud y política en España: orientación bibliográfica," *Ayer* 59, no. 3 (2005): 283–91.

2. Most of these organizations grew out of the flourishing political parties of the Second Republic, although some emerged independently. Their political platforms, largely influenced by their parent parties' ideological orientations, nevertheless presented new concerns and objectives that both reflected and vindicated an increased presence of youth in Spanish national politics.

3. See Eduardo González Calleja and Sandra Souto Kustrín, "De la Dictadura a la República: orígenes y auge de los movimientos juveniles en España," *Hispania* 67, no. 225 (2007): 73–79; Brian D. Bunk, "'A Shape Note of Pugnacity': Conservative Youth Groups in Spain,

1914–1939," in *Nation and Conflict in Spain,* eds. Brian Bunk et al. (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Parallel Press, 2008), 15–18; and Sandra Souto Kustrín, "Taking the Street: Workers, Youth Organizations, and Political Conflict in the Spanish Second Republic," *European History Quarterly* 34, no. 2 (2004): 131–42.

4. The number of casualties is disputed; estimates generally suggest that between five hundred thousand and one million people were killed. Over the years, historians kept lowering the death figures, and modern research concludes that five hundred thousand deaths is the correct figure. Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War* (New York: Modern Library, 2001), xviii and 899–901.

5. Franz Brokenau, *The Spanish Cockpit: An Eye-Witness Account of the Political and Social Conflicts of the Spanish Civil War* (London: Faber and Faber, 1937), 15–35; George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1938), 25–44.

6. Stanley Payne, *The Spanish Revolution* (New York: Norton, 1970); Chris Ealham, *Class, Culture and Conflict in Barcelona, 1898–1937* (London: Routledge, 2005).

7. Helen Graham, *The Spanish Republic at War, 1936–1939* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 55–62; Burnett Bolloten, *The Spanish Civil War: Revolution and Counterrevolution* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 124–34.

8. "¡Paso a la juventud!" *Tierra y Libertad*, August 1936.

9. "Actas del pleno regional de juventudes libertarias del norte," 8 and 9 February 1936, 1–3, PS Barcelona 1395, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección Guerra Civil. Hereafter AHN-SGC.

10. FIJL, Comité Peninsular, *Memorias del Congreso Constitutivo de la Federación Ibérica de Juventudes Libertarias, celebrado en Madrid los días 22, 23 y 24 de junio de 1932* (Barcelona: FIJL, 1938).

11. CNT, *El Congreso Confederal de Zaragoza, 1936* (Toulouse: CNT, 1955), 135–45.

12. FAI, *Memoria del Pleno Peninsular celebrado el día 30 de enero de 1936* (Barcelona: Gráfica Rey, 1936), 30–32.

13. The aversion anarchists exhibited for the authoritarian character of the Bolshevik regime cannot be understated. The success of the Russian Revolution (1918) had been received with mixed feelings by Spanish anarchists, who were both delighted to see the collapse of capitalism in Russia and appalled by the establishment of a dictatorial communist regime. The loathing for communist authoritarianism was such that the anarcho-syndicalist CNT broke all ties with the Bolshevik regime and expelled any members who associated with communist organizations. Prominent CNT leaders Andres Nín and Joaquin Maurín (who held positions in the national committee) were forced to leave the organization for their support of joining the Soviet Profintern in 1921. They went on to found the Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (Marxist Unification Workers' Party, or POUM). Gerald Meaker, *The Revolutionary Left in Spain, 1914–1923* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974), 101–11, 382–92, 420–23.

14. The FJS age limit was set at thirty-five, though it was recommended that members move into the adult socialist organizations by age twenty-three. Most other leftist youth organizations had limits no higher than thirty years old. Juan Avilés Farré, *La izquierda burguesa en la Segunda República* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1985), 340–43; Federación Nacional de las Juventudes Socialistas, *Estatutos de las Juventudes Socialistas* (Madrid: 1932), 8–9; Jesús

López Santamaría, "Juventudes Libertarias y guerra civil (1936–1939)," *Studia Histórica: Época contemporánea* 1 (1983): 215–21.

15. For early youth mobilizations in Spanish universities, see Paloma Rupérez, *La cuestión universitaria y la noche de San Daniel* (Madrid: Cuadernos Para el Diálogo, 1975) and Eduardo Calleja González, "Rebelión en las aulas: un siglo de movilizaciones estudiantiles (1865–1969)," *Ayer* 59, no. 3 (2005).

16. Joan Culla y Clarà, *El republicanismo lerrouxista a Catalunya (1901–1923)* (Barcelona: Curial, 1986), 141–50.

17. Julio Aróstegui, "La tradición militar del carlismo y el origen del *Requeté*," *Aportes* 8, no. 6 (1988): 10–18 and Colin Winston, *Workers and the Right in Spain, 1900–1936* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 76–84.

18. Francisco De Luis Martín, "Las Juventudes Socialistas como frente cultural pedagógico del socialismo español: el caso madrileño, 1903–1914," in *Cincuenta años de cultura obrera en España, 1890–1940*, ed. Francisco De Luis Martín (Madrid: Editorial Pablo Iglesias, 1994), 263–80.

19. Antonio González Quintana, "La primera organización de jóvenes proletarios españoles: las Juventudes Socialistas de España o el fracaso de una alternativa juvenil de clase (1903–1921)," *Studia Historica. Historia Contemporánea* 5, no. 4 (1987): 35–42.

20. Luis Arranz Notario, "Los *cien niños* y la formación del PCE," *Para una historia del PCE. Conferencias en la F.I.M.* (Madrid: Fundación Investigaciones Marxistas, 1980).

21. Eduardo González Calleja, "Paramilitarització i violència política a l'Espanya del primer terç de segle: el requetè tradicionalista (1900–1936)," *Revista de Girona* 147 (1999): 69–76.

22. José Gutierrez-Ravé, *Yo fuí un joven maurista* (Madrid: Libros y Revistas, 1950).

23. Eduardo González Calleja and Sandra Souto Kustrín, "De la dictadura a la República: Orígenes y auge de los movimientos juveniles en España," *Hispania* 68, no. 225 (2007): 87–90.

24. Bunk, "A Shape Note of Pugnacity," 21–24. See also Stanley Payne, *Fascism in Spain, 1923–1977* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000).

25. Federación de Juventudes Socialistas de España, *Memoria del V Congreso* (Madrid: Gráfica Socialista, 1934), 64–67.

26. Ángeles Barrio Alonso, *Anarquismo y anarcosindicalismo en Asturias, 1890–1936* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1988), 234–55.

27. Bunk, "A Shape Note of Pugnacity," 16–17. See also Sandra Souto Kustrín, "Taking the Street," 133–35.

28. Susanna Tavera, "Escola de rebel·lia. La joventut i l'anarco-sindicalisme," in *La joventut a Catalunya al segle XX. Materials per a una Història,* ed. Enric Ucelay da Cal (Barcelona: Diputació de Barcelona, 1987), 143–47. For a broader treatment of population growth in Spain, see Jordi Nadal, *La población española: siglos XVI a XX* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1984).

29. CNT, *Memoria del Congreso celebrado en el Teatro de la Comedia de Madrid los días 10 al 18 de diciembre de 1919* (Barcelona: Tipográfica Cosmos, 1931), 14–33.

30. Anna Monjo, *Militants. Democrácia i participació a la CNT als anys trenta* (Barcelona: Editorial Laertes, 2003), 23–35.

31. The movement's greatest strength resided in its ability to adapt to changing social and political situations. Its success did not depend on its theoretical coherence as much as on its credibility and potential for mobilizing the Spanish worker. Xavier Paniagua, "Una pregunta y varias respuestas. El anarquismo español: desde la política a la historiografía," *Historia Social* 12 (1992): 50. See also Antonio María Calero, *Movimientos sociales en Andalucía (1820–1936)* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1976).

32. Julián Casanova, *De la calle al frente. El anarcosindicalismo en España (1931–1939)* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1997), 22–25.

33. Benjamin Martin, *The Agony of Modernization: Labor and Industrialization in Spain* (Ithaca, NY: ILR Press, 1990).

34. Comité Peninsular de la FAI, *Memoria del Pleno Nacional de Regionales de la FAI* (Barcelona: FAI, 1933).

35. FIJL, Comité Peninsular, *Memorias del Congreso Constitutivo de la Federación Ibérica de Juventudes Libertarias, celebrado en Madrid los días 22, 23 y 24 de junio de 1932* (Barcelona: FIJL, 1938). See also, Jesús López Santamaría, "Formació i evolució de les Joventuts Llibertàries," *L'Avenç* 75 (1984): 25–30.

36. José Peirats, *Los Anarquistas en la crisis política española* (Buenos Aires: Alfa, 1964), 302–10.

37. José López Santamaría, "Les joventuts llibertàries durant la guerra civil," in *La joventut a Catalunya al segle XX. Materials per a una Història* vol. I, ed. Enric Ucelay da Cal (Barcelona: Diputació de Barcelona, 1987), 157.

38. "Lamentable es encontrar una juventud ignorante; ahora, sí, vemos que entre esa juventud hay individuos deseosos en saber y aprender, porque sufren y, por lo tanto, anhelan más libertad moral y material . . . Se ha de tener en cuenta que no es bastante el gritar a la revolución, sino que es necesitan revolucionarios conscientes e inteligentes para la construcción del nuevo edificio; porque si es difícil derrumbar el estado social actual, es más difícil todavía construir." "!Cutura!!Cultura!" *Tierra y Libertad*, 6 August 1931.

39. Anastasio Ovejero Bernal, "Anarquismo español y educación," *Athenea Digital* 8 (2005): 145–58.

40. In Bakunin's mind, the injustices of capitalist society were self-evident, especially to those negatively affected by them. Educating the masses in the ways of anarchism, he argued, could only occur after a spontaneous revolution had demolished the established political and social structures. Peter Kropotkin, whose anarcho-communist variant of anarchism diverged from Bakunin's anarcho-collectivism, nevertheless followed Bakunin's lead when it came to education, assigning it a postrevolutionary role in social transformation. For more on Bakunin and Kropotkin, see Michael Bakunin, *God and the State* (New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1916) and Marshall Shatz, ed., *Kropotkin. The Conquest of Bread and Other Writings* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

41. Pere Solà i Gussinyer, *Educació I movement llibertari a Catalunya (1901–1939)* (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1980), 11–15.

42. See Francisco Ferrer, *The Origins and Ideas of the Modern School* (London: Watts & Co., 1913) and Judith Suissa, *Anarchism and Education: A Philosophical Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 78–82.

43. Antistatism, in fact, was the one unifying factor in an anarchist movement made up of a multitude of ideological factions. Jóse Álvarez Junco, *La ideologia política del anarquismo español, 1868–1910* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1991), 456–63, 505–10.

44. For more on the *Semana Trágica*, see Joan Connelly Ullman, *The Tragic Week: A Study of Anticlericalism in Spain, 1875–1912* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968). For the government's prosecution of Ferrer, see Francisco Bergasa, *Quién mató a Ferrer i Guardia?* (Madrid: Aguilar, 2009).

45. Juan Gomez Casas, *Historia del anarcosindicalismo español* (Madrid: Zyx, 1969), 25–38.

46. José Álvarez Junco, *Ideología*, 125–34.

47. CNT, *Memoria del Congreso celebrado en el Teatro de la Comedia de Madrid los días 10 al 18 de diciembre de 1919* (Barcelona: Tipográfica Cosmos, 1931), 330–39.

48. Solà i Gussinyer , *Educació*, 166–70.

49. "Nuestra juventud," *Solidaridad Obrera*, 29 August 1934. See also Pere Solà i Gussinyer, *Educació*, 14–32.

50. José Álvarez Junco, *Ideología*, 510–18.

51. Quoted in Solà i Gussinyer, *Educació*, 166–68.

52. José Peirats, *La CNT en la revolución española* (vol. 2) (Paris: Ruedo Ibérico, 1971), 88–90.

53. The *treintistas* received their name because of the original thirty signatories to a reformist CNT manifesto published in the organizational newspaper *Solidaridad Obrera* in August 1931. The term *faísta* was used to refer to the radical, typically revolutionist elements within the CNT. They were closely identified with the FAI, though in truth very few *faístas* were actually members of the FAI. John Brademas, *Anarcosindicalismo y revolución en España, 1930–1937* (Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 1974), 76–77, 91–92, 117–21; Eulalia Vega, *Anarquistas y sindicalistas 1931–1936. La CNT y los Sindicatos de Oposición en el País Valenciano* (Valencia: Alfons el Magnànim, 1987), 225–26; Fidel Miró, *Cataluña, los trabajadores y el problema de las nacionalidades (La solución federal)* (Mexico City: Editores mexicano unidos, 1967), 48–53.

54. Jacinto Toryho, *No eramos tan malos (Memórias de la Guerra Civil, 1936–1939)* (Madrid: G. del Toro, 1975), 25–45; Juan García Oliver, *El eco de los pasos* (Barcelona: Ruedo Ibérico, 1978), 372–84.

55. Oliver, *El eco*, 650; Ricardo Sanz, *El Sindicalismo y la Política. Los "Solidarios" y "Nosotros"* (Toulouse: Dulaurier, 1966), 97.

56. García Oliver, *El eco*, 623–28.

57. Enric Gracia, interview with author, 10 July 1999.

58. See appendix no. 4 in Eulalia Vega, *El Treintisme a Catalunya. Divergències ideològiques en la CNT (1930–1933)* (Barcelona: Curial, 1980), 255–60.

59. Tavera, "Escola de rebel·lia," 142–45.

60. Confederación Regional del Trabajo de Cataluña, *Actas del pleno regional de sindicatos convocado para los días 24, 25, 265, 27, 28, 29, y 30 de Abril de 1932 en Sabadell* (Barcelona: CRTC, 1932), ii-vii, PS Barcelona 932, AHN-SGC.

61. "Dictamen sobre el concepto del comunismo libertario," 3 May 1936, PS Gijón 22 J3, AHN-SGC.

62. "Dictamen para la defensa de la revolución," 4 May 1936, PS Barcelona 507, AHN-SGC.

63. "Deporte y Juventud," *Solidaridad Obrera*, 30 June 1933.

64. "Deporte y Juventud," *Solidaridad Obrera*, 30 June 1933.

65. "La hora de las juventudes," *Solidaridad Obrera*, 14 May 1933.

66. Letter to the national committee of the FIJL from the Zaragoza regional federation, 18 January 1936, PS Barcelona 1395, AHN-SGC.

67. Letter to the national committee of the FIJL from the Zaragoza regional federation, 18 January 1936, PS Barcelona 1395, AHN-SGC.

68. Letter to the Zaragoza regional federation from the FIJL national committee, 23 January 1936, PS Barcelona 1395, AHN-SGC.

69. It is difficult to confirm the national committee's claim that its directive represented the stance of the majority of FIJL regional federations. The archival record is lacking in this regard. However, what is certain is that the national committee's confusing semantic justification for its revolutionary directive did little to assuage the concerns of the most purist FIJL federations.

70. All quotes from "Actas del pleno regional de juventudes libertarias del norte," 8 and 9 February 1936, 1–3, PS Barcelona 1395, AHN-SGC.

71. "Actas del pleno regional de juventudes libertarias del norte," 8 and 9 February 1936, 2, PS Barcelona 1395, AHN-SGC.

72. For the CNT and FAI position leading up to the February 1936 elections, see CNT, *Actas del pleno nacional de regionales. Enero 1936* (Madrid: Gráficas Aurora, 1936), 15–18 and FAI, *Memoria del Pleno Peninsular celebrado el día 30 de enero de 1936* (Barcelona: Gráfica Rey, 1936), 19–20 and 25–27.

73. "Actas del pleno regional de juventudes libertarias del norte," 8 and 9 February 1936, 5, PS Barcelona 1395, AHN-SGC.

74. Letter to the Zaragoza regional federation from the FIJL national committee, 23 January 1936, PS Barcelona 1395, AHN-SGC.

75. FAI, *Memoria del Pleno Peninsular Celebrado el día 30 de enero de 1936* (Barcelona: Gráfica Rey, 1936), 30–31.

76. FAI, *Memoria del Pleno Peninsular Celebrado el día 30 de enero de 1936* (Barcelona: Gráfica Rey, 1936), 31.

77. FAI, *Memoria del Pleno Peninsular Celebrado el día 30 de enero de 1936* (Barcelona: Gráfica Rey, 1936), 31.

78. Although female anarchist militants had for years called for the equal treatment of women within both the CNT and FAI, the publication of the anarchist affinity journal *Mujeres Libres* on 20 May 1936 marked the foundation of a separate women's affinity group within the larger anarchist movement. The *Mujeres Libres* would finally become an official organization in 1937 in the midst of the Civil War. Mary Nash, *Defying Male Civilization: Women in the Spanish Civil War* (Denver, CO: Arden Press, 1995), 104–8.

79. Mary Nash, *"Mujeres Libres" España, 1936–1939* (Barcelona: Tusquets, 1976), 10–11.

80. The *Mujeres Libres* rejected the authoritarian structures of power, not only in the form of state governments, but also within the anarchist movement. They strongly denounced the subordination of women in the CNT and FAI. Though the anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist organizations were theoretically committed to women's equality in the workplace, in practice they rarely fulfilled their stated beliefs. The anarchist "men of action," so committed to social equality, were accused of dropping "their costumes as lovers of female liberation at the doors of their homes. Inside, they behave with their compañeras just like common 'husbands.'" Martha Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain* (Edinburg: AK Press, 2005), 147–52.

81. The expectation of the CNT and FAI hierarchy was that women would simply enroll in the already established anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist organizations. Ackelsberg, *Free Women*, 194–96.

82. Santamaría, "Les joventuts llibertàries durant la guerra civil," 158.

83. "Unidad juvenil revolucionaria," *Solidaridad Obrera*, 1 July 1937.

84. "Actas del Pleno Nacional de Regionales del Movimiento Libertario, CNT-FAI-FIJL, celebrado en Barcelona durante los días 16 y sucesivos del mes de octubre de 1938," PS Barcelona 1395, ANH-SGC.

85. Bolloten, *The Spanish Civil War*, 632–45.