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February 1946

The Hispanic American Historical Review, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Feb., 1946), pp. 38–59.

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but these plans were upset when the government declared a state of siege. At the second congress of the Regional Labor Federation of Brazil, at which were present fraternal delegates from Argentina and Uruguay, a resolution was adopted to establish an international committee whose job would be to collect statistics, issue a bulletin, and make preparations for a continental congress. It was not, however, until 1929 that such a congress was held in Buenos Aires. Thirteen countries were there represented, and the Workingmen's Association of the American Continent was founded.[68]

Contacts were also maintained by many groups in South America with the European anarchist movement. Both the Argentine F. O. R. A. and the Brazilian Regional Labor Federation were represented at the anarchist congress in London in 1913.[69] Representatives of the F. O. R. A. participated in the congress at Berlin in December, 1922, when the International Workingmen's Association was formed. The I. W. W. of Chile and the F. O. R. U. of Uruguay also sent delegates, but they arrived too late to take part in the debates. Uruguay and Argentina were represented at the meetings of the I. W. A. in 1923; and in March, 1925, when the I. W. A. held its second congress in Amsterdam, in addition to the delegates from the F. O. R. A. and the F. O. R. U., there was present a delegate from the Labor Federation of Rio Grande do Sul.[70]

At present, small anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist centers still exist in most South American countries. Their influence is, however, practically nil. Whatever hope for a rebirth there might once have existed among anarchists has been extinguished by their defeat in Spain, formerly the stronghold of anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism.

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[68] Santillán, *La F. O. R. A.*, pp. 300–302.

[69] B. Aladino, "La international de los trabajadores," in *Certamen international de La protesta*, p. 146.

[70] *Ibid*., pp. 153–157.

Argentina and Brazil, indicate that anarchist ideas were nevertheless current. Evidently, as long as the conservatives were in power in Colombia, even the least militant unions had little chance to grow. Between 1909 and 1930, only 107 unions were recognized as legal; and during the golden age of anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism in South America, between 1909 and 1921, there were only thirty-seven legally established unions.[66] Since a militant union was generally illegal, this was the fate of most anarchist-controlled organizations. Anarchists were to a large extent responsible for the demonstration in Bogotá on March 15, 1916, in which numerous workers were presumably killed and five hundred imprisoned. They were active also in the strike of the port workers of Cartagena in February, 1920.[67]

The dictatorship of Juan Vicente Gómez in Venezuela was hardly fertile ground for the growth of any sort of unions, and certainly not for those controlled by anarchists. However, in view of the activities of anarchists in other countries where dictators ruled, it is not unreasonable to suppose that anarcho-syndicalists played a part in organizing the unions that formed the Unión Obrera Venezolana in 1923.

III

From the beginning of their activity in America, the anarchist groups in the different countries were in contact with one another intermittently, through letters and the exchange of periodicals. Some organizations, notably the Argentine F. O. R. A., were interested in establishing more regular contacts through some sort of continental anarcho-syndicalist federation. In fact, the F. O. R. A. had made preparations to call a congress in 1910,

[66] Departamento de Justicia, *Reseña del movimiento sindical 1909–1937* (Bogotá, 1938).

[67] Confederación Sindical, *Almanaque revolucionario.*

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Spanish educator, Francisco Ferrer, who was executed by the Spanish government.[61]

In 1918 a trade-union federation existed in Bolivia in which the anarchists were active. By 1928 the local federation of La Paz was a member of the International Workingmen's Association, the anarcho-syndicalist international of Berlin.[62] On August 16, 1930, the anarcho-syndicalists of Oruro called a national trade-union congress, which the communists, as they themselves admit, tried to disrupt by convoking a rival one.[63]

Anarchists led the important struggles of the workers of Ecuador until 1926.[64] On September 1, 1919, occurred the first important strike in Quito, organized by the anarchist-controlled printers union. This strike, in which six hundred workers participated, lasted twenty-six days. In Guayaquil the "Centro de Estudios Sociales," organized in 1919, served to prepare the ground for the general strike of 1922. Thirty thousand workers were involved in the strike, and the entire economy of the city was brought to a standstill. Bloodshed resulted on November 15, when the police fired upon the strikers. The general strike was organized and led by the Regional Federation of the Workers of Guayas.[65]

According to government sources, not a single trade-union existed in Colombia before 1910. Letters from correspondents, which appeared occasionally in the anarchist press of

[61] Other anarchist publications were *La rebelión* (1908) and *La tribuna* (1909) (*Certame internacional de La protesta*, p. 25).

[62] International Federation of Trade Unions, *Sixth Year Book*, p. 228.

[63] Confederación Sindical, *Almanaque revolucionario* (Montevideo, 1932).

[64] Luis Maldonado Estrada, *Bases del partido socialista ecuatoriano* (Quito, 1938), p. 42

[65] J. E. C.., "El movimiento obrero en el Ecuador," El trabajador latinoamericano, Año I, No. 9 (January 15, 1929), 4–5. A more detailed description is to be found in the study of Primitivo Barreto, "Apuntes hist6ricos del movimiento obrero y campesino en el Ecuador," pp. 2–4 (typewritten MS in writer's possession).

class as well as bourgeois, for "these fight for the conquest of political power to satisfy class dominance and personal ambitions." The federation was interested in gaining "by means of collective action all possible improvements-within the existing order and to reduce the repressive political and juridic organs of the bourgeois state to mere administrative functions." Only then would it be possible for society to be governed by the economic theory that "all shall work and produce according to their ability and consume according to their needs."[58]

The Regional Federation's efforts to become a real national organization were not crowned with much success. There were few unions outside the immediate vicinity of Lima and fewer local federations. Nevertheless, the federation's role in Lima was not entirely without significance. Among its greatest accomplishments was its resistance in 1923 to President Legula's attempt to violate the constitutional provision of freedom of worship by consecrating Peru to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. In 1927 the anarchists made plans to expand the federation, but their plans were frustrated by the communists. Towards the end of that year the organization disappeared entirely as a result of governmental persecution.[59]

The anarchists even tried to organize the indigenous population of Peru. In 1923 they started the Regional Indian Workers' Federation, but this organization fell apart when the government exiled two of its leaders and persecuted the others.[60]

In Paraguay, the anarchist-controlled Regional Federation of Labor published as early as 1906 *El despertar* in Asunción. In October, 1919, appeared a special edition in honor of the

[58] *Ibid*., p. 70.

[59] *Ibid*. (June, 1929), p. 89.

[60] José C. Mariátegui, *El problema indigena. Bajo la bandera de la C. S. L. A.* (Montevideo, 1929), pp. 154–156.

By 1850 the wars which had come to the newly emancipated countries of South America were for the most part over. With peace came the possibility of economic development. Railroads were built; harbors were improved; other public works were begun, largely with the help of foreign capital and immigrant labor. Immigrants began coming to South America in greater numbers after the Franco-Prussian War and the defeat of the Paris Commune.

Immigration brought new workers, new skills, and a new ferment. It was a natural consequence of this immigration that anarchism should be the first ideological development of the working-class movement in the South American countries. Anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism have had their greatest influence in Spain and in Italy, the countries which contributed the greatest number of immigrants to South America. Many of the immigrants had been exposed to the new political and philosophical ideas, and some of them had participated in their homelands in the struggles which these ideas had brought. Others had, in fact, been forced to migrate to the New World because of their participation in radical movements. These new immigrants were the prime movers in the anarcho-syndicalist agitations that assumed considerable proportions, especially in Argentina, during the first two decades of the twentieth century.

The political life of the Latin-American nations was another factor in the influence which anarchism exerted. Fraud, violence, and control by landed oligarchs were the rule in South America. Many workers, accordingly, came to believe that direct rather then political action was the only way to improve their status. Moreover, violence in industrial relations has generally characterized countries of incipient capitalism. It has especially been true, as was the case in Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay, where the workers have been newly arrived immigrants and their employers natives or foreign imperialists.

I

In Argentina anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism had their greatest South American development. In militancy and in influence the Argentine movement compared favorably with that of Spain and Italy. As early as 1874, there existed in Argentina a number of sections of the International Workingmen's Association founded by Karl Marx and Mikhail Bakunin. By 1879, the anarchists were definitely in control of these sections. The real florescence of the anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist movement, however, came after 1890, although the ground for it was laid in the 1880's by the presence of anarchists of the stature of Enrico Malatesta and Héctor Mattei. Malatesta remained in Argentina only four years and then returned to Europe. In the brief period he was in Argentina he lent strength and influence to the incipient anarchist movement, in which two types of tactics, stemming from different sources, were being debated. There were anarchists who had been influenced by Stirner more than by Bakunin or Prince Peter Kropotkin and who, therefore, insisted upon individual action rather than collective organization. Mattei and Malatesta threw their influence behind collective action and helped to organize a number of labor unions.[1]

Although the anarchists of South America never neglected education and every form of propaganda, their main activity during the first two decades of the twentieth century was in the trade-union field. *El perseguido*, the anarchist organ founded in 1890, advocated collective action. A still more effective pleader for such a course was *La protesta humana*, which appeared in Buenos Aires in 1897.[2] The forces working for collective action

[1] Diego A. de Santillin, *El movimiento anarquista en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1930), pp. 34–38.

[2] Policía de la Capital Federal, División "Orden Público," Sección Social, *Memoria e informe sobre nuestras cuestiones obreras y sectarian* (Buenos Aires,

living revolutionary leader, Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre, first became interested in the workers' movement.

The greatest activity of the anarcho-syndicalists in Peru came immediately after the first World War. In 1918 they led the strikes and the agitation for the eight-hour day. In May, 1919, under the leadership of the anarchists Barba, Gutarra, and Fonken, a strike against "hunger" was begun which was felt in all Peru. An increase in the cost of living of more than 100 per cent and the failure of wages even remotely to keep pace were the reasons for the strike. On April 13, 1919, the Committee to Reduce the Cost of Living, consisting of representatives of the important unions in Lima, met and drew up a list of demands. These included (1) lower prices on necessities; (2) lower rates on the railroads and streetcars; (3) abolition of tithes; (4) the prohibition of the export of food as long as the crisis existed; (5) lower import duties; (6) fixing maximum prices for milk, meat, coal, cereals, vegetables, and similar products of prime necessity; and (7) the immediate enforcement, pending the adoption of a law, of the eight-hour day.[57]

Agitation for these demands continued through May and June, 1919. Hundreds of workers were arrested in Lima, in Callao, and in other industrial centers. This agitation went hand in hand with strikes in individual plants and industries, in which the workers demanded higher wages and improved conditions of work. It was also part of the general political unrest caused by the approaching change in the presidency.

Out of this fervor was born the Regional Federation of Labor in July, 1919. Its principles left no doubt of its anarchist leanings. It wanted "to do away with capitalism" and to create "a society of free producers." It proclaimed its solidarity with all the workers and it repudiated all political parties, working

[57] Ricardo MartInez de la Torre, "El morimiento obrero en 1919," Amauta (Lima) (September, 1928), p. 60.

revolutionary proportions. Of these the most famous was the strike of 1919 on the Leopoldina Railroad.[52]

The Leopoldina Railroad strike practically brought to an end the era in the Brazilian labor movement in which the anarchists dominated the trade-unions. After 1920 the anarchists had to endure increased police persecution. At the same time they had to wage a fight against the communists, who were challenging their control of the unions. In 1923 the anarchists reorganized the unions of the Federal District into the Federation of the Capital and District of Rio de Janeiro; but the communists, in trying to obtain control of this federation, smashed it.[53] Nevertheless, as long as free unionism was permitted in Brazil, anarchism enjoyed the support of a number of workers.[54] In 1928 anarcho-syndicalist unions controlled two to three thousand members out of a. total of 100,000 organized workers.[55]

Anarchists organized the first unions in Peru. They published in Lima about 1904 *Los parias* of which at least fifty-three numbers were issued.[56] *La protesta*, started in 1911, was still published as late as July, 1926. Anarchists led the first strike in Lima in 1904, during which a worker was killed. It was in the library of the anarchist center in Trujillo that Peru's greatest

[52] M. Fortus, "A decade of labour history," *Red International of Labour Unions (February, 1929)*, 223–224.

[53] *Ibid*.

[54] The Constitution of 1937 imposed by Getulio Vargas destroyed all political parties and free trade-unions.

[55] Communist sources claim 2,000 and the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam), 3,000. Cf. A. P. D. Silva, "Brasil, las fuerzas, las tendencies y las perspectivas del movimiento sindical," *El trabajador latinoamericano* (Montevideo), Año I, No. 3 (October 15, 1928), 21–23, with International Federation of Trade Unions, *Sixth Year Book* (Amsterdam, 1930), p. 228.

[56] Nettlau, *op. cit.*, p. 26. Other publications were *Simienta roja*, *El hambriento*, and *Humanidad*.

were further strengthened by Pedro Gori who came to Buenos Aires in 1899.[3]

The greatest period of anarchist militancy in Argentina corresponded to the time when anarchists were most active in the trade-unions. On March 25 and 26, 1901, a congress was held to unite the unions which had been growing in number and in strength. By 1896, there existed in Buenos Aires alone thirty unions, and twenty-six strikes had taken place. Fifty delegates representing thirty-five unions were present at the congress, from which resulted the Labor Federation of Argentina, known at first as the F. O. A. (Federación Obrera Argentina) and later as the F. O. R. A. (Federación Obrera Regional Argentina).[4] It was not until the fifth congress of the F. O. R. A. in 1905, however, that anarchist influence was thoroughly established. Until then other influences, especially socialist, were fighting the anarchists for control of the trade-union movement. At the fifth congress the delegates adopted the following resolution which committed the federation to the anarchist philosophy:

> The Fifth Congress, pursuant to the philosophical principles that have been the motivating force in the organization of the workers' federations, declares that it favors and recommends to all its adherents the widest publicity and education for the purpose of inculcating in the workers the economic and philosophical principles of anarchistic communism.[5]

1910), p. 47. In 1909 the word *humana* was dropped. As *La protesta* it became the most influential anarchist newspaper.

[3] Santillán, *op. cit.*, pp. 69–72.

[4] José Rodríguez Tarditi, "Información social," *Revista de ciencias económicas*, Año XV, serie II, No. 72 (July, 1927), 874.

[5] For the complete text of this declaration, see Rodriguez Tarditi, op. cit., p. 876. See also, Jacinto Oddone, *Historia del socialismo argentino* (2 vols., Buenos Aires, 1934), II, 111. Oddone's work is a virtual source book for the study of the labor movement in Argentina. His work contains reproduc-

Inspired by the strikes of Barcelona, and in accordance with their philosophy of direct action, the anarchists of Argentina launched wave after wave of strikes. These were both economic and political in purpose. In March, 1902, a strike of teamsters against "fink" books was successful. The bakers of Chivilcoy lost a strike which lasted twenty-four days. In Rosario a strike of the stevedores became a general strike. Strikes for the nine-hour day were won by coppersmiths and mechanics of Buenos Aires in February of the same year. In November the port workers obtained an increase in wages and improved working conditions without a strike. The organization had supposedly more than three thousand members. The most important strike of the year was that of the fruit handlers. The entire membership of the F. O. R. A. was about to participate in this strike when the government presumably broke it by the passage of the Anti-Alien Act. Between 1903 and 1904 there took place twelve general strikes, as well as many others in individual industries or plants.[6] A new wave of strikes began in 1905 and continued with uninterrupted vigor until May, 1910, when the first period, sometimes called the period of greatest glory of the anarchist movement, came to an end.[7]

tions of a number of original documents, as well as summaries of resolutions adopted at various labor congresses.

[6] Santillán, " 'La Protesta', su historia, sus diversas fases y su significación en el movimiento anarquista de América del Sur," in *Certámen international de La protesta* (Buenos Aires, 1927), p. 47 (hereinafter cited as "La protesta"). This is a volume containing articles and documents of the anarchist movement in Latin America and was published upon the thirtieth anniversary of *La protesta*, the most important anarchist organ of Argentina.

[7] According to Oddone (*op. cit.*, II, 407), the yearly numbers of strikes during this period were: 1903, 51; 1904, 188; 1905, 111; 1906, 170; 1907, 231; 1908, 118; 1909, 138; 1910, 298. These figures are for the city of Buenos Aires only. The police in its report for 1910 gives two general strikes and 145 other strikes as taking place in Buenos Aires during 1909. There were 205,619 workers involved in them, and these lost 3,980,000 pesos in wages. For an evaluation of the forces involved see, Policia de la Capital Federal, Division "Orden

numbered those in Portuguese. Between 1890 and 1905 there existed in Brazil at least fifteen anarchist periodicals in Italian, most of them in Sao Paulo, where Italian immigration was especially heavy. *A terra livre* became the most important anarchist publication in Portuguese. Anarchist periodicals were also published in Porto Alegre and in Santos before 1914.[48]

Anarchist activity in the Brazilian trade-unions goes back at least to 1892. In that year there was held in Rio de Janeiro the first trade-union congress, at which a dozen unions were represented.[49] In Santos the unions published Uniao dos operarios in 1905 and *Tribuna operaria* in 1907. In Rio de Janeiro, *Semana operaria* was published during part of 1907. An attempt to organize a national federation was begun in 1905. In 1906 the Regional Federation of Rio de Janeiro convoked a national trade-union congress, out of which grew the Brazilian Regional Labor Federation (Federagao Operaria Regional Brasileira). At its second congress, held in Rio in 1913, the anarchists were in complete control.[50] By 1915, however, the federation had split into separate industrial or trade-unions because of ideological differences.[51]

Important strikes took place during 1917 and 1918 in all the large cities-in Porto Alegre, Recife, Pará, Paraná, Niteroi, Baía, Rio de Janeiro, and Sao Paulo. This wave of strikes was both economic and political and was considered by some as part of the political unrest which culminated in the military revolts of 1922 and 1924. The strikes themselves were in some cases of

[48] Nettlau, op. cit., p. 10. Among the Portuguese publications were *O despertar*, *O protealo*, *O golpe*, *A greve*, *Kultur*, and *O libertario*, all of them published in Rio de Janeiro. *Emancipaçao* and *O amigo do povo* were published in Sio Paulo, and *A voz do dever* and

O despertar in Curitiba.

[49] Francisco Alexandre, *Teoria e prática do sindicalismo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1941), p. 52.

[50] *Ibid*.

[51] International Labor Office, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

and the church."[44] The I. W. W. carried on militant work until 1925 and was especially active among the maritime workers of Iquique, Valparaiso, and Antofagasta. It had organized unions of bakers, bricklayers, shoe workers, and munition workers. It never approached in numbers and in influence the communist-dominated Labor Federation of Chile, known as F. O. CH.[45] In 1925 a split occurred, and the I. W. W. lost some of its strongest unions, which organized the Federación Obrera Regional Chilena. Both the I. W. W. and the F. O. R. CH. were destroyed when General Ibafiez made himself dictator in 1927, and their leaders were deported to Mas Afuera and Aysen.[46]

The fall of lbáñez in July, 1931, led to the reorganization of the trade-union work of the anarchists. They organized the C. G. T., the Confederaci6n General de Trabaj adores, which was structurally closer to the Argentine F. O. R. A. than to the old I. W. W., since it adopted the "regional federation rather than the industry as the basic unit of its organization. The C. G. T. has held five congresses since 1933. Some of the unions affiliated with it con- sist of some of the highest paid workers of Chile, among them painters, carpenters, electricians, and printers.[47] Nevertheless, the C. G. T. has played a rather insignificant role in, the trade-union life of Chile. Many of the leaders who had been trained in the anarchist camp, among them the Socialist Oscar Schnake, former cabinet minister, left to join other movements.

Italian immigrants were the chief support of the anarchist movement in Brazil. Anarchist publications in Italian far out-

[44] Moisés Poblete Troncoso, *La organization sindical en Chile y otros estudios socials* (Santiago, 1926), pp. 35–36.

[45] Its membership, as obtained by Lorwin from the secretary of International Workingmen's Association, was 2,000 in 1924. The International Labor Office credits it with a a membership of 9,000 in 1928.

[46] A. Gaete Berrios, "Historia del movimiento sindical chileno," *Revista del trabajo*, Afio X, Nos. 6–7 (June-July, 1940), 7–8.

[47] *Ibid*.

On November 20, 1902, the anarchists called upon the workers to reply to the government's threat to enact legislation harmful to the workers' movement by a general strike. This call was heeded not only by the unions of Buenos Aires but by many in the interior of the country as well. The government responded by declaring a state of siege, for the first time using this weapon to combat strike action. Later, the state of siege became the usual way to cope with militancy of the workers.

After the state of siege was declared, it was followed by the raiding of union headquarters, the shutting down of the presses, and the seizure of the newspapers already printed. Congress was called into special session, and after deliberating only four hours, it passed an anti-alien bill which was promptly signed by the president. The resulting act gave the government the right to deport any undesirable alien and to prevent the entry into the country of aliens deemed undesirable. Any alien whose deportation was ordered was given three days to leave the country and could be held incommunicado until he left.[8]

The law was often applied with especial cruelty. Since most of the leaders and the vast majority of the rank and file were aliens, the law might have been used to bring about mass expulsions. A great many leaders were actually deported; others went into hiding; some managed to go to neighboring Montevideo, and of these not a few re-entered afterwards. But on the whole, the law stimulated rather than killed the militancy of the anarchists. At the same time, it caused many unions to disappear altogether and decimated the membership of others. The persecutions also tended to bring about a tremendous turnover in the unions. Many workers either dropped out of

Piblico," Sección Social, *Memoria e informe sobre nuestras cuestiones obreras y sectarias*, p. 30.

[8] Santilán, "La protesta," *loc. cit*., pp. 42–43. For the Anti-Alien Act, see Oddone, *op. cit*., II, 10.

membership altogether or became inactive after a few years of strenuous activity.

The fight for the repeal of the Anti-Alien Act became the central theme in anarchist activity and led to many demonstrations, which in turn called forth other repressions on the part of the government. Anarchist sources maintain that after the passage of the Anti-Alien Act the police presumably looked upon all strikes as criminal and treated them as such. May Day demonstrations, too, were often occasions for clashes with the police, as for instance on May 1, 1903. According to eyewitness accounts of this episode, the demonstration of the F. O. R. A. started out peacefully, with women and children heading the parade. When the marching column was detained by a streetcar, some of the marchers taunted the motorman and the conductor, denouncing them for working on May Day. The police interfered, and the result was two dead and twenty-four wounded.[9]

Another encounter with the police took place in Rosario and grew out of a bakers' strike in which one of the strikers was shot. It is asserted that the police feared a demonstration and proceeded to bury the body. The workers, in turn, staged a silent march to the cemetary and were met by the police, where more blood flowed. The answer of the workers was a general strike which lasted three days. A forty-eight-hour stoppage was declared by the workers of Buenos Aires in support of the strikers of Rosario.

On February 4, 1905, the government again declared a state of siege. This time the occasion was the attempted seizure of power by the Radical Civic Party. Although the workers had nothing to do with the revolt, nevertheless their union headquarters was closed, many were arrested and deported, and working-class publications were suspended. The government is supposed to have used the uprising to suppress a number

[9] Santillán, "La protesta," *loc. cit.,* p. 47.

ciation, of which it was a affiliate.[41] It had 1,500 members in 1929.[42]

In Chile anarchist activity must have started as early as 1893, since during that year appeared the anarchist periodical, *El oprimido*. In the next three years additional anarchist publications were begun both in Santiago and in the other large cities. The most important anarchist periodical, judging by its continuous existence from 1913 to 1925, was *La batalla*.[43]

There is little evidence, however, that the anarchists of Chile were as successful in organizing unions as they had been in Argentina or even in Brazil. Perhaps the fact that industrial development was somewhat later in Chile and immigration not so marked may be the explanation. In Chile organizations of mutual benefit rather than of the revolutionary type continued to play an important part as late as 1917. Not until 1919 do we find a trade-union center of national scope that is anarcho-syndicalist in tendency. This was the I. W. W., a prototype of the organization of the same name in the United States. At its first congress in December, 1919, the I. W. W. adopted the same tactics as its counterpart in the United States-namely, the strike, the boycott, and sabotage. It prided itself on being "a revolutionary organization" whose objective included fighting against "capital, the government,

[41] Lorwin, *op. cit.*, p. 573.

[42] International Labor Office, *op. cit.*, V, 230.

[43] Nettlau, *op. cit.,* p. 26. Other newspapers during the first few years of anarchist activity included *El acrata*, *La campana*, *La agitación*, *La rebelión*, and *Los nuevos horizontes*-all in Santiago. *La revuelta* appeared in Valparaíso in 1903; in Concepción, the organization Hogar Harmonista "Eliseo Reclus" began publishing the monthly, *Luz*, in April, 1904. Among the important publications between 1905 and the first World War were *La protesta* and *El productor* in Santiago; Luz al obrero in Valparafso; La agitación in Tarapacá; *Luz y vida* in Antofagasta and *Adelante* in Punta Arenas. *Adelante* identified itself on its masthead as the organ for the defense of the workers and for libertarian propaganda.

there were eleven general strikes, most of which were failures. In March, 1905, the anarchists organized the Federación Obrera Regional Uruguaya, the F. O. R. U., the counterpart of the Argentine F. O. R. A. With it were affiliated the most important unions in the country, including the federations of construction workers and port workers. The F. O. R. U. led the fight for the eight-hour day, and, in May, 1905, the strike of the port workers. This strike was followed by others of building trades workers and of mechanics. In all, eleven thousand workers were involved in them. The strike of the port workers was accompanied by much violence, in which most of the port installations were damaged.[39]

Practically the entire trade-union movement was disorganized or destroyed by 1910. The anarcho-syndicalists found the going rather hard during the presidency of Claudio Williman. The strike of the railroad workers in 1908 destroyed their organization to such an extent that they have not been able to organize a strong and unified group even to this day. Some of the unions, however, were rebuilt by 1911. Just as in Argentina, important strikes took place during and immediately following World War I. In 1918 the anarchists directed the general strike called to aid the streetcar and meat packing house workers. The failure of the maritime and port workers' strike in 1919 dealt a heavy blow to the anarchist unions. After this the F. O. R. U. was no longer in absolute control of the trade-union movement. The struggle for control became sharper after the communists consolidated their forces.

At its height in 1919, the F. 0. R. U. had a total membership of about 25,000.[40] It reported a membership of four thousand in 1924 and in 1928 to the International Workingmen's Asso-

[39] Information about the unions in this period was obtained from a manuscript of F. Pintos, shown to the writer while in Montevideo. See also F. Pintos, *Battle y el proceso histórico del Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1938), p. 88.

[40] International Labor Office, *Studies and Reports*, Series A, No. 32, V, 230.

of strike the most important of which was that of the railroad workers.[10]

After the state of siege was lifted on May 5, 1905, the entire organized labor movement, anarchist and non-anarchist, demonstrated against the government on May 21. On the pretext that someone had waved a red flag, the showing of which had been prohibited, the police -attacked the crowd; and once again the result was two dead and twenty wounded. In October, 1905, the government again declared a state of siege and thus broke the strike of stevedores, sailors, and marine firemen for improved conditions of work.[11]

Two subsequent attacks by the police brought protests from many groups. The first occurred on July 23, 1907, in Bahia Blanca,[12] and the other on May 1, 1909, in Buenos Aires. In Bahia Blanca a group of maritime police attacked, supposedly without provocation, striking port workers who were meeting at their union headquarters in the Casa del Pueblo. The police fire killeda twelve-year-old child and seriously wounded six workers. Blood was again spilled in Buenos Aires on May 1, 1909, when the police attacked an anarchist demonstration. The attack took place in the presence of the chief of police, Colonel Ramón L. Falcón. Workers generally blamed him for the death of eight and the wounding of forty, some of them rather critically. So great was the outcry against the police that the Socialist Party, which had always fought the anarchists and had not participated in their demonstration, made common cause with them and called for a general strike. The strike lasted a week and involved some 250,000 workers.[13]

Police violence against anarchists reached a new high in May, 1910. The anarchists had threatened to call a general strike to coincide with the centenary celebration of Argen-

[10] Oddone, *op. cit.*, II, 34–35.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 37–39.

[12] Known also as Ingeniero White.

tine independence on May 25. At their meeting of May 8, they announced that unless the government repealed the Anti-Alien Act, freed working-class political prisoners, and granted amnesty to conscription dodgers, they would call a general strike for May 25. On May 13 the government began to round up anarchist leaders. In a few hours many were in prison, including the editors of *La protesta* and *La batalla*, the morning and evening anarchist dailies, members of the council of the F. O. R. A., and other leaders. On the fourteenth came a declaration of the state of siege for an indefinite period. Under the protection of this act, members of "patriotic" organizations gave vent to their anger by wrecking the headquarters of unions. Even the socialist newspaper, *La vanguardia*, did not escape. La vanguardia was sacked and the presses completely destroyed. Not a union headquarters escaped harm. The police looked on and, according the accounts of the anarchists and the socialists, did nothing to stop the vandals.[13]

To the' violence of the police the anarchists' answer was not always the strike, the boycott, or even sabotage. Individuals, excited by the violence of the police and the suffering resulting from deportations and arrests, attempted to assassinate those whom they considered responsible. Individual acts of terrorism when joint action was ineffective were accepted by most anarchists, who regarded them as legitimate in the circumstances. An anarchist tried to kill President Quintana on August 11, 1905, in protest against the brutality of the Rosario police.[14]

The act of individual terror that most roused the fury of the well-to-do was the killing of the chief of police, Colonel Falcón, who, as has already been pointed out, was held responsible for the massacre on May 1, 1909. The assassin was Simon Radowitzky, a youth of nineteen born in Kiev, Russia. He was

[13] *Ibid*., pp. 189–193.

[14] Santillán, *El movimiento anarquista en la Argentina*, p. 171.

impossible. The most that can be done is to indicate the broad lines of activity engaged in by the anarchists of these countries.

The same forces that were responsible for anarchism's influence in Argentina, were present on a smaller scale in Uruguay. The two countries were affected by the same immigration currents. Moreover, it was not unusual for anarchists who were expelled from Buenos Aires to move across the river to Montevideo.

Already in 1872 there existed in Montevideo a section of the International Workingmen's Association. Evidence seems to indicate that it was addicted to the ideas of Bakunin rather than to those of Marx and Engels. In 1875, the Uruguayan section of the International issued a manifesto appealing to all workers to organize a trade-union federation. The call was signed by the carpenter, Juan Zavala, as treasurer; by the bricklayer, Martinez y Segovia, as president; and by six other workers. In 1876 the Regional Federation of Montevideo was organized; and judging from a letter which it sent to the Mexican section of the International, no doubt exists that it was anarchist in sympathy.[37] By 1886 anarchist propaganda had begun in earnest in Uruguay. Between 1890 and 1904 more than a dozen anarchist publications made their appearance. Some of these did not have a very long life, and others were published only occasionally.[38]

Like their confreres in Argentina, the Uruguayan anarchists were active in organizing unions and strikes. The first strike took place in 1880 in the mines of Cufiaperu and was directed by French workers. During September, 1901, and October, 1902, strikes occurred in sixteen different trades; and

[37] "Documentos para la historic del anarquismo en América," in *Certamen international de La protesta*, pp. 83–89.

[38] Max Nettlau, *op. cit*., p. 15. Among these papers were *El derecho a la vida*, *La luz*, *La verdad*, *La aurora anarquista*, *El amigo del pueblo*, *Tribuna libertaria*, *La rebelión*, *La verdad*, *Primero y futuro*. The longest lived was *Tribuna libertaria*, the last number of which appeared on May 1, 1909.

in Rosario, in La Plata, in Barracas, and in Chivilcoy. The publications of anarcho-syndicalist unions were multiplying rapidly.[34]

After 1905 the anarchist movement, except when interrupted by persecutions and the state of siege, published *La protesta* as a morning, and *La batalla* as an afternoon paper. Other important publications were *Bandera roja*, *La obra*, *El momento*, *Tribuna proletaria*, and *Tribuna obrera*. The list of publications of the F. O. R. A. would take several pages to cite.[35] The output of pamphlets by Argentine anarchists and reprints in Argentina of the works of European anarchist writers was enormous. Anarchism attracted a number of outstanding writers and poets, among them Alberto Ghiraldo and Florencio Sanchez. Ghiraldo edited the literary weeklies, *El sol, Martin Fierro*, and *Ideas y figuras*, in which anarchist philosophy served as the inspiration of many a poem and essay. Ghiraldo was upon several occasions also editor of *La protesta*.[36]

II

The influence of anarchism and of the anarcho-syndicalist movement was not confined to Argentina. It was the most important force in labor in all the South American countries until 1920. Unfortunately, lack of data makes a detailed analysis of the anarchist movement in the other South American nations

[34] Max Nettlau, "Contribución a la bibliografía anarquista de la America Latina hasta 1914," in *Certamen international de La protesta*, p. 14. Some of the anarcho-syndicalist papers during this period were *El obrero panadero*, *La union gremial*, *El obrero albafiil*, *El gremio* (the organ of the coachmen's union), *El látigo del carrero*, *El gráfico*, *La aurora del marino*, *El obrero sastre*, *El sombrerero*, *El companero*, *El pintor*, *El carpintero*.

[35] *Ibid*.

[36] Santillán, *El movimiento anarquista en la Argentina*, pp. 122–129.

pardoned in 1930, after twenty years in jail; but at the time the deed was perpetrated, feeling against him and anarchists generally was at the boiling point. This assassination, together with the explosion of a bomb in the Teatro Colón, resulted in the passage of the Social Defense Act. No lives were lost in this explosion, since the opera house was empty. Anarchists'insist that the act was done by the police, in order to give the government the excuse to pass restrictive legislation against workers in general. They base their contention on the fact that although a Russian anarchist was sentenced for the deed, the police never really proved that he was the author.[15]

On the other hand, an action that aroused the anarchists and workers generally was the killing of Kurt Wilikens in June, 1923, while the latter was being tried for the assassination of Colonel Varela. Wilikens considered Varela responsible for the death of many workers in the strike of the sheepherders of Patagonia in 1921.[16]

The Law of Social Defense gave the government power to prevent the entry into the country of persons who had committed crimes punishable under the laws of Argentina. It also prohibited the entry of anarchists or of any one who had at any time been expelled from the country. The ship companies were held responsible for bringing undesirable aliens into the country and were made to repatriate them. The law forbade the organization of any group which had as its objective anarchist propaganda. Permission from the proper authorities had to be obtained for the holding of any public meeting, indoor or outdoor. These authorities had the power to refuse to grant a permit, if they believed that the meeting was for the purpose of advocating illegal ideas. They could stop a meeting for which authorization had been obtained, if during the course of it subversive ideas were expressed. The police evidently were

[15] Oddone, *op. cit.*, II, 81–82.

[16] Santillán, *La F. O. R. A.* (Buenos Aires, 1933), pp. 283–284.

to judge whether ideas were legal or illegal. The display of the red flag was forbidden.

The law provided for the imprisonment during one to three years of anyone who by word of mouth or in writing defended subversive ideas, and for three to six years for those who were found to have manufactured or aided in the manufacture of explosives or bombs to be used for terroristic purposes. Anyone found placing a bomb was subject to from six to ten years in prison. If the placing of the bomb resulted in property damage or in the intent to do such damage, the person found guilty could be jailed for ten to fifteen years. The penalty for damaging or intending to damage a public building or one used for political or administrative meetings was fifteen to twenty years. When it resulted in killing an individual, those responsible for the deed were to receive the death penalty. The law also established equivalent penalties for anyone charged with being an accomplice. One who incited others by threats or intimidation to strike or boycott was subject to imprisonment. All who were convicted under this act lost all civil rights. A naturalized citizen had his citizenship revoked.[17] The law is still on the statute books and alien workers who participate in strikes or are active in unions or revolutionary organizations have been deported or imprisoned under it as late as 1943.

The violence and suppression which came with the passage of the Law of Social Defense ended the first period of anarchist militancy in Argentina. The law did not, however, destroy the anarchist movement; and activity was gradually renewed. The F. O. R. A. began at first timidly and then more boldly to carry on once more. In spite of arrests and the burning of the printing presses of *La protesta* and of other anrchist publications, written propaganda was presumably never entirely suppressed. *La protesta* was published illegally, and anarchist sources insist that from seven to ten thousand copies were distributed clan-

[17] The act is reproduced in Oddone, *op. cit.*, II, 82–87.

the congress of the F. O. R. A. in August, 1928, one hundred unions were represented. Anarchists maintain that their influence was increasing after 1928 and that the membership in their unions was 100,000 in 1929 and 1930.[30] The coup d'état of General Uriburu in 1930 bore with especial rigor upon the anarchist-controlled unions, and the movement was practically wiped out. In 1932 when sixty anarcho-syndicalist leaders of the bakers and chauffeurs unions were indicted for terroristic activities, the F. O. R. A. claimed twenty-four unions as members.[31]

The propaganda activities of the anarchists must have reached considerable proportions. Through their press, publications of all sorts, schools, libraries, meetings, and lectures, thousands came under their influence.[32] A local federation of the F. O. R. A. in Mar del Plata supported two libraries, held thirty public meetings, distributed eighty thousand handbills and fifteen thousand pamphlets, and issued two thousand protests in 1930 when the movement was already in decline.[33] In the period between 1890 and 1904 there were published in Buenos Aires alone two dozen periodicals, some for longer and others for shorter periods of time. Of these *El perseguido* and later *La protesta* were the most important. During this period, eight periodicals in Italian and three in French were also part of the anarchist intellectual output. In addition, periodicals representing anarchist ideas were published in Luján,

[30] Santillán, *La F.O.R.A.*, p. 290. The International Workingmen's Association to which the F.O.R.A. was affiliated credits it with 60,000 members in 1924, 40,000 in 1926, and 40,000 in 1928. See Lewis L. Lorwin, *Labor and Internationalism* (New York, 1929), p. 573.

[31] Comité Pro Presos y Deportados de la F.O.R.A., *Los grandes procesos* (Buenos Aires, 1934), p. 129.

[32] According to the police of Buenos Aires the anarchists in 1919 held 155 meetings, 48 protest meetings (*representaciones*), and two demonstrations in which 429 speakers participated. Policía de la Capital Federal, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–30.

[33] Santillán, *La F.O.R.A.*, p. 296.

Bolshevism as in conflict with the anarchist ideals of personal liberty and opposition to statism, the foundation stones of anarchist philosophy. But, between 1919 and 1922, many anarchists who accepted the dictatorship of the proletariat united with other advocates of Bolshevism to bring about a reorganization of the trade-union movement and to orient it in the direction of Moscow. With the slogan of unity, they were able to appeal to many groups; and they succeeded to the extent that a new congress was held in 1922, at which anarchist, syndicalist, and independent unions were present, and from which was born the Unión Sindical Argentina. Nevertheless, the supporters of Moscow failed to obtain the highest position of leadership in the new organization and to have it affiliate with the Red International of Labor Unions created by Moscow the previous year.

For this, the credit must go to the anarcho-syndicalists who were opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat. They not only prevented the communists from consolidating their power in the Unión Sindical Argentina, but by insisting on keeping their own trade-union organization, they made unity impossible. The net result was the disappearance of the syndicalist-controlled F. O. R. A. Henceforth outsiders were no longer confused by two organizations, each calling itself F. O. R. A., as had been the case ever since the Ninth Congress of 1915.

The great struggles of 1919 and 1921 had weakened the unions generally and the anarchist-controlled unions especially. In 1927 when the anarchists were celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of *La protesta*, their unions, according to their own admission, had reached a low point. And yet, during six months of 1926 the anarchists were able to send out forty organizers and to conduct two propaganda campaigns, one in the province of Córdoba and the other in La Pampa. The local federation of Buenos Aires consisted of twenty-one unions in the capital and of seven in the suburb of Avellaneda. At

destinely every week for almost two years.[18] By 1913 the police persecutions had ceased; new publications under anarchist auspices were started; and on July 20 of that year, La protesta became once again a daily.

The victory at the polls of the more progressive forces after 1912, as a result of the law assuring the secret ballot and of legislation favorable to the workers, tended to wean these away from anarchist influences. On the other hand, the outbreak of the war in 1914, which brought an increased demand for workers and a rapid rise in the cost of living, stimulated greater militancy. After 1917 there was felt, also, the influence of the Russian Revolution. Consequently, during the years 1917, 1919, and 1921, Argentina experienced some of its bitterest labor struggles. On June 10, 1917, a clash occurred between the police and demonstrators against the high cost of living. Excitement was further increased by the escape from prison of the anarchist, Simon Radowitzky, his capture in Chile and delivery to the Argentine authorities, and his return to prison.

During the week of January 7, 1919, violence broke out in front of the struck Vasena Iron Works, an English company, where four workers were killed and five times as many were injured. A general strike in all Argentina followed. To this the anti-labor and reactionary groups in the community replied by organizing terroristic squads, who sacked and closed union headquarters, beat workers, and staged a pogrom against the Jews.[19] Estimates of the week's dead run from seven hundred to one thousand and of those hurt to four thousand. More than

[18] Santillán, "La protesta" *loc. cit.*, p. 59

[19] John W. White, *Argentina, the Life Story of a Nation* (New York, 1942), pp. 143–144. Mr. White errs when he calls this movement "Communist-inspired" and the F.O.R.A., "a communist organization supported by Moscow." The F.O.R.A. was in existence long before the Russian Revolution. The Communist or Third Internationale was organized in 1919 and its trade union affiliate, the Red International of Labor Unions, in 1921. In Argentina the communists have never been in the majority and have never dominated the trade union movement.

55,000 arrests and detensions were made by the police.[20] This week is generally spoken of as "*la semana tragica*."

In 1921 bitterly fought strikes took place at La Forestal, the largest quebracho center in the Argentine Chaco. Conditions there border on virtual peonage even today.[21] A strike of the Patagonian sheepherders lasted a year and was stamped out with much bloodshed.[22] The strike of the port workers of Buenos Aires of that same year has been compared by some to the strike of "the tragic week" of January, 1919.[23]

Anarchists maintain that they were the spearhead in these struggles. Independent sources give the credit to the syndicalist- rather than to the anarchist-controlled F. O. R. A.[24] During the struggles of 1919 and 1921, there were in both the anarchist- and the syndicalist-controlled F. O. R. A. those who were partisans of Moscow and who became members of the Communist Party of Argentina when the latter was organized in December, 1920. There was no separate communist movement in Argentina nor anywhere else, for that matter, until 1921.

How much influence anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism actually exerted in Argentina is difficult to estimate. That it was considerable there can be no doubt.[25] The instability

[20] Santillin, *La F. O. R. A.*, pp. 275–276.

[21] For a description of conditions, see Juan A. Solari, *Trabajadores del norte argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1937), pp. 66–71.

[22] Santillán, *La F. O. R. A.*, p. 277.

[23] Felix Weil, "Die arbeiterbewegung in Argentinien," *Archiv fur die Geschichte des Socialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, XI (1925), 17–19.

[24] In the Ninth Congress of the F.O.R.A. the declaration adopted at the Fifth Congress was revised, making the F.O.R.A. neutral in ideology. The diehard anarchists refused to recognize this decision and bolted. As a result, two organizations, each claiming to be the authentic F.O.R.A., existed from 1915 until March, 1922. The anarchist F.O.R.A. added the term Comunista to distinguish itself from the syndicalist. This was dropped in 1922 when the syndicalist F.O.R.A. disappeared. For the debate to suppress the declaration adopted at the Fifth Congress, see Santillán, *La F.O.R.A.*, pp. 240–254.

[25] Policía de la Capital Federal, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

of its membership, failure to keep adequate records, and exaggerated claims of members make any accurate statistical record of the strength of anarcho-syndicalism impossible.[26] Non-anarchist sources maintain that there were more than two hundred unions with a membership of upward of 100,000 in existence in 1906. Of these the anarcho-syndicalist unions must have been in the majority, since in every congress until 1915-the anarchist viewpoint dominated. Anarchist sources insist that they were practically the only trade-union force in 1910.[27]

In the unity convention which took place in 1915, the anarcho-syndicalists were in the minority, and control of the F. O. R. A. passed to the syndicalists, whose tactics and philosophy were similar to those of the French unions. Anarchists, however, insist that by 1920 they were again the most powerful force in the trade-unions.[28] They assert that at the special convention called by their F. O. R. A. in 1920 there were present four hundred delegates representing two hundred affiliated and fifty-eight in- dependent unions.[29]

The Russian Revolution of 1917 introduced new ideological differences and brought dissension and division to the anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists, as it did to labor generally. The seizure of power advocated by the Bolsheviks had particular appeal at first for many anarchists. Later the majority repudiated

[26] On that point the Socialist Party said in 1910: "No ha sido posible obtener datos seguros y completes sobre el desarrollo de esta organización, ni sobre sus cotizaciones, ni sobre su estado actual" (*op. cit.*, p. 140).

[27] Oddone reports that the syndicalist-controlled U. G. T. had in 1909 a total membership of 22,453; anarchist sources give it a membership of 2,500 in 1908. For different membership claims, compare Oddone, *op. cit.*, II, 152–153, with Santillan, *La F.O.R.A.*, p. 179.

[28] According to Weil (*op. cit.*, p. 21), the probable membership figures for the period 1919–1922 are: anarchist F.O.R.A., 1919, 35,000; 1920, 40,000; 1921, 20,000; 1922, 25,000. The syndicalist F.O.R.A., 1919, 45,000; 1920, 70,000; 1921, 40,000; 1922, 80,000.

[29] Rodriguez Tarditi, op. cit., 877.