

Critical and alternative social movement: memory and references  
[FCT: PTDC/CPJ-CPO/098500/2008]



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# Syndicalism and anarchism in Portugal during the interwar period

STRUGGLES, IDEOLOGICAL COMPETITION, AND REPRESSION

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### **Abstract**

The history of the Portuguese labour movement during the interwar period has been a narrative of the loss of the hegemonic influence that anarchists achieved among the workers' organizations in the end of the I World War. It has been also emphasized the strategic defeat of the syndicalism in the confrontation with the catholic corporative State, and of the growing influence of the communists under the dictatorship due to the efficiency of their organization, discipline, and propaganda. Since the 1970s, the Portuguese historiography has insisted on the ideological and organisational shortcomings of syndicalism and anarchism during the First Republic (1910-1926) and Military Dictatorship (1926-1933), recovering the Marxist critique of that period and overshadowing the action of ideological competition and struggle among social militants at that time. In this paper, we reappraise the organisational trajectory, the struggles against the bosses and the State in the context of fierce competition between libertarians, and authoritarian communists during the period of adversity for the working classes. We conclude that after the end of the Spanish civil war, the changing international environment, the efficient communist propaganda, the efficacy of their clandestine organization and their anti-fascist strategy led to a growing isolation of libertarian ideals. Despite that, there were proposals for a strategic and ideological renewal of the libertarian movement after the 1940s.

**Keywords:** Labour movement – anarchism, 1920s-1930s (Portugal)

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## Introduction

After forty-eight years of harsh political repression, brainwash and authoritarian social control, the memory recovery of the ‘old’ Portuguese socialist and syndicalist labour movement became a militant effort made by one young generation of left-wing intellectuals and historians, most of them contesting the ideological hegemony of the Portuguese Communist Party (P.C.P.) achieved during the long dictatorship<sup>1</sup>. After the Sixties, during the long crisis of the authoritarian regime, some textual sources and written testimonies of militants were published, having limited circulation although<sup>2</sup>. In the years following the Carnation Revolution (1974), we saw the spurt of this historiography<sup>3</sup>. Her productive curve somehow reflects the up and down trends of the people’s mobilization, being the Eighties the beginning of the reflux. The few books written by old militants became available to the public and the labour history entered in the academia and reconfigures itself as social history<sup>4</sup>. The ‘official’ history of the labour movement’ produced by P.C.P.’s militants, biased and often contradictory, were also written mostly under Marxist glasses, using workers’ newspapers, old texts, testimonies and documents from the state police archives. In this context, the history of the Portuguese anarchism, his doctrines, organizations, strategies and their relationship with syndicalism and

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<sup>1</sup> Such as Carlos da Fonseca, César de Oliveira, Manuel Villaverde Cabral, Pacheco Pereira, António Ventura, António José Telo, João Freire, Maria Filomena Mónica, Jacinto Baptista among others.

<sup>2</sup> Among those social militants that had a relevant role in the labor organization during the First Republic and until the II WW that published their testimonies, we should refer Alexandre Viera (syndicalist), Manuel Joaquim de Sousa, José Francisco, Acácio Tomás de Aquino, Emídio Santana, Manuel Firmo (all anarchists), David Carvalho (former syndicalist and then communist) and José de Sousa (communist). From the following generation and being exiled in Brazil we should also refer the works of Edgar Rodrigues (also in Portuguese), some of them reproducing important historical documents.

<sup>3</sup> In early 1980s there were already more than five hundred books or articles published in newspapers and academic journals. See Paulo E. Guimarães, “A Questão Operária na I República”, *A Ideia*, 68 (Lisboa, 2010), pp.3-15. See also the Introduction in Lex Heerma Voss and Marcel van der Linden (ed.), *Class and Other Identities: Gender, Religion, and Ethnicity in the Writing of European Labour History*. (New York, Berghahn, 2002), p.9 for a European contextualization of this historiography. On the historiography of the Portuguese First Republic see Douglas L. Wheeler

‘A Primeira República Portuguesa e a história’, *Análise Social*, vol. XIV (56), 1978-4.º, 865-872 and Manuel Baiôa, “The Political History of Twentieth-Century Portugal”, *e-Journal of Portuguese History*, Vol. 1, number 2, Winter 2003.

<sup>4</sup> In this respect, it follows although with some time lag the evolution that occurred in France and Spain being also influenced by them and by the English labor historiography. See Roberto Ceamanos Llorens, *Militancia y Universidad: la construcción de la historia obrera en Francia*, Fundación Instituto de Historia Social, (Valência, 2005).

other forces on the left was often misunderstood<sup>5</sup>. However, during the last years we saw a renewed interest in this past not only in local contexts but also in studies that focused major historical events and reinterpretations of thesis that were built through the eyes of the daily press of Salazar regime or of the communist propaganda<sup>6</sup>. The recent official celebrations of the Republican Revolution of 1910 create an opportunity to evaluate some strong ideas about the role of the anarcho-syndicalism and their relationship with the republican regime<sup>7</sup>. They conclude that the anarcho-syndicalist organization and strategy were not efficient organizing and conducting the labor struggles to be a menace to the Republican regime at the time the reactionary military took power<sup>8</sup>. Despite that, they recognize that the *Confederação Geral do Trabalho* (C.G.T.) was able to achieve substantial social conquests such as the eight hour-day and better working conditions in harsh economic context.

The idea that the First Republic was unable to deal with the so called «social question» and with the «Communist menace» was essentially a construction of the new authoritarian regime that legitimize its brutal police methods. Considering the factual knowledge that has been cumulated, in this text we shall reassess the thesis of the shortcomings of anarcho-syndicalism, bearing in mind the complex process of fragmentation and sectarianism that were ongoing after the 1920s, and the dynamics of violent conflict, ideological competition and State terrorism. Doing so, we intend to capture the dynamics of this movement, emphasizing group and collective practices, social networks and popular culture embeddedness through libertarian ideals and practices.

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<sup>5</sup> The major work of João Freire, *Anarquistas e Operários*, Afrontamento (Porto, 1993) was published almost ten years after that peak of that intensive historical research on the history of ‘old’ labor movement.

<sup>6</sup> See, for instance, Fátima Patriarca, *Sindicatos contra Salazar. A Revolta do 18 de Janeiro de 1934*. Imprensa de Ciências Sociais (Lisboa, 2000), 556 páginas. The workers’ insurrection of 1934 against the authoritarian control of the unions by the government has been for long a contested and controversial story in the P.C.P. claimed is authorship or major role while accusing anarchists of the failure of the movement.

<sup>7</sup> See Fernando Rosas e Maria Fernanda Rollo (org.), *História da Primeira República Portuguesa*, Tinta-da-china (Lisboa, 2009), especially M. Alice Samara, Joana Pereira and the texts of António Reis (part 5).

<sup>8</sup> F. Rosas and M. F. Rollo (orgs.), *História da Primeira República Portuguesa*, pp. 575-576.

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The empirical research and hermeneutics were mostly based on *Arquivo Histórico Social* (Lisbon), labour press, police state archives and previous texts not easily available for the English reader<sup>9</sup>. For this reason, we also extended the introduction to give him contextual historical information, thus falling back to the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, in order to glimpse the continuities and discontinuities created by the I WW that are important to understand the social dynamics of anarchism. Despite being the Portuguese experience our subject, the reader must not expect to find *exceptionalism* except for historical interactions that can explain particular paths. The fate of this movement should also be found in the wider context of global events and undergoing processes of historical change and on power elite transnational networks and cooperation to respond to this menace.

The exposition is divided in five parts: in the first two, the authors give the sociological and historical background of the anarcho-syndicalism ascendancy until the end of the First Republic, also scrutinizing the social dynamics of the syndicalism movement. The following parts, focused on the interwar period, are more descriptive and factual, so we established the time events sequences that are crucial to comprehend the building process of sectarianism and of disintegration of anarcho-syndicalism in Portugal. The reader shall be not surprise if the analysis, instead of seeing syndicalism and anarchism as the result of a backward environment that produced ‘primitive’ working classes, concludes that they were both the result and agents of ongoing process of modernization, thus provoking the reaction of conservative forces. So, the second part will conclude that the defeat of anarcho-syndicalism organization was the historically complex outcome in that State authoritarianism and terrorism, the social and political insulation of the working-class organization, created the ideal environment for the later success of the communist party. In this perspective, we shall argue that the anarchist critic of anarcho-syndicalism had a rather different social meaning and political consequences contrasting with the communist and social-democratic propagandas.

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<sup>9</sup> The integrated catalog of Arquivo Histórico-Social (AHS) under custody of the Portuguese National Library (BNP) is now available in the MOSCA Information System at <http://mosca-servidor.xdi.uevora.pt/projecto/>. The AHS is the single most important archival collection of the Portuguese Anarchist and Anarcho-syndicalist movement.

## 1. Fighting for the bourgeois Republic? “*Tomorrow the Republic shall be against us*”.

From the late 1880s to the middle of the 1930s the Portuguese people lived one exceptional historical period of high political and economic instability, despite being a period of social change and economic modernization. The failed republican revolution of 1891, on January 31st, became a landmark for that period of systemic crises of Liberalism that lasted until the stabilization achieved by the authoritarian and corporative *New State*, institutionalized after 1934<sup>10</sup>. Those forty-three years saw the emergence of Republicanism as a mass movement that deepened the crises of legitimacy of the two historical political parties of the constitutional monarchy. Since the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, *Progressistas* and *Regeneradores* peacefully rotated in the government according to the electoral schedule or the public opinion. This system, called *rotativismo*, became discredited as the state financial crises increased and the political elite, the Catholic Church and the King became accountable for the backwardness of the country by republicans and monarchist dissidents. The regicide (1<sup>st</sup> of February of 1908) put an end to the attempt of projects of political reform supported by the king Charles I through the dictatorship of João Franco (1906-1908). The republican revolution of October 1910, which mobilised the lower middle classes and urban workers, was followed few years later by the conservative dictatorship of the General Pimenta da Castro (1915). The “democratic” republicans regained power after another revolution, but after the official entrance of Portugal in the I World War, in 1916, another conservative coalition led by Sidónio Pais came to power in December of 1917<sup>11</sup>. By establishing a presidential regime and suppressing *de facto* the Republican constitution of 1911, the new regime evolved to a proto-fascist dictatorship that ended with his murder one year after. The death of the so-called President-King Sidónio Pais created the opportunity for the proclamation of the Monarchy. For two months the country lived a

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<sup>10</sup> The English reader unfamiliar with Portuguese history can find an overview of this period in António Costa Pinto (ed.), *Contemporary Portugal: Politics, Society and Culture*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, New York, Social Science Monographs, 1991. For the political history of the First Republic see Tom Gallagher, *Portugal: A Twentieth-century Interpretation*, Manchester University Press, 1983 and Douglas L. Wheeler, *Republican Portugal: A Political History, 1910–1926*, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1989. See also Richard Robinson, *Contemporary Portugal*, George Allen & Unwin, (London, 1979) and Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Spain and Portugal*, Volume Two, University of Wisconsin Press, 1973, especially chapters 22 and 23.

<sup>11</sup> ‘Sidónio Pais, the Portuguese ‘New Republic’ and the challenge to liberalism in Southern Europe’, *European History Quarterly*, Vol. 28, no. 1 (January 1998), 109-130.

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period of civil war in which armed civilians also participate. This episode began a new political phase in the short, highly political instable and violent history of the First Republic. The political leaders of the major republican parties' withdrawal from the public sphere and new political formations appeared although the P.R.P (the Republican Party also called the "Democratic Party") remained the major institutional organization. The military coup of 28<sup>th</sup> of May 1926, later classified as the National Revolution by the New State regime, was preceded (at least since 1923) and followed by several attempts of military coups with different political orientation that last until 1932<sup>12</sup>. The most violent were the failed revolutions of 3<sup>rd</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> of February of 1927 and of 20<sup>th</sup> July 1928 against the Military Dictatorship. In 1930 and 1931 there were also several revolts in Portugal (Inland) in Madeira and Luanda (Angola). In 1933, the new authoritarian and corporative constitution was adopted after a plebiscite. The revolutionary general strike of 18<sup>th</sup> of January of 1934 was a coalition of labour unions and organizations lead by anarco-syndicalists, communists, and socialists. The fragmented workers movement succeeded to unit to launch a violent reaction against the *fascization* of the labour organizations, for the law *Estatuto do Trabalho Nacional* (1933), very much inspired in the Italian *Carta del Lavoro* (1927), and the corporative organization of the same year meant the political subordination of the labour unions to the State, and the imposition of the cooperation between workers and bosses under the nationalistic ideology.

The account of these political events sets the environment of the top-down social mobilization and the bottom-up social conflict during this period. They were responsible for an atmosphere of permanent political conspiracy, violent coups, and revolutions during the first three decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Portugal. In those events participated not only different fractions of the ruling classes, the armed forces, the Catholic Church but also the lower classes. Since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, radical republicans start to mobilize the working classes in their fight against the Constitutional Monarchy at the time the traders, small industrialists, doctors, and other liberals promoted popular schools in the Republican Clubs spread across the country especially in the major urban and industrial centres. Famous republican speakers targeted the workers material conditions and aspirations in their public meetings, and several others promoted associations that contested the

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<sup>12</sup> The study of these republican conspiracies after 1926 was made by Luís Farinha, *O Revirralho: revoltas republicanas contra a ditadura e o Estado Novo (1926-1940)*, Lisbon, Estampa, 1999.

social order and the power of the Church over the individuals, such as the Free Thinking and Civil Registration Association, founded in 1895. Moreover, the republican radicals organized the *Carbonária* since 1898, one secret revolutionary organization inspired in the Italian model that recruited students in the high schools, in the high public institutes and in the University, attracted shop owners and traders, public servants, army recruits, skilled and semi-skilled urban workers<sup>13</sup>. This top-down mobilization occurs during a period of disagreements in the Socialist Party and within labour unions that increasingly contested the inability of the socialist leaders to mobilize workers, not achieving tangible results and so claiming in labour congresses for a greater autonomy from the party. In this context, syndicalism provided the ideological tools for the autonomy of the labour organizations, creating an infrastructure (meaning a form of organization, networking and practices) that provided a forum for ideological diversity and debate under few postulates such as the principles of class solidarity, of the autonomy of each organization and apolitical stance<sup>14</sup>. The cooperation with the revolutionary republicans divided the social militants of different ideological backgrounds. The *interventionism* became an issue that separate those who wanted to fight against monarchy through the revolutionary path from the rest from the others: dissatisfied socialists, syndicalists and anarchists followed radical republicans at the time they began recruiting actively among the lower urban classes and in the lower ranks of the army. In this context, they begun to cooperate to the downfall of the Monarchy although conservative republicans cooperate with the governments through the Parliament for social reforms.

One of the permanent and major features of the labour movement in Portugal during this cycle of social and political instability was their ‘class identity’ and ‘class behaviour’ which became the solid ground for their organizations and autonomy from political parties. Syndicalism, more than anarchism, reinforced cultural class boundaries, and both insisted upon principles of autonomy, free association, self-discipline, and commitment to build a free society through labour organizations. This principle was reaffirmed by anarchists’ groups that were in the *Carbonaria* soon after the Republican Revolution: the anarchists intended to cooperate

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<sup>13</sup> António Ventura, *A Carbonária em Portugal 1897-1910*, 2nd edition, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2008.

<sup>14</sup> On the relationship between anarchists, republicans and socialists from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the Republican Revolution of 1910 see António Ventura, *Anarquistas, Republicanos e Socialistas em Portugal: As convergências possíveis (1892-1910)*, Lisboa, Edições Cosmos, 2000 and also from the same author *A Carbonária em Portugal 1897-1910*, 2<sup>a</sup> ed. Lisboa, Livros Horizonte, 2008. See also “A obra revolucionária da propaganda: as sociedades secretas”. In Luís de Montalvor (dir.), *História do Regime Republicano em Portugal*, Vol. II, Lisbon, 1932, pp. 202-256.



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with the new authorities as long as they keep his promises of more freedom and better conditions to the working people but also recognizing that outcome would be far from their ideal. In this way, they all know that “*tomorrow the Republic shall be against us*”<sup>15</sup>. From the new regime, anarchists wanted no sinecures, no public jobs, or positions for themselves and reprobate such opportunist behaviour they saw in republicans<sup>16</sup>.

The strategic political autonomy of the labour movement for long has been regarded as an additional source of instability and social violence, thus contributing to the end of the republican regime<sup>17</sup>. After the Revolution of 1910, the aspirations of the labouring classes and the promises made by republicans when they were in the opposition, erupted in huge strikes’ waves. On January 15, 1911 the Carbonari and the glorious Republican Civil Battalions marched in Lisbon showing their public disaffection for that ‘excessive’ labour claims and behaviour that put the new regime at risk. The strikes affected the larger and modern capitalist

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<sup>15</sup> Francisco dos Santos Viegas, “Os anarquistas perante a República”. In José Maria Nunes (org.), *A Bomba Explosiva: Depoimentos de Diversos Revolucionários* (28 de Janeiro a 5 de Outubro de 1910), Lisboa, ed. autor, 1912, pp.81-82. J. M. Nunes was blacksmith that was employed in the *Imprensa Nacional*. He an *interventionist* anarchist and carbonari, and pass to the republicanism. In 1907 he was in the secret society *Bonfim* and in the group “Os Mineiros” (The Mining Workers). He was arrested in December 13th of 1916 during the failed military coup of Machado dos Santos, the former republican hero of 1910, which was leading the troops the government sent to the western warfront. He was also in the movement of May 1917, also known as the Potato Revolution (*Revolução da Batata*) because the people at the time assault the warehouses looking for food. He lived in Trafaria, on the other side of the Tagus river, and was publicly known as a home manufacturer of bombs. See João Freire, “José Maria Nunes”. In *Biographic Data Dictionary of Anarchists, Anarchist Groups and Labour Unions* (in Portuguese) in MOSCA Information System. Available at <http://mosca-servidor.xdi.uevora.pt/projecto/> (last access 28/05/2014).

<sup>16</sup> In the same text Viegas said: “(...) it is necessary that anarchy should not be the base for exploitation of less conscientious individuals who just see in her the pleasure of a vanity or a convenient way to achieve some claim. All anarchists, those who aspire to a new ideal of splendor Light must convince that, being anarchists should not live in the shadow of the government, which somehow can be courtiers of the Republic; in the same way they could not be spies or paladins of Monarchy. The anarchist’s tribes intervened for the deployment of the Republic; they have done his duty giving their precious blood for a piece of freedom. But being consolidated the Republic, moved away the fear of a monarchist counter-revolution and the life organized in harmony with the new institutions, the place of anarchists is in the opposition, and is in that unyielding intransigence that defines those that have an ideal deeply ingrained in intimate heart and by him and which are willing to sacrifice his entire life. (...) Tomorrow the Republic should not be with us (...) *To struggle and to educate* that is the ultimate motto of anarchism.

<sup>17</sup> Vasco Pulido Valente, *O Poder e o povo: a Revolução de 1910*. Lisboa, Publicações Dom Quixote, 1976; José Tengarrinha, “As greves em Portugal: uma perspectiva histórica do século XVIII a 1920”, *Análise Social*, vol. XVII (67-68), 1981-3.º-4.º, 573-601.

organizations such as the railways companies, the urban transportation, the gas and electrical companies, the chemical industrial complex of Barreiro, near Lisbon, the textiles industries, the metallurgies, the cork industry, the fish canned industries, namely in Setúbal and the rural workers of the Alentejo and Ribatejo. Many of those firms affected by this strike wave were foreign based (such as occurred in mining, cork, canned industries, transportation, and energy), export oriented and/or belonged to foreign investors. This explosion of strikes affected not only the two main cities of the country, Lisbon and Oporto, but also the small industrial towns, the villages and the Alentejo, the region known by their agrarian capitalism. Despite that, the republican Manuel Brito Camacho, leader of the conservative party *União Republicana*, at the time in the government, managed to annul, sometimes to contain or to pervert the more socially advanced claims of the working classes such as the effective legislation on the eight hours journey in trade, industry, and agriculture, produced a law of coalitions that eliminate any bargaining power for the workers, and did not change the legal framework for workers associations. Other governments followed the same path until the end of the I World War, in key matters such as the urban leases (*lei do inquilinato*), the social security for accidents at work, the labour regime of the women and children at work, the functioning of labour courts (*Tribunais de Arbitros Avindores*) while reinforcing the repressive apparatus<sup>18</sup>. The effort of mobilization through journeys of propaganda, unionization, labour congress, strikes and other direct actions was contained when Afonso Costa decided to close the headquarters of the syndicalist organization in Lisbon, the *Casa Sindical*, on the pretext of a bloody incident: one bomb was thrown by one jobless to the Republican procession dedicated to Luís de Camões, the Portuguese poet of the 16<sup>th</sup> century that became one of the historical heroes of the republicans, killing two men and wounded several others. Syndicalists were than accused by the government of being responsible of that incident and hundreds of social militants were sent to prison in Elvas and others deported to the Portuguese Africa. Thus, the social repression became much more effective than the effort to contain and to integrate the working-class conflicts in the normal daily life of new society. On the other hand, the violent repression of strikers, the imprisonment of syndicalists, the deportations without judgement and

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<sup>18</sup> See the projects and debates on the organization of the several branches of the public forces in the minutes of the Republican Parliament from 1911 to 1916 in *Diário da Câmara dos Deputados* (1911-1926) available on the web. See also Diego Palácio Cerezales, *Portugal à Coronhada: Protesto popular e ordem pública nos séculos XIX e XX*, Lisboa, Tinta da China, 2011.

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sometimes killings during public protests became an opportunity for anarchists to emphasize the sham of the republican governments and to mobilize workers for unionization. The alleged “divorce” of the Republic from the workers, often reproduced by Portuguese historians, was an image celebrated by the syndicalist propaganda mostly in 1911 to mobilize workers and to withdraw them from the republican organizations. In fact, neither the strategy of the anarchists nor of the syndicalists was engaged with any government. In spite of that, they were active players in crucial moments defending governments through mass meetings or even joining military actions against conservative forces when the civil liberties were at stake. As we shall see, the progressive insulation of the labour organizations characterized the strategy of the military republicans during the interwar period.

The labour movement benefited from the political cleavages among the republicans, and their need for allies<sup>19</sup>. The headquarters of the labour organizations in Lisbon (*Casa Sindical*) was closed by the authorities three times and reopened two times in just three years, from 1911 to 1913, before Afonso Costa close it definitely<sup>20</sup>. Thousands were arrested, others sent to colonies but the political pressure against the so-called Portuguese Thiers was huge as one can read in minutes of the sessions in the Parliament. In the end of 1913, little more than one hundred militants were in prison. This unwavering response by the “democratic” government and their leader, Afonso Costa, since then fairly known by the nickname “syndicalist cracker” (*racha sindicalistas*) was jeopardized by the republican opposition. The participation of syndicalists in the revolution of 1917, December 5<sup>th</sup>, led by the conservative Sidónio Pais against Afonso Costa and his Democratic Party aimed the liberation of social militants. Many of them were arrested again by Sidónio and released another time after his assassination. Summing up, the political instability affected the efficiency of the republican repression against labour militancy. On the other hand, it reinforced the efficiency of the

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<sup>19</sup> The analysis of these political cleavages has been emphasized to explain the end of the First Republic under the controversial Gramsci and Poulantzas’ neo-Marxian scheme of State and social classes’ theories. See Kathleen C. Schwartzman, *The Social Origins of Democratic Collapse: The First Portuguese Republic in the Global Economy*, University Press of Kansas, 1989.

<sup>20</sup> Alexandre Vieira, *Subsídios para a História do Movimento Sindicalista em Portugal (de 1908 a 1919)*, (Lisboa, 1977), pp. 35-39.

strategy of direct action combined with legal actions, the theme of the inaugural conference at *Casa Sindical* by Emílio Costa that became a sort of hornbook of labour militants at the time<sup>21</sup>.

### **3. Entering in the modern world: the fertile field for anarcho-syndicalism mobilization**

Class identity engraved on organizations, political autonomy and apoliticism developed under political instability and government adversity and all combined to reinforce the nature of the *movement* as essentially dynamic. Each wave of organization effort was followed by local and general claims and forms of (illegal) collective actions. This convinced the conservative forces that «unions only serve to make strikes». The interaction between workers, bosses and the State evolved in climbing movement that was usually stopped by temporary concessions or by violent repression. The outcome was often the close of unions and the prison of strikers and militants at certain point of that escalade. The financing of the organization was a major issue during these cycles of the movement: it was used to support the expenses of social militants during his efforts to organize new workers and to support them during their imprisonment. The organization took the form of a bottom-up process based on free association of workers of the same trade or craft (*associações de classe*). In this process, labour congress had a key role since they were forums for debating organizational principles and strategies, and to set the agenda and the main issues. Since syndicalism and anarchism both adopted the legal action and the direct action, the legitimacy, and the constraints for the actions of the ‘executive’ committees came to rely on their decisions. The federalism principle adopted in the organization reinforced that bottom-up structure based on strict class lines (only employees of the same trade were allowed in congress, thus removing the possibility of control by politicians or bureaucrats) and the anarchist influence emphasized organizational issues more than ‘pure’ ideological principles, thus allowing that the labor unions remained a forum for debate and unity. Despite the growing influence anarchists and of their ideas among workers and organizations, the socialists remained in the common organization that was growing fast. Secluded from these struggles within labour unions were the ‘pure’ syndicalists (also called revolutionary syndicalists). They rejected both the reformism and the parliamentary strategy of the socialists and the advanced moral principles, new ethics, and ideals of anarchists in the labour organizations. They were mostly around Alexandre Vieira (1880-1974) and their newspaper *A Greve* emphasized the economic aspects of the

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<sup>21</sup> Emílio Costa, *Acção directa e acção legal*, 1ª ed., União das Associações de Classe de Lisboa (Lisboa, 1912).

syndicalism. Thus, the creation of *União Operária Nacional* (U.O.N.) happened as late as 1914 due to lack of sufficient federations and unions and maintained under the same organization those three different currents. On the other hand, not all anarchists joined or actively participated in the building of the labor organization or had the same vision about the strategies and the role of the unions in the future society of free men. Communists inspired by Kropotkin's ideas rival with collectivists in the forum of the 'advanced ideas' within the unions. Should the union be the base of the future society or the municipality (commune)? This kind of speculative debate never created any kind of schism between different types of anarchists and the solidarity ruled among them. The militancy of Gonçalves Correia (1886-1967) illustrates that statement: this itinerant merchant and follower of the ideals of Tolstoy, although apart from anarcho-syndicalists and anarcho-communists as well, financially supported *A Batalha*, the main anarcho-syndicalist newspaper after the I WW, distributed illegal union propaganda during his travels and, in spite of not being unionized, he was invited to speak and to present his vision of the future society during the 5<sup>th</sup> Congress of Rural Workers, in December 1922, in Évora (Alentejo)<sup>22</sup>.

The dynamics of syndicalism and their influence in the Portuguese labour movement can be observed in their relationship with the activity of anarchist groups. The hypothesis based on biographies of anarcho-syndicalists is that the social militants at the time had were not only active in labour unions but also on their 'specific' (anarchist) organizations based on affinity groups. We also can think that the unionizing activities could be the result of the activity of the anarchist groups inasmuch they were often developed specific activities such as anti-war or anarcho-syndicalism propaganda, solidarity with social prisoners, cultural activities, feminism and so on<sup>23</sup>. While the unionization refers mostly on the potential for workers mobilization, the number of new groups in activity each year expressed the ability to recruit new members for anarchism and/or their ability to regroup after a period of repression or deep environment change. The data available on the registered information about the creation of new anarchist groups since the law against anarchists in 1896 until 1939 suggests their close relation with the periods of harsh repression and with the known cycles of union mobilization (see graph, appendix). The time series shows ascending trend in the

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<sup>22</sup> António Gonçalves Correia, *A Felicidade de Todos os Seres na Sociedade Futura* (Beja, 1922).

<sup>23</sup> J. Freire, *Anarquistas e operários...*, p. 287-288.

formation of groups of affinity until 1906. The fall in 1907 is most probably related with the dictatorship of João Franco (May 1906 to February 1908), which published in 1908 a law that allow the deportation to the colonies of Africa and Timor all men implicated in conspiracies and crimes against state security. After his fall, their number grew sky-high, a record that follow the strike movement after the Republican Revolution (see above). The effect of the Afonso Costa's repression in 1912-1913 became evident in the following years until the end of the war. Thus, the organizational activity registered through the National Labour Congress of 1914 (Tomar) and of 1919 (Coimbra) was not followed by new anarchist group activities. Thus, the major mobilizing force rested in the harsh economic conditions created by the war since 1916 (German submarine warfare in Atlantic) which became responsible for the acute crises of food supply (see graph, annex).

The next cycle, beginning in the end of the war follows the curve of the general labour movement in Portugal. The turning point was the crises of 1923/24 that increased unemployment, aggravated by the deflationary monetary policy of the government. The effects of the repression after the failed military coup of April 1925 are evident. The two next cycles of 1930-1933 and 1935-1937 corresponds to the effort of reorganization of syndicalist and anarchist movement, when the personal costs for mobilization raised due to State persecution and repression and shall be examined in the following sections.

The combination of the new anarchist group formation with unionizing activity, government attitudes (tolerance vs. repression) and inflation confirm the old anarchist claim that their militancy was largely responsible for the labour behaviour (organization and struggles) at least for three decades. If one can see since 1890s that implied economic forces, such as the raising of the cost of living, became a central claim that mobilized workers, and triggers for collective action, defining immediate goals, on the other hand, syndicalist and anarchist militancy became historically the main agents in this context<sup>24</sup>. The relevance of this known fact should be combined with the cultural forces that one can observe through labour newspapers, literature and propaganda, ideas and feelings that at the same time organize and mobilize but also grasp the attraction of anarcho-syndicalism. The first one was the belief that they were participating in a global movement lead by workers of the more advanced industries countries such as the United States, France or England and that this

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<sup>24</sup> For a global perspective on these trends see Beverly J. Silver, *Forces of labour: workers' movements and globalization since 1870*, (Cambridge, 2003), p. 133-177.

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movement is given and shall give collective rewards in spite of the possibility of individual suffering. Until the end of the 1920's, the martyrs of Chicago, the Sacco and Vanzetti case, for instance, remained symbolic references also shared with socialists and syndicalists and even in the local trade unions' newspapers we find frequent references to what was happening in the global movement. Since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, socialists such as Sebastião Magalhães Lima and Teixeira Bastos begun to publish affordable pocketbooks under the logo "the modern ideal" about Federalism, Cooperatives, the Dissolution of Capitalism Regime, and so on, all narrating the experience of European and North American workers, and thus putting the Portuguese workers movement in that high positive changing context. Anarchism benefited from the prestige of international cultural stars and intellectuals such as León Tolstoi, Elisée Reclus, Francisco Ferrer, Emile Zola, Victor Hugo and many other figures. Students from the highly elitist University of Coimbra were lured by these ideals at this epoch perhaps in the same way that in the 1940s they became lured by the aura of supermen created by the Stalinist ideology after Stalingrad<sup>25</sup>. Although they were not able to be in workers unions, the anarchist intellectuals had a recognized key role in the propaganda of syndicalist ideals, legal defence, and social and political prestige despite the mainstream counter propaganda<sup>26</sup>.

We may also think that anarchism gave to the youngsters the sense of adventure and glorifying violence, thus benefiting from State demonization. Carlos da Fonseca, the historian of the Portuguese Anarchism in this epoch, defended that the anti-anarchist law of 1896, enacted after a several bomb attacks against industrialists and local authorities, and two attempts of aggression, pushed this Ravacholians anarchists to the Republican Party and not to the orderly Socialists that were mainly interested in mobilizing unions' workers to elect representatives to the Parliament. Thanks to Heliodoro Salgado, a revolutionary republican that attended socialists and anarchists' clubs, under the ideological umbrella of anti-clericalism and vague positive ideas for social modernization, they formed the Freedom and Progress League that became the

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<sup>25</sup> Coimbra was a small university town having only small industrial activity. See José Amado Mendes, "Para a história do Movimento operário em Coimbra", *Análise Social*, vol. XVII (67-68), 1981-3.º-4.º, 603-614.

<sup>26</sup> Aurélio Quintanilha (scientist), Abel Botelho, Mário Domingos, Manuel Ribeiro and Ferreira de Castro (all famous writers until today), Emílio Costa, Severino de Carvalho, Bernardo de Sá, Neno Vasco, Cristiano de Carvalho (journalist), Campos Lima (lowyer), Bento Faria among others. See João Freire, "Revistas Anarquistas Portuguesas: Entre a Política e a Cultura", Paper presented to *Seminário Livre da História das Ideias* (2012) available at <http://slhi.motioncreator.net/sites/default/files/revistasanarquistas.pdf> (last access 21-05-2014).

first section of the *Carbonari* organisation in 1900, two years after the decision of the P.R.P. to adopt the decision to follow the revolutionary strategy in the Congress of Setúbal. There they became familiar with bomb manufacturing and weapon handling, conceiving, and planning coordinated actions of sabotage, and bomb attacks against infrastructures, with they also combined with power strikes strategies. At the same time, these workers created also personal networks of complicity and lasting friendship that crossed their ideological borders. So, through their sabotages and strikes in the transport and infrastructures, and control of streets in Lisbon they were able to block the army support to the regime during the revolution from days 3 to 5 of October<sup>27</sup>. Thus, when the new Republican regime created the Civil Battalions to defend the Republic against her enemies, they began to repress strikers and to attack unionizers in reaction to the uncontrolled and huge wave of industrial strikes. Republican workers began to leave the republican organization to form new anarchist groups. In this way, the spurt of anarchists' group formation from 1911 to 1913 that lead to the formation of the North and South Anarchist Federations, and a Anarchist Union of Algarve, had behind that highly energized practical revolutionaries that have been recruited mainly among the urban working classes (see graph, appendix). Thus, the social dynamic anarcho-sindicalism in Portugal rests mostly on this republican education and experience, and not on their socialist party background.

After the Eight-hour day mobilization of 1898 in Lisbon and in industrial suburban towns of the South Margin of Tagus River, Portuguese anarchists began to follow similar strategies of their French comrades, being influential in the form of union organization and strategies. They gave new dynamics to the existing unions and created 'executive' branches of the labour congress to promote unionization in the most promise regions. The symptom of growing social conflict is the number of strikes that being of 1,428 in the period of 1887 to 1908 climb to 3,068 from 1909 to 1920. In 1909, the strikes reach a new peak: 173. But, in the following year there was been 535 strikes, being 338 after the Republican revolution. During the next year, the labour conflicts remained very high (419) but fell steady until the entrance in the war. In 1916 there were 205 strikes and following year registered another record: 256 strikes that mobilized 268 thousand workers<sup>28</sup>.

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<sup>27</sup> Carlos da Fonseca, *Para uma Análise do Movimento Libertário e da Sua História*, Antígona (Lisboa, 1988), pp. 18-31 and also, from the same auhor, *Introduction a l'histoire du mouvement libertaire au Portugal*, 1st ed., Centre international de recherches sur l'anarchisme (Lausanne, 1973).

<sup>28</sup> Data collected from José Tengarrinha, "As greves em Portugal...", pp. 573-601



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During the year of the government of Sidónio Pais, there was only 177 strikes, which is usually explained by the combined effect of the flu pandemic (called Spanish Flu or *Pneumónica*) since May 1918 and of the Armistice later on. In the following year the strikes resumed being of 362 but falling to 310 and in the next years.

The major triggers that mobilized workers were the rising cost of living and substantial social claims about working conditions (eight-hour day, weekly rest, working conditions). But the practice of this anarcho-syndicalism militancy was inspired in authors ‘must read’ that have been translated to Portuguese such as Kropotkine, Fernand Pelloutier, Emile Pouget, Jean Grave, Max Nettlau, Sebastian Faure, Malatesta or Elisée Reclus, among several others<sup>29</sup>. Key text conferences were also published separately and the press often publish theoretical texts. Neno Vasco (Brazilian) and the Portuguese Silva Mendes and Manuel Joaquim de Sousa also produce same theorization. Ideology emphasized organizational principles, pragmatic attitudes, tolerance under the principle of ‘human solidarity’ to capture diversity. Those principles created the conditions for greater union autonomy in conflict and organization, often empowered by the solidarity of several kind (solidarity strikes, money collection, etc.) coming from other ‘classes’.

Despite the highly restrictive legislation in the activities of labour unions, their ‘revolutionary’ conduct had no special consideration about the legality of their actions. The Republic produced the ‘law of coalitions’ which allow the workers to go on strike in certain conditions. The workers must announce their intentions several days before and the bosses had the right to fire them all (lock out), or to employ ‘yellows’. In this way, the authorities could intervene violently to defend the ‘freedom to work’. The so called ‘swindle decree’ pushed workers to illegal actions to be efficient and anarchists soon realize that strikes were a school for those who believed in the neutrality or independence of the State regarding those conflicts. Thus, like in France, the ‘direct action’ strategy worked well until then producing palpable immediate results. For that

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<sup>29</sup> The fact that the ‘syndicalist movement was not able to formulate a coherent ideological doctrine’ reinforced the general idea of the labour union social space as ‘church’, being able to embrace diversity of thoughts, opinions, and creativity. Thus, it is true that ‘at the level of theory revolutionary syndicalism remained a complex of ideas from various sources’ if we also stress the boundaries of that syncretism and tolerance dictated by rigid moral values and ethics concerning social life and collective action. Quotes from Vadim Damier, *Anarcho-syndicalism in the 20th Century* (2000), Black Cat Press (Edmonton, 2009), p.24.

reason, historians usually consider that until 1919 the Portuguese labour movement was in 'offensive' while after that was in 'defensive' and losing ground. We shall bias this assumption in the next part of this text.

The influence of anarcho-syndicalism in the labour movement was part of the unequal but also hasty modernization process. The recruitment and labour conflicts were centred in the two larger cities of the country that were growing fast (Lisbon and Oporto) and their suburban industrial small villages, industrial towns spread in country such as Covilhã, Barreiro, Marinha Grande, that often had leading foreign firms and local economies export oriented usually located in the littoral (Sines, Olhão, Faro, Portimão) and in the mining and rural areas characterized by their Mediterranean agrarian capitalism (Alentejo e Ribatejo). Most of these towns received a substantial number of rural migrants during this period. Since 1880s the canned fish industry was growing fast pulled by French firms and their markets, and cork industries and mining as well. The withdrawal from Gold Standard since the financial collapse of 1892 reinforced the protectionist tariffs, also introduced at the time, thus allowing the fast growing of large factories on textiles industries (cotton and wool) and metallurgy while urbanization increased the number of workers in building industries, transportation, and ports. Food and beverage industries begun to modernize, and retail trade became more sophisticated. The modern chemical industrial complex was established in Barreiro in the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century and few large industrial capitalist firms appeared during this period. Thus, the professional groups more actively involved in the strikes were textile workers, metallurgists, welders of the fish canned industries, tobacco workers, shoemakers, carpenters, building workers, hatters, cork stopper makers, public servants, workers from bakery industries, coopers, fishermen, typographers, workers in ceramic industries, miners, matches makers, urban and fluvial transport workers (drivers) and railway workers. Despite this economic dynamism, Portugal had no large modern steel or electrical industries and even the metallurgy was under an underdeveloped (although producing industrial boilers and light iron tools). The general image of the country was still of general backwardness combined with low technological allocation in the economy. Somehow this could be misleading since, in spite of that, modern capitalist work relations prevail, and the number of medium and large organizations was growing steadily. Where these combinations didn't exist, mobilization was often absent. So, large part of the country, characterized by sluggish or stagnant growth, small towns and a myriad of villages, being the social landscape dominated by rural peasantry has not been mobilized by

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anarcho-syndicalism. Instead, they became a reservoir for conservative mass mobilization of the ‘countryside’ against those modernizing forces in the ‘city’. Finally, we must underline that in this society, the culture of strike conflict crosses class boundaries, being considered a weapon of the week against the authority, often the government and syndicates (big firms). Since 1880s the urban retail traders in Lisbon and Oporto and wine merchant (Oporto) were actively involved in several strikes, some of them violent, against raising municipal or government taxes (*licenças*), against contracts between group of capitalists (called ‘syndicates’) to get monopolies that jeopardized their business, the cost of lightening, rising rents and so on<sup>30</sup>. They were an important group for the recruitment of revolutionary republicans such as the undergraduate students of the University of Coimbra and of High Institutes in Lisbon and Oporto that also several major strikes before and during the Republican regime. This panorama intends also to stress the raising of different types of social conflicts that were emerging at the time.

The technological backwardness corresponded in this social landscape to a working class formed by a mass of unskilled and semi-skilled workers. In other words, the skilled workers were a tiny minority. Thus, the literacy rate varied substantially among occupations. Highly mobilized classes such as typographers were all literate, but many other groups were in the opposite pole such as miners, fishermen, salt-workers, and rural waged workers. In these cases, we can easily find male illiteracy rates of 80 percent in 1910. This rate dropped to 60 percent (average) in the large cities. Female illiteracy was even higher. The literate workers’ minority usually had no more than two or four years of basic schooling, so their craft was learned in the workplace with masters, sometimes during many years. Anarchists and socialists both considered illiteracy as a major obstacle to the progress of labour movement and for that often-supported night courses for adults in their unions. Writing in the thirties, one militant from C.G.T. sadly commented the anarcho-syndicalism culture had only touched very few workers and the surface of those unionized<sup>31</sup>. In this context, the responsibility for organising workers was at the hands of one small minority.

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<sup>30</sup> See Daniel Alves, *A República atrás do balcão: os Lojistas de Lisboa e o fim da Monarquia (1870-1910)*, Chamusca, Edições Cosmos, 2012.

<sup>31</sup> In the late thirties, the confederal militant Manuel Joaquim de Sousa (1885-1940) wrote that, in spite of the low income of the workers, ‘the ideological issues, of moral, of freedom, and of human dignity, always agitate the Portuguese proletariat (...) Nor the C.G.T. would achieve the superior ascendant regarding other national organization or political

It is difficult to sustain that economic backwardness and the dominance of the non-skilled and semi-skilled workers in unions' favoured anarcho-syndicalists given that highly literate groups were also in the same federative and confederative organization. The detailed knowledge that we have about the social profile of the anarchist militant often put them in a sort of 'cultural' elite that was reinforced by their own knowledge, abilities, and social attitudes regarding their peers<sup>32</sup>. The anarchist militant was usually a skilled or semi-skilled worker and literate, cultivating new cultural habits that rejected the usual sociability and class practices and even their values. Anarchists somehow contrasted with their peers for he usually reads a lot, know how to talk in public without psychological constraints and have a different social posture regarding other classes. He shifted tavern attendance for the union fraternization, which in the process became a worker's club, having his own library and several other cultural activities<sup>33</sup>. In this context the local unions usually have two to four hundred members although few 'classes' such as railway workers and workers of State armoury factories had more than one thousand members<sup>34</sup>. Labour unions were embedded in communities (neighbourhoods, small towns) such as other cultural and recreational associations, social assistance institutions enriched this social environment. Marxist analysis often insists on the special 'class' properties of certain glorified workers, the real proletariat, such was the miner, the steelworker or factory line workers, which in this context were mobilized by anarchists. Social declassification due to technological advancement affected few specific groups such were the welders or the cork stopper hand makers in the fish canned industry but, at least in the

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parties if their struggles were reduced to mere economic claims, to a stingy materialism of the stomach. The issues related to education, for instance, given the regrettable intellectual backwardness of the working class, were of those that most concern militants and unions' (Manuel J. Sousa, *Últimos tempos the Acção Sindical Livre e do Anarquismo Militante*, Antígona, Lisboa, 1989, p.15).

<sup>32</sup> João Freire produced an extensive analysis of the social profile of anarchists' militants in Portugal from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to 1940 creating a sample of more than five thousand workers gathered from police records, newspapers, archival records and oral testimonies. See J. Freire, *Anarquistas e Operários...*, pp. 81-163. This data is now available on Intertent through Mosca Information System under the title *Historical Data Dictionary of Social Militants, Anarchist Groups and Labor Unions* (in Portuguese) (see <http://mosca-servidor.xdi.uevora.pt/projeto/>). Alexandre Vieira and Edgar Rodrigues produced short biography notes of these militants.

<sup>33</sup> This cultural dimension of the worker's emancipation as individual and group was emphasized in the cultural texts at the time and underlined by previous historians. See Carlos da Fonseca, *Para uma análise do Movimento Libertário e da Sua História*, Antígona, Lisboa, 1988, pp.55-80.

<sup>34</sup> J. Freire, *Anarquistas...*, p.129.

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case of Setúbal, their unions remained socialist. Industrialization and demographic change pressed old crafts under the needs of an expansive market economy. But we hardly find any firm linkage with anarcho-syndicalism: tailors of Lisbon, for instance, remained socialists. However, the anarchist militant did have some current characteristics regarding certain the types of work and their organizational environment. The militant anarchist in this period is male (98 per cent), came from the working classes (87 per cent), lived in urban contexts (71 per cent), mostly in Lisbon (41 per cent) or in Oporto (19 per cent)<sup>35</sup>. His adhesion to anarchist ideas was through his personal experiences in the life of unions (63 per cent) and his participation in youth syndicalist organizations (28 per cent), so being of less importance the familiar influence or their passage by republicans or socialists environments. If one considers his job adequacy regarding the dimension of the organization, their power, autonomy at work, skills, physical effort and team work, space the 'typical' anarchist militant did not fit well in that image of being a craftsman threatened by industrialization and incoherently radicalized or even in the Hobsbawn's stereotype of the qualities of the local shoemaker or barber that in the real world became sometimes an informer of the political police<sup>36</sup>. Moreover, the inadequacy of professional values and objective work situation of militants increases until 1940<sup>37</sup>. So, we must emphasize that the geography of the communist recruitment during this interwar period coincides with anarcho-syndicalism geography and fitted in the same occupational groups. After the Carnation Revolution, this map also overlaps the geography of the revolutionary mobilization. Portugal was considered then as being blocked in his modernization path by the conservative forces and by the oligarchy that insulated the country from Europe's progressive social model.

The Portuguese labour experience during the interwar period is characterized by the development of the unions' organization under the predominance of the anarchist ideology in the Workers' Federations and in the *Confederação Geral do Trabalho* (C.G.T.), created after the 2<sup>nd</sup> National Congress of the *União Operária*

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<sup>35</sup> J Freire, *Anarquistas...*, p. 263-267

<sup>36</sup> French and Italian historiography during the 1970s also related anarchism with economic backwardness. See, for instance, Henri Dubieff, *Le Syndicalisme Révolutionnaire*, Paris, Armand Colin, ch. 'Les facteurs historiques du syndicalisme révolutionnaire'. On the opposition direction was Carlos da Fonseca (see above) and Peter Merten, *Anarchismus und Arbeiterkampf in Portugal*, Libertare Assoziation, (Hamburg, 1981). See also Ralph Darlington, "Syndicalism and the influence of anarchism in France, Italy and Spain", *Anarchist Studies* 17.2, 2009, pp. 29-50.

<sup>37</sup> J Freire, *Anarquistas...*, p. 71.

*Nacional* (U.O.N.), then extinct, but also of harsh workers mobilization against the conservative, fascist and anti-republican forces. This was also a period of fierce communist competition and solvent behaviour inside unions, by discrediting anarchist and syndicalist militants and capturing from inside the direction of labour unions, and finally provoking a schism that fragmented all the union organization at the time unity where need. During Thirties, sectarianism prevailed under the claims of workers unity by communists that put all efforts to create popular anti-fascist fronts in which they could burn oppositionists or control. After the right-wing Military Movement of 1926, the bosses and of the State increased their offensive against workers organizations, being the outcome, a substantial setback of the social conquests recently achieved. Thus, anarcho-syndicalists had to face growing insulation from the republicans (for the 'democratic' military attempted to overthrow the regime without the participation of civilians), fierce police persecution and harsh competition from authoritarian forces on the left. In the following parts we shall analyse this political process shown the role of the interaction of several social and political forces, and the effect of the international labour movement to explain the outcome.

#### **4. The denouement of the parliamentary republic (1918-1926)**

Despite its principled opposition to the war, which in Portugal's case involved military engagement on the distant front in France and the equally costly operations in southern Angola, northern Mozambique and the Atlantic, the anarcho-syndicalist movement exploited this period to strengthening itself to launch an offensive after the war ended, despite the failure of the general strike in November 1918. This indeed happened, but not in the way its organisers imagined, and led largely to the loss of the benefits and impact of this popular mobilisation<sup>38</sup>.

In addition to conscription, the suffering and the human losses caused by participation in the conflict, the scarcity of food and the price increases considerably worsened the economic condition of the lower classes, leading to assaults to commercial houses in Lisbon (the so called 'Potato Revolution' from 19 to 21 May of 1917), Oporto and other small towns, and police chase of social militants. After the dissolution of U.O.N and other Labour Federations in Lisbon by the government in March 1916, the willingness of the

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<sup>38</sup> Joana Dias Pereira, *A Produção Social da Solidariedade Operária: o caso de estudo da península de Setúbal*, (Lisboa, 2013) PhD thesis in History, FCSH-UNL, pp. 284 and after.

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labour militants to get involved in rupture movements increased<sup>39</sup>. However, given the responsibility of the republican parties for Portugal's involvement in the conflict and their internal political activities (anti-clerical, repression of the working classes, demagogic discourse), the reaction that did come was nationalist and militarist (although weakened by the war effort). After the revolution of 8 December 1917, Sidónio Pais attempted to establish a presidential 'New Republic' having the support of the labour unions so he promises to free all syndicalists that were in jail or deported and to implement several important social reforms. Sidónio Pais released the prisoners due to 'social issues' but refuses to implement any social reforms and to govern with the corporative collaboration of the High Council of Work (*Conselho Superior do Trabalho*) that still had to be created. In May of 1918 the U.O.N. began to prepare one general offensive to force the government to accept his program, showing his muscle in public meetings and parades. Sidónio reacted by not allowing public meetings (13 September of 1918) and offering to the urban poor soup, charity, nationalist discourses, military parades and Church mobilization. This led the U.O.N. to the revolutionary General Strike of 18 November of 1918. However, this revolutionary attempted failed. The end of the war few days earlier (11 November of 1918) created a general optimistic mood in the population, and the government had also anticipated his move by arresting several syndicalists of the 'executive committee'. But the year ended in violence (the assassination of the president in December 1918), just as it had begun (with the bloody military coup of December 1917).

The post-war period thus began with a whirlwind of events. While the anarchists, syndicalists, socialists and nascent Bolsheviks, who were at this point united and with their ranks swelling with troops returning from the front, prepared for future struggles by publishing labour newspapers (the daily *A Batalha* and *A Bandeira Vermelha*, *O Combate* and *O Avante*), expanding the syndicalist organisation and founding the C.G.T. (*Confederação Geral do Trabalho*) after the National Labour Congress of Coimbra (15 September of 1919), the country fell into a civil war caused by a monarchist coup that managed to take control of the north of the country for almost one month (January 1919). It is true the libertarian movement joined the republicans on the streets to defeat the monarchist insurrectionists. However, the new government of

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<sup>39</sup> For an overview of the political conflicts and popular unrest in these years see also Vasco P. Valente, A "República Velha": 1910-1917, Alenteia, (Lisbon, 2010) and, from the same author, 'A Revolta dos Abastecimentos: Lisboa, Maio de 1917', *Economia*, vol. I, n.º 2, (Lisbon, Maio de 1977), pp. 187 -218.

republican unity lead by João Chagas decided to face the problem of the 'labour insurgency' by nominating the socialist Augusto Dias da Silva to the new Labour Ministry. During few months, he tried to implement social reforms that have been blocked in the recent past such as the Eight-hours day' legislation (although restricted to trade and industry), the mandatory protection against work accidents in several industries, subsidy at the old age, disease and disablement, economic support to poor pregnant women, and social houses. Most of these political measures had no immediate effect (such as social housing) or where highly controversial like his plan to centralize 'social welfare' that required the integration in the State of hundreds of local mutual aid organizations that immediately resisted to this project for good reasons. The 'social insurances' became another field for business since unions did not control it. In sum, this policy had almost no effect on the growing labour unrest since 1916.

The workers reacted against the liberalization of several food prices that come out at the same time. The growing inflation pushed new professional groups to strikes almost paralyzing the state as the civil servants, the employees of post office and communication services and the 'well paid' workers of the state army and navy industries, being under military discipline. In this context, the C.G.T. reorganized and embarked on its own increasingly confusing developments in which it became entangled in divisions and exclusions.

The military insurrection of October 1921, in which several old scores were settled in blood (with the assassination of the prime minister and some of the founders of the republic), and which was the final confrontation involving large numbers of soldiers, sailors and armed civilians, decided to change the governance of the country. This appalling public disorder was a sign for the various conservative forces in Portuguese society to unite to put an end to the republic and install an authoritarian regime of laws in the country. Meanwhile, encouraged by its immediate economic successes, the workers' unions related to C.G.T. embarked on a series of important strikes in those sectors in which it was strongest (the food and metal industries, construction, printing, cork, wood, shoemaking and textiles) as well as among rural workers and miners in the Alentejo,<sup>40</sup> in transport, communications, arsenals and among public sector workers, securing

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<sup>40</sup> Paulo Guimarães, *Indústria e conflito no meio rural: Os mineiros alentejanos (1858-1938)*, Lisbon, Colibri, 2001; Alberto Franco, *A revolução é a minha namorada: Memória de António Gonçalves Correia, anarquista alentejano*, Castro Verde, Câmara Municipal, [n.d].



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salary increases in the context of high inflation and getting concessions on some demands (such as the eight-hour working day and social security) that the Versailles Peace Conference and the nascent International Labour Organisation (ILO) recommended, and the Portuguese socialists sought to put into practice. This offensive strike wave continued until about 1922-23 with serious damage to the workers organization. They often evolve to long conflicts, enduring months, being directly supported by the 'all mighty' C.G.T. each conflict, being a sort of an arm-wrestling between bosses and the workers organization. In the end, these tactics jeopardized his goals. The results achieved after huge sacrifices and often violent struggles were disappointing, and the leave of unions by workers, the daily persecutions of unionizers by bosses and authorities, and the mutual personal recriminations among syndicalists and organizations became the bitter outcome. Thus, 1923 seems also to have been a pivotal year on the international scene, with the dictatorship of General Miguel Primo de Rivera in Spain (with the abstention of the socialist party), the consolidation of Mussolini's regime in Italy and the rise of Kemal Ataturk in Turkey, as well as Hitler's failed Munich putsch. Those events have shown to the anarcho-syndicalists and his organizations that they should prepare to face the fascists. *A Batalha*, the daily newspaper of C.G.T., published several dark articles about the near most probable right-wing reaction that was coming.

The open discussion within C.G.T. about the nature, strategies and results of the Russian revolution that had begun in 1919 in the workers press and conferences ended in a schism. Because of the developments in Russia, in March 1921, the anarchists and Bolsheviks split in the wake of the formation of the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP—*Partido Comunista Português*), precisely at the moment the Bolsheviks were crushing the uprising of the Kronstadt sailors and as the defeat of the Ukrainian Makhnovists was being planned. The tensions around the «question of the Internationals» increased during the following year. Finally, the National Labour Conference of the CGT, which took place in Covilhã in October 1922, confirmed the result of an earlier referendum, and voted to join the revolutionary-syndicalist International Workers' Association (IWA), which had recently been re-established in Berlin. By doing so it was prevented from joining both the Red International of Labour Unions (RILU) and the Moscow-led Communist International (Komintern).<sup>41</sup> The main ideological conflict within the organised working class had begun; a division that

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<sup>41</sup>César Oliveira, *O movimento sindical português: A primeira cisão*, Europa-América, (Mem Martins, 1980).

was to be definitive and, because of their constant quarrels and internal opposition manoeuvres, decisively reduced the ability of the entire workers' movement from being able to act effectively.

The demobilisation of conscripts, the conversion from the economies of war and the political disorder that reigned in many European countries were translated into the serious phenomenon of economic crises (unemployment, inflation, hunger and migration) that marked not only the decade, but the entire inter-war period. In Portugal, the war effort contributed in no small measure to the collapse of the public finances while also creating a social problem with a bloated army that demanded to be paid. The crises of low productivity installed throughout the economy meant the state could not move on, other than through the introduction of politically expedient measures. Since the war, anarcho-syndicalists, socialists and republicans had participated in initiatives forcing the government to establish administrative food prices and, in this context, the government created a subsidized mechanism for the bread that became a political issue in the context of high inflation. In 1923, August 19<sup>th</sup> the new power balance allowed government to decree the end of this 'bread policy' and increasingly resorted to political repression in response to the workers' struggle and the aggression of the unions, reintroducing the former practice of deportation to the distant colonies.<sup>42</sup> Unemployment, wage cuts and inflation began to erode the gains that workers had obtained through their earlier strikes and protests. In addition to this, the republican bourgeoisie, and the more conservative sectors of society (Catholics, nationalists, traditionalists, monarchists, landowners, the high ranks of the military, and young officers, the mobilized 'rural world') were taking stock of ten years of the new regime and, looking at what was happening elsewhere in Europe, began to seek to harmonise their interests in order to create an authoritarian political solution that could bring an end to the 'anarchy of the republic'. Since party and parliamentary solutions almost always clash with the reality of ephemeral and fragmented governments and, particularly, of an electoral system that systematically gave a (relative) majority to the Portuguese Republican Party (PRP—*Partido Republicano Português*)—moreover, one that was relative and insufficient for it to govern—it was led towards the alternative of a military conspiracy that was not yet sufficiently organised in 1925 (Sinel de Cordes' coup), but which was applauded one year later as it marched through the avenues under the leadership

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<sup>42</sup> Fernando Medeiros, *A sociedade e a economia portuguesas nas origens do Salazarismo*, Lisbon, A Regra do Jogo, 1978, pp.275-295.

## SYNDICALISM AND ANARCHISM IN PORTUGAL DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD

of the autophagic triumvirate of Commander Mendes Cabeçadas, General Manuel Gomes da Costa and General Óscar Carmona.<sup>43</sup>

On November 25<sup>th</sup> of 1924 the left-wing of the P.R.P. led by José Domingos dos Santos managed to form government through parliamentary dispute and intended to carry forward a progressive program based in social and economic reforms that frightened the conservatives (progressive taxation, land reform use, bank reform, labour progressive legislation and so on)<sup>44</sup>. Since then, the country entered in a sort of «power duality» in which the conservatives controlled the repressive forces while in parliament the opposition blocked his initiatives. The so called ‘left-handed’ government was supported by the left of P.R.P., the ‘radical’ republicans, the communists and their labour organizations, and socialists. Although refusing to be part of a formal political block, the CGT had a major role in the defence of the government through mass mobilization. Having no internal political support, the government of Santos fell on February of 1925. On 18 April there was a frustrated attempt of military coup promoted by a group of generals and supported by filo-fascists and conservatives. As consequence of this ‘duality of powers’ the generals were released after being presented to military court few months later on September 1st and considered ‘national heroes’ by the judge Óscar Carmona, the future leader of the military dictatorship and president of the New State (1926-1951)<sup>45</sup>. On the contrary, social militants were arrested during the government of Victorino Guimarães (February 1925) and hundreds were sent to the colonies without judgement afterwards. The legal defence of social militants exhausted financially the C.G.T. and so the lawsuits against his newspaper *A Batalha*.

The schism provoked by the authoritarian communists of P.C.P. in 1924 represented a deep blow to C.G.T. organization in this context, mainly because they controlled the union workers of the state armoury and the transport federation which were highly unionized and good contributors. In the following year, the left-wing party of the P.R.P. created a new party, the Left Democratic Party (Partido da Esquerda Democrática) to run for elections. They present candidates having the support of the P.C.P. on the areas

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<sup>43</sup> The PRP was the Jacobin parent of the republican movement led by Afonso Costa, which was, ironically, also known as the Democratic Party.

<sup>44</sup> See António José Queiróz, *A Esquerda Democrática e o final da Primeira República*, Horizonte (Lisboa, 2008), ch. 2. Pacheco Pereira, *Análise Social*

<sup>45</sup> Few months later, another military coup led by the General Mendes Cabeças at July 19 failed and the leaders were also released.

unionized by C.G.T. organizations while the Socialist Party was in the P.R.P. lists. There were elected only 6 deputies from the L.D.P. over 163 deputies while the P.R.P. got 83 and being another time the winner. After the election, the *Bandeira Vermelha*, the newspaper of P.C.P. considered the abstention of the C.G.T. a «very serious mistake» and a «crime» accusing the «anarcho-syndicalists of surrender to the bourgeoisie»<sup>46</sup>.

The communist schism of 1924 instigated an environment of sectarianism that put that put the C.G.T. on the verge of disintegration. The attitude of tolerance of the C.G.T. allowed them to debate his ideas on *A Batalha* while within unions they create groups for their control, using all the means of propaganda to discredit the C.G.T. The P.C.P. was created in 1921 and recruited mostly among former syndicalists and youngsters from the Syndicalist Youth<sup>47</sup>. Their number in 1925 was estimated on 1,200 members only. Since 1923 they were actively engaged in several political pushes in association with radical republicans, always thinking they were in the aurora of the social revolution and accusing CGT of all sort of things, before they decided to run for elections later. At the same time, they intended to took control of CGT from inside, influencing delegates. In the streets of Lisbon, there press was scandalized by the bombing attacks to bakeries (after the end of the ‘bread policy’), industrialists, judges and police high officers imputed to the mysterious *Legião Vermelha*, one secret and violent group supposedly created on the edge of the Youth Syndicalist Organization.

Militant anarchism sought to correct the known weaknesses of radical syndicalist action based on direct action through strikes, sabotage, and attacks on class unity—which had, incidentally, almost monopolised its willingness to act, and exhausting it, so to speak. However, it was too little too late. In addition to this, the anarcho-syndicalist strategy had its setbacks: for example, the success of *A Batalha* created an elite group of professional journalists who often began to make their own policies,<sup>48</sup> and who

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<sup>46</sup> António José Queiroz, ‘As eleições legislativas de 1925’, *HISTÓRIA: Revista da Faculdade de Letras*, (Porto, 2010) III Série, vol. 11, pp. 63-94. See also José Pacheco Pereira, “Contribuição para a história do Partido Comunista Português na I República (1921-26)”, *Análise Social*, vol. XVII (67-68), 1981-3.º-4.º, 695-713.

<sup>47</sup> About the Syndicalist Youth see Filipa Freitas, *Les Jeunes Syndicalistes au Portugal (1913-1926) : Idéologie, violence et révolution*, (Paris, 2007). – Phd thesis, EHESS.

<sup>48</sup> Although limited by the orientations of U.O.N. and the statues of C.G.T. later on, ‘the ideological line was not rigid’, reviling the flexibility that the adaptation of the newspaper editors to new situations. When C.G.T. join the A.I.T. (Amsterdam) after the Congress of Covilhã (September 1922), the controversial opinions ceased in the pages of *A*

thereby came into conflict with the CGT's leading bodies (the council and the confederate committee); on other occasions the personal rivalry between certain leaders created incompatibilities that paralysed the movement, an example of which was the rivalry between the two best known anarchist militants, Santos Arranha and Manuel Joaquim de Sousa.<sup>49</sup> This is without even mentioning the permanent political guerrilla actions taking place between the syndicalists and those loyal to Moscow; between those calling for a dictatorship of the proletariat and those calling for electoral participation, neither of which were acceptable to the libertarians—all under the repression of the republican authorities, with the frequent arrest of union members and the closure of their newspapers.

Thus, seeking alternative responses for the social organisation of residents of the poorer urban neighbourhoods, anarcho-syndicalists created workers' union committees, social studies libraries, and centres, etc)—particularly in Lisbon and Oporto—and the improved organisation and interconnection of anarchist groups that, with an average of seven members, had limited ability to intervene and often engaged in acts that were contradictory in themselves. Libertarian communists of Oporto and the Labour Union Chamber of that city joined the *Bloco de Defesa Social* promoted by radical republicans, left-wing democrats, socialists and communists. In spite of their anti-political stance, the CGT joined the Workers' Economic Expropriation League with other progressive forces, in defence of a radical socialist programme, to respond to the right-wing political block lead by the bosses (*União dos Interesses Económicos*). The CGT became under political pressure by communists and other left forces to enter in the political game to stop the menace of a fascist coup. From 1<sup>st</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> February those forces tried a military coup and the lack of support from the CGT due to ideological sectarianism was considered responsible for this failure<sup>50</sup>. The CGT, on the other hand, did not want to compromise his organization on political adventures to support political programmes from other

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*Batalha*. Afterwards it became a trench in the attacks against dissidents. See Jacinto Baptista, *Surgindo vem ao longe a nova aurora: Para a história do diário sindicalista A Batalha (1919-1927)*, Amadora, Bertrand, 1977, p.81.

Manuel Joaquim de Sousa, a confederal militant, wrote harsh critics regarding the journalists of *A Batalha* in key moments: «the orientation of the journal regarding the military movement of 28<sup>th</sup> May was of real sabotage to C.G.T.». See Manuel Joaquim de Sousa, *Últimos Tempos de Acção Sindical Livre e do Anarquismo Militante*, Antígona, (Lisboa, 1989), p.38; 48-49.

<sup>49</sup> Manuel Joaquim de Sousa, *Últimos tempos de acção sindical livre...*, Antígona, Lisbon, 1989.

<sup>50</sup> António José Queiroz, *A Esquerda Democrática e o Final da Primeira República*, Horizonte, (Lisbon, 2008), pp.

forces and was making efforts to reorganize also following the anarchist organization. Thus, in 1923 the Portuguese Anarchist Union (UAP—*União Anarquista Portuguesa*) was established. Divided into three regional federations it held conferences and congresses, established the movement's main newspaper (*A Anarquista* , which attempted to impose a single political position on the various groups) and participated in the foundation of the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI—*Federação Anarquista Ibérica*) in Valencia in 1927.

Another focus of problems for the social movement was the excessive protagonism of young workers who were willing to take radical and violent action in support of their anti-military political stance<sup>51</sup>. Local groups of the Syndicalist Youth (*Juventudes Sindicalistas*) were often in evidence in the propaganda, the political struggle, and bombings of those years, and along with the Bolshevik youth, which were accused of creating the phantom terrorist organisation, the Red Legion. Arrests, deportations, and the death of social militants were followed by violent action against the judges of the special social courts, the police, and certain bosses. Their targets organised in turn—and more effectively (the Employers' Confederation [*Confederação Patronal*] and the Union of Economic Interests [*UIE—União dos Interesses Económicos*])—establishing groups of Catalanian inspired '*pistoleros*', which caused more incidents affecting public opinion, including the stabbing of a former syndicalist who had gone on join an employers' combat organisation.

## **5. Facing the military dictatorship (1926-1933) under ideological competition**

*The Labour organ, A Batalha, while disclaiming any interest in political party quarrels, states that the working classes will not accept any form of dictatorship and calls on them to resist it by force of arms. A general strike, but so far only in principle, has been declared by the General Confederation of Labour, but it is to be made effective if necessary. So far, the confederation's efforts to produce general strikes have been singularly unsuccessful, its funds are small, and its membership is limited.*

Sir L. Carnegie to Sir Austen Chamberlain [W 5107/12/36], Lisbon, June 2, 1926 (No. 146.)

*British Embassy dispatch on military uprising of 28 May 1926*

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<sup>51</sup> The Syndicalist Youth was the organization of the youth that were created in 1913 being organized by locality and related with the union organizations and with anarchists groups. Their militants were young workers but also students being the predominant ideology libertarian. See João Freire, "As Juventudes Sindicalistas: Um Movimento Singular", *Penélope* 4 (Lisboa, Nov. 1989) and Filipa de Freitas, *Les Jeunes Syndicalistes au Portugal (1913-1926): Idéologie, violence et révolution*, PhD. Thesis, EHESS (Paris, 2007).

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The evolution of the events that followed the coup demonstrated how other factors were responsible for the CGT's inability to respond to the fascist menace<sup>52</sup>. Shortly after the declaration of a general strike 'in principle', the members of the Confederal Committee (*Comité Confederal*) were called before the new minister of the interior, Mendes Cabeçadas, who informed them of the armed forces' intentions and ordered the closure of the CGT's offices as well as those of the Lisbon Union of Workers Syndicates (*União de Sindicatos Operários de Lisboa*), the Civil Construction Federation (*Federação da Construção Civil*) and the Syndicalist Youth Federation (*Federação das Juventudes Sindicalistas*) and to arrest all of their members unless *A Batalha* published an order calling off the general strike. The notice was printed on 8 July. Meanwhile, the Resistance Committee (*Comité de Resistência*) met with the deposed prime minister and informed him of the CGT's intentions while requesting 15,000 guns with which to 'arm the people of Lisbon'. Military officers in Lisbon who had remained loyal to the overthrown government would not agree, and instead decided not to resist the new government. The CGT was left with a choice: either support a movement led by members of the armed forces, or take the initiative and prepare for a general strike that could count on the support of those within the military who described themselves as 'democrats'. The first opportunity appeared on 3 February 1927, with a second attempt on 20 July 1928.

The CGT was ill-prepared for the revolution of 3 February 1927. Days before, the offices of *A Batalha* on the Calçada do Combro in Lisbon had been seized by the police, with everyone in the building—which was also the offices of the CGT—being arrested. They were released on 7 February, the day the rising broke out in Lisbon. This meant that during the uprising the newspaper, which was an important vehicle for mobilising the working classes, was closed. More important was the stance taken by the troops involved in the uprising, who seemed to want to limit civilian involvement. General Sousa Dias, commander of revolutionary forces in Oporto, later confirmed in court the civilians who took part in the uprising were already armed and that they had been used «as auxiliaries and as reserves». His desire was that the conflict would be exclusively

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<sup>52</sup> In this part we shall also resume the contribution of Paulo Guimarães, 'Cercados y Perseguidos: La *Confederação Geral do Trabalho (CGT)* en los últimos años del Sindicalismo Revolucionário en Portugal (1926-1938). In Mercedes Gutierrez Sánchez e Diego Palacios Cerezales, *Conflicto Político, democracia y dictadura: Portugal y España en la década de 1930*, Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, Madrid, 2007, pp.199-227.

between soldiers.<sup>53</sup> For his part, the communist José da Silva recalls in his memoirs how a group of 200 workers met at Oporto's Campanhã railway station, where in vain they waited for hours to be supplied with weapons and ammunition.<sup>54</sup> Thus, while it is not possible—given what we know now—to evaluate the extent of the CGT's participation in the two military revolts, everything points towards a divorce between the actions undertaken by the armed forces and the initiatives of the workers organizations.

Following the 3 February Revolution, the government engaged in a major offensive of repression against workers' organisations and 'against all those who were known to have ideas not in conformity with those of the military dictatorship'. Many CGT militants were arrested and deported, including the confederation's general secretary, Mário Castelhana. The headquarters Chamber of Labour Unions of Oporto (*Câmara Sindical do Trabalho do Porto*) and the Syndicalists Youth (*Juventudes Sindicalistas*) were closed, their members arrested, and their property seized<sup>55</sup>. In Lisbon, the office on the Calçada do Combro was closed, the CGT was banned and the groups that used the office were prevented from operating. After a short period during which *A Batalha* was able to be printed legally—between April and May and 2 November—the building was seized yet again: this time the authorities removing and destroying everything inside, with the property then being rented out as homes for the families of police officers. By the beginning of 1928 almost all members of the Confederal Committee were in prison and being subjected to the worst police abuse. For this reason, by the time of the outbreak of the 20 July 1928 movement (the Castle Revolt [*Revolta do Castelo*]) the CGT was even weaker.

From that moment on the CGT illegalized appeared to the public as the Inter-Federal Commission for the Defence of Workers (CIFDT—*Comissão Inter-Federal de Defesa dos Trabalhadores*). It was not until 18 January 1934, when very little remained of the confederation that the CGT finally went underground. During

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<sup>53</sup> A. H. Oliveira Marques (org.), *O General Sousa Dias e as revoltas contra a ditadura, 1926-1931*, Lisbon, Dom Quixote, 1975; Luís Farinha, *O Revirinho: Revoltas republicanas contra a ditadura e o Estado Novo, 1926-1940*, Lisbon, Estampa, 1998

<sup>54</sup> José Silva, *Memórias de um operário*, vol. 2, Convergência, (Oporto, 1971); Douglas Wheeler, *A ditadura militar portuguesa, 1926-1933*, Mem Martins, Europa-América, 1988.

<sup>55</sup> The *Câmara Sindical do Trabalho* were created under the CGT organization framework to coordinate the activities of several local labour unions to face issues that transcended their craft. This structure was created after the Congress of Covilhã in 1922.



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this period its operation were marked by both legal and subversive clandestine acts. In the former it operated with unions and the government to protect workers from illegal practices of the employers in the defence of their rights and took part in meeting with the authorities that followed the government's agenda to face labour issues (unemployment policy, taxes on workers, working hours and so on). In the latter case was *A Batalha*, which was used to help organise strikes and the disastrous involvement in the revolutionary general strike of 18 January 1934. Against this background the employers and the state began their offensive, one made worse by the economic crisis of 1930-32, as the angry division between CGT affiliates and their communist rivals led to the withering of the confederal organisation. Thus, in the early Thirties the labour organizations were divided between the CGT, that remained still the prestigious and the major social force, although under attack on the left from Communist Inter-Syndical Commission (*Comissão Inter-Sindical*), the socialist Federation of Workers' Associations (*Federação das Associações Operárias*) and some independent unions.

The installation of the military regime further strengthened the position of the employers and led to a deterioration of working conditions, continuing a trend that had begun some years before. The unemployment and underemployment grew under monetarist policies after 1924 and became much worse after the crises of 1929/30. The authorities' fierce persecution to unionizers corresponded to a deeply worsening in disrespect of former labour contracts by the bosses. Thus, the number of allegations of abuses of several kind received by the powerless Confederal Committee of the CGT increased at the beginning of the 1930s. The struggle to defend the law governing working hours (and with it the question of unemployment) became central to the unions. (Other matters included safety at work and the lack of protection provided to workers under the social security laws because of the way the insurance companies operated.) In Lisbon the pressure the unions exerted on the civil governor led him to oblige some companies to comply with the law. However, this proved to be a temporary and limited victory, since their continued compliance depended on constant pressure being exerted by the unions. A short time later the government passed responsibility for all matters relating to health and safety at work to the Compulsory Insurance and Social Welfare Institute (*Instituto de Seguros Sociais Obrigatórios e de Previdência Social*). Matters relating to public order (and the power to enforce the law) remained in the hands of the civil governors and council administrators. At the same time the government invited union representatives to review the regulations governing working hours and to define the 'Labour Statute'. When this invitation was issued, news of the brutal treatment meted out to union members in police

cells in Oporto in the wake of the protests of 30 May 1932 was arriving in Lisbon. The CGT's position was to reject any involvement in negotiations that could lead to the reduction or elimination of previously won 'benefits'<sup>56</sup>. Its agenda, to defend existing legislation and union freedom, clashed head-on with the government's objectives. A circular from the Lisbon Chamber of Labour Unions (*Câmara Sindical do Trabalho de Lisboa*) demonstrated its lack of interest in the elaboration of the labour code being proposed by the General Intendancy of the Public Security Police (*IGPSP—Intendência Geral da Polícia de Segurança Pública*), stating that its agenda was the same as that of the CGT (via the CIFDT). This rested on four basic points: compliance with the maximum eight-hour working day; implementation of the laws governing accidents at work and providing protection to women and minors in the workplace and calling for them to be paid the same as men; the release and return of all those imprisoned or deported for social reasons; and the reopening of all union offices and the return of the all property belonging to the workers' organisation's newspaper.<sup>57</sup> A short time later the government withdrew the permits of all workers' organisations that still enjoyed legal status (under the terms of the 1891 law). During the following months union officials, acting in the name of the affected unions, made unsuccessful attempts through the ministry of labour to have their rights restored by legal means. Since 1929 the government had attempted to close the unions by decree.<sup>58</sup> The CGT thus appears increasingly helpless and impotent when faced with the demands from across the country to stand up to the Ministry of Labour. The 'legal route' brought no improvement in the living conditions of working people, nor did it improve the unions' margin for manoeuvre. Faced with an increasingly weakened base, the CGT's leaders concentrated their efforts in providing whatever support they could to strengthen the base.

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<sup>56</sup> On this events see also Fátima Patriarca, *A Questão Social no Salazarismo 1930-1947*. Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda (Lisbon, 1995), vol. I, pp. 91-109; 153-173.

<sup>57</sup> Circular 3 from the Lisbon Chamber of Labour Unions. BNP, ACPC, N61, AHS, ms. 1139

<sup>58</sup> For example, see the February 1929 circular issued by the Fraternal Class Association of Lisbon Tailors (*Associação Fraternal de Classe dos Operários Alfaiates de Lisboa*) and addressed to the leaders of all the capital's union organisations. In this circular, Manuel Ribeiro invited all of the city's union organisations to address the problem posed by Decree 13.607, which obliged the unions to seek from the government a permit that cost 400 escudos. 'This leadership is convinced that the Minister of Finances [correction, of the Interior] is not seeking to bring about the end of the workers' associations; however, Decree 13.607 will oblige the majority to break up due to the impossibility of complying given the lack of financial resources of most of class associations' (BNP, ACPC, N61, AHS 2649, ms 1030).

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The reports of the delegates to Confederal committee during the economic crisis of 1930-32 shows that they were convinced at first that the working masses would return to their unions in spite of the repressive environment<sup>59</sup>. At the same time, the installation of the Spanish republic in April 1931 gave them hope and convinced them it was necessary to re-launch the confederation organisation in the hope the dictatorship would crumble. During this brief period there was some attempt to reorganise the federal structure; however, there was no direct correspondence between this and the mobilisation of workers. Consequently, the illusions were soon shattered as it became clear the economic crisis unfolding under the military dictatorship was further weakening the position of the workers, and that of the unions. The delegations sent from Lisbon to the north and the south of the country met with resistance from local union leaders who, lacking belief in the old 'methods of union struggle', had converted to communism. In any case, the task of union reorganisation from 1930 to 1933 was directly related to the development of local struggles that often resulted in 'partial victories', but always at the cost of the ending of union activity and the sacrifice of activists who paid for their actions with persecution, prison or death.

The economic crisis exacerbated the 'labour crisis', creating serious problems of unemployment and underemployment. In the sectors that concentrated more on exports, such as mining, conserves, cork and wine, the workers suffered greatly from underemployment. However, in the textile centres in the interior (especially in Covilhã and Castanheira da Pêra) there were pay cuts, increases in the working day, unemployment, an increase in the employment of women and minors and, finally, a lack of respect for time off. In some industries there were significant changes to working processes. For example, in Setúbal, trawlers took over the fishing industry and the introduction of automatic sealing machines in the canning industry led to the swift disappearance of solderers. In the large cork companies this process was also intensified, with the increase in labour productivity achieved via mechanisation, deskilling, intensification, the feminisation of factory work and an increasing use of home working.

The open conflicts of the early 1930s largely resulted in the correlation of local forces, more in the ability of workers to react to the reduction of their rights and the worsening of their living conditions than in the sharing of the revolutionary ideas of the union militants. On the other hand, the flash demonstrations that took place in Lisbon and Oporto on 1 May 1931 promoted by the P.C.P., which were directly motivated by

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<sup>59</sup> See BNP, ACPC, N61, AHS / CGT fund: *committee reports, 1930-1935*.

increased unemployment and worsening working conditions and by the propaganda actions that had been carried out, had no significant political consequences except for the visibility of the communists. While union meetings were always well attended (and watched by the police), this mobilisation was too weak to organise a general strike against the military dictatorship. Similarly, reactions to government plans to impose a two per cent tax on salaries as a measure to combat unemployment depended entirely on local decisions. Where the CGT's influence was greater a series of petitions and processions to the authorities were organised, since no other action was recommended. In Lisbon, with the exception of the city's public transport and railway unions, there were no visible protests. This apparent 'consent' to the government's plan, which was supported by the PCP, has to be interpreted as a result of the deplorable state in which the unions found themselves. Some of the unions in the capital also exhibited xenophobic attitudes and primary forms of imposing 'class' discipline, such as direct physical coercion by local union leaders. To the amazement of long-standing union members there were collective conflicts that spontaneously broke out in workplaces, which were outside and at the margins of 'their' unions which continued operating.

Following the strikes and labour conflicts that took place during 1931 and 1932 in the context of increasingly effective police persecution and social repression on the one hand and growing ideological sectarianism and the fragmentation of union strength on the other, there was a brief period of calm. In the middle of 1933, it was clear to social militants that a 'corporatist solution' was being planned. The CGT called all the forces within the union movement: the socialist Federation of Workers' Associations, the communist Inter-Syndical Commission, and independent unions (*sindicatos autónomos*). All union activity, which had been legitimated by the decisions of the workers' assemblies within the unions, was now directed towards the preparation of a revolutionary general strike. It was a clash that was to prove decisive for the future of libertarian syndicalism.

The organization and preparation of the movement was preceded by imprisonment of militants of CGT belonging to the executive committee and the confederal committee of CGT was always under pressure to move forward in action. The actions of sabotage of lines communication, railways, strikes and other resistance actions were well coordinated between the different forces across the cities and industrial towns in the country, and so the police and armed forces soon took the control of the situation. Above all, the democratic forces that supposedly should exist in the army and other progressive political forces did not

moved thus showing the insulation of the labour movement that was fighting for social democracy<sup>60</sup>. Therefore, four facts seem to us essential for an understanding of this outcome. First was the decisive action taken by the police (again!) during the movement's final preparatory phase, with the arrest of some of the organisation's key leaders days before the movement began. Second was the workers' isolation as they again failed to establish links with the army, leaving them incapable of resisting the state's reaction even had their plans been successful. Third was the pressure exerted by the communists, encouraging the CGT to get involved in reckless actions for which it was ill-prepared. Finally, the lack of co-ordination and the failure of almost all of the revolutionary activities exposed both the technical deficiencies of the union organisation and the isolation of worker militancy in relation to the working 'masses'.

#### ***6. The challenges of the New State and key external events: the Spanish civil war and the Second World War (1933-1949)***

The passing of the 1934 law on corporations was immediately regarded to be 'the most serious blow against the CGT. The true essence of this monstrous code was to annihilate the whole revolutionary union movement and then to place it within the framework of the state machinery, thereby dissembling the workers' organisations and their resistance, leaving them vulnerable to the abuses of capitalism'.<sup>61</sup> The CGT's affiliate unions that did not submit to the National Syndicates were closed, their property seized and, not having anywhere to meet, their militants entered a new phase of clandestine action—this time more difficult and more remote from the workers. While the CGT retained its position among the working class, almost all of its activists were in prison, in exile or had been deported. Those who remained attempted to establish clandestine unions and, when the numbers proved insufficient, they formed mixed local unions.<sup>62</sup> Therefore, some clandestine unions or union groups were created among civil construction workers, those involved in the

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<sup>60</sup> See Fátima Patriarca, *Sindicatos contra Salazar: A revolta do 18 de Janeiro de 1934*, Lisbon, ICS, 2000 and also *A questão social no salazarismo, 1930-1947*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional/Casa da Moeda, 1995, 2 vols.

<sup>61</sup> *Voices clandestinas de Portugal. Aos trabalhadores e aos revolucionários de todo o Mundo!* – BNP, ACPC, N61, AHS 6052, ms 2529

<sup>62</sup> According to one report from 1937, following the arrests made in the wake of the 18 January movement, only one member of the Confederal Committee was at liberty while 'two inexperienced youths who had helped the previous secretary and into whose arms the life of the confederation unexpectedly fell, were guided by the perseverance of those who remained in jail' *Relatório do Comité Confederal da C.G.T. a apresentar no Pleno Confederal*, Setembro de 1934 – Agosto 1937. BNP, ACPC, N61, AHS 2669, ms.40

metal industry, furniture makers, printers, bakers, shoemakers, commercial employees, canners and cork workers, and while contacts still existed with workers in the south of the country, almost all contact with the north ceased. *A Batalha* reappeared between March 1935 and June 1937 when it was closed for the third time. There also appeared a number of bulletins, including *Eco Metalúrgico*, *Operário do Mobiliário* and *Pessoal do Município*.<sup>63</sup> In the atmosphere of fear and suspicion that surrounded clandestine activity, the unions printed *A Batalha* in large format and in two colours, as well as issues of *O Despertador* (the publication of the Libertarian Youth [Juventudes Libertárias]), *O Libertário* and *Acção Sindical*, using the press that it shared with the Anarchist Federation of the Portuguese Region (FARP—Federação Anarquista da Região Portuguesa). Some links with the provinces, the colonies and overseas were re-established during this period, with regional organisations established in the Sado valley, central Alentejo, the north and in the Algarve. Local organisations existed in Lisbon, Almada, Seixal, Setúbal, Évora and Coimbra and there were contacts with small groups in Covilhã and the outskirts of the capital.

In the meanwhile, it became apparent that the state corporatist organisation had expanded the New State's support base, which was constituted by 'a group of civil servants on high salaries paid for by the consumers'.<sup>64</sup> According to Sérgio de Castro the regime survived because Salazar spoke constantly of the 'Bolshevik bogeyman', keeping the army and the democratic forces afraid that the longed for return to normality would be accompanied by an even more terrifying popular revolt. While they believed the sought after (and increasingly remote) return to 'normality' would lead to a relaunch of the CGT, the organisation found itself increasingly weakened and incapable of acting in solidarity with the Spanish revolutionary forces by conducting any form of boycott against the aid Salazar was providing Franco. The bombing campaign in Lisbon in January 1937, and the attempt on Salazar's life in July of that year, sought to demonstrate the opposition to the regime, but should be considered in this new context.<sup>65</sup> The destiny of the workers' movement depended increasingly on developments taking place outside Portugal.

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<sup>63</sup> Report of the CGT Confederal Committee to the Confederal Plenary, September 1934-August 1937. BNP, ACPC, N61, AHS 2669, ms.40

<sup>64</sup> Report of the CGT Confederal Committee, (from Sérgio de Castro), nd [1938]. BNP, ACPC, N61, AHS 4104 ms. 1255

<sup>65</sup> Emídio Santana, *História de um atentado: O atentado a Salazar*, Mem Martins, Forum, 1976; Luís Garcia e Silva, "Emídio Santana (1934-1953): A resistência à ditadura - o atentado e a prisão", *Emídio Santana 1906-2006: Centenário do seu nascimento*, Lisbon, Cadernos d'A Batalha, 2007

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In fact, since the failed insurrection in the Azores and Madeira against the military government in the spring of 1931 and the implantation of the republic in Spain, this country became a possible refuge for militants being persecuted by the authorities in Lisbon. In 1932 the Federation of Exiled Portuguese Anarchists (FAPE—Federação de Anarquistas Portugueses Exilados) was established in Spain publishing the newspaper *Rebelião* until 1938. It was a chain in the link between groups on the Iberian Peninsula and France, the United States, Brazil, Argentina, etc. There is documentary evidence that between 1935 and 1938 there were a number of Portuguese anarchist groups in Spain, with names like ‘Vontade’, ‘Lusitânia’, ‘Neno Vasco’, ‘Amanecer’ and ‘Hacer, all of which were composed of exiles. There was also the Portuguese Cultural Nucleus of Madrid (Núcleo Cultural Português de Madrid) as well as groups in other locations (Seville, Valencia, Barcelona, Galicia and Asturias). The Portuguese anarchists were generally welcomed at the congresses of their Spanish comrades, as the treatment given Emídio Santana received when addressing an enthusiastic congress of the National Labour Confederation (CNT—Confederación Nacional del Trabajo) in Saragossa in May 1936. While cross-border channels were clandestine and dangerous, they remained open to those being persecuted politically.

Naturally, with the outbreak of the civil war in Spain in July 1936, the exiled militants, including Adriano Pimenta, Manuel Gomes Matos, Manuel Firmo, Jaime Brasil, Manuel Boto and—particularly—Germinal de Sousa, who was secretary general of the FAI (the Iberian Anarchist Federation) at the time, got involved in the struggle. The Iberian collaboration was then the establishment in Madrid of the so-called ‘Phantom Radio’ broadcast.<sup>66</sup> However, while this cooperation did not threaten the existence of the New State, despite plans to this end having been made through military action involving units of the Spanish Republican army,<sup>67</sup> it nevertheless had a strong influence on the reanimation of domestic clandestine activity in the mid-1930s, particularly following the failed general strike of January 1934.<sup>68</sup> In effect, in 1931 a new form of

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<sup>66</sup> João Freire, “Sobre o anarquismo português e a guerra de Espanha”, in Fernando Rosas (ed.), *Portugal e a Guerra Civil de Espanha*, Lisbon, Colibri, 1998, p. 197-207; Edgar Rodrigues, *Breve história do pensamento e das lutas sociais em Portugal*, Lisbon, Assírio & Alvim, 1977.

<sup>67</sup> These included, “Plano L” [Lusitânia], which was produced by oppositionist republicans. See César Oliveira, *Salazar e a Guerra Civil de Espanha*, Lisbon, O Jornal, 1987.

<sup>68</sup> João Freire, “O anarquismo nos implacáveis anos 30”, *Diário de Notícias*, Lisbon, 15 March 1984. See also Edgar Rodrigues, *A resistência anarco-sindicalista à ditadura: Portugal, 1922-1939*, Lisbon, Sementeira, 1981.

libertarian clandestine organisation appeared with the creation of the Lisbon Libertarian Alliance (Aliança Libertária de Lisboa) which was organised by neighbourhoods (instead of the more traditional workers' groups) with groups of several dozen militants in Graça, Campo de Ourique, Belém and the city centre. On a recommendation from the FAI, this organisation changed its name to FARP (Portuguese Anarchist Federation) and the groups once again tended to lose members, although this was also for reasons of personal safety. Something similar happened with the new organisation formed by the Libertarian Youth.

What was the membership of this organisation? At a plenary meeting of the FAI in Madrid in October 1933, the Portuguese delegation's report indicated the existence of 40 groups with 1000 members. However, this was probably an exaggeration designed to justify the small financial assistance the Portuguese group received from Spain. However, it is known that in Lisbon in 1936 there were several groups, with such names as 'Michael Bakunin', 'O Semeador', 'Pão e Liberdade', 'Cultura Acrata', 'Eliseu Reclus', 'Terra Livre', 'Novos Horizontes', 'Terra e Liberdade' and 'Spartacus', meaning there could have been as many as 100 organised anarchists in Lisbon alone. However, except for Oporto, organically structured groups had practically disappeared elsewhere in the country, with only isolated militants remaining (or groups that were in the process of integrating into more secure structures, such as the PCP). There remained some militants who continued to operate within the CGT's skeletal clandestine union organisations (the confederal committee and council, professional and local groups, secret typographies, printing presses) in a form of 'double employment' designed to impress enemies and competitors, but which also resulted in deluding the organisation in relation to its actual social strength. Much of the activity undertaken by these militants who remained free was channelled towards providing assistance to their comrades in prison, particularly those who were detained in the concentration camp at Tarrafal in Cape Verde.

On the other hand, with all the time these prisoners had at their disposal they were able to reflect on and discuss among themselves the successes and failures of the anarcho-sindicalist struggle they had witnessed and experienced. Their conclusions tended more towards divergence and dispersion than the definition of any new strategic direction for the movement. The proposals of Emídio Santana (who was serving a 15-year service at the Coimbra Penitentiary for the attack on Salazar's life) concerning municipalism and cooperativism, which demonstrated the potential of the new socio-political context, was not welcomed within the more orthodox anarchist circles. Despite Stalin's about face in his relationship with Hitler's



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Germany, some libertarians (such as Rijo and Quintanilha) believed it indispensable to present a ‘united front’ with the communists to defeat fascism. Others, such as Germinal de Sousa, who were extremely disturbed by the authoritarian and manipulative behaviour of the communists in the Spanish war (as well as later during the Cold War), were ready to collaborate with socialists and demo-republicans (for example, following some of the political steps taken by António Sérgio at that time).<sup>69</sup>

However, the end of the war and the release of some militants gave hope to some of the survivors who perhaps believed in the possibility that Salazar could fall as a result of pressure exerted by the victorious Allied nations in combination with demonstrations organised by opposition movements that could come together in such circumstances.<sup>70</sup>

In 1944 the Confederal Committee was reformed and its meetings, exchange of documents and the distribution of printed propaganda became routine once more. In Lisbon in 1946, for example, there were professional groups of commercial workers, drivers, mechanics, furniture makers, cobblers and those employed in civil construction, foreshadowing the possible reconstitution of free unions. There were also local CGT bodies in Almada, Barreiro, Montijo, Setúbal, Santiago do Cacém, Cascais, Sintra, Mafra, Évora, Coimbra and Oporto. Between 1945 and 1949 a total of 20 issues of the fifth series of *A Batalha* was published, albeit in a much more modest form.

The anarchist groups and the Libertarian Youth had different destinies. The latter, which was very active and animated by militants whose opinions had been formed during the political repression of the 1930s, recreated the Iberian Federation of Young Libertarians-Portuguese Region (FIJL—Federação Ibérica de Juventudes Libertárias- Região Portuguesa) in 1942, and co-ordinated such groups as ‘Neno Vasco’ (Lisbon 1943), ‘Terra e Liberdade’ (Lisbon 1942-46), Spartacus (Lisbon 1945), ‘Luz e Progresso’ (Almada 1946), ‘Sol Nascente’ (Lisbon 1947) as well as groups in Coimbra (1947-48), and probably others. The anarchist groups had neither the strength nor the cohesion to recreate its federal structure. Nevertheless, a number of groups did exist, including ‘Despertar’ (1940-42), ‘Os Incontrolados’ (1941), ‘Os Iconoclastas’ (1945-46),

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<sup>69</sup> Sérgio was one of the founders in 1921 of the important magazine, *Seara Nova*. He was a supporter of co-operativism and an independent essayist whose work was very popular in Portugal.

<sup>70</sup> João Freire, “Os anarquistas portugueses na conjuntura do após-guerra”, in AV, *O Estado Novo: Das origens ao fim da autarcia, 1926-1959*, vol. 2., Lisbon, Fragmentos, pp. 9-26.

‘Novos Horizontes’ (1946-49), ‘Luz e Vida’ (1947-49), ‘Os Unidos’ (1947-49), ‘Os Progressivos’ (1947-49) and ‘Renovação’ (1947-49)—all from Lisbon—‘Aurora Redentora’ (Almada 1947-49), ‘Os Activos’ (Setúbal 1947-49) and ‘Claridade’ (1945-49) and ‘Mundo Novo’ (1946-47), both from Coimbra. In total, this represented an group of no more than some dozen or so militants.

However, if the lack of personnel and failure to renew the membership in more than 10 years was evident, then worse yet was the abovementioned ideological and political divergences that began to hamper the dynamism of these militants and to discourage the less hardy. As with the Spanish anarchist movement, the question of participation in the government (which occurred in Spain during the civil war) represented a trauma that could no longer be ignored, extending to the traditional anti-electoral, anti-parliamentary and anti-party views of anarchist doctrine. In a way the movement had become hesitant and divided between *políticos* and *non-políticos*.

On the other hand, the question of the centrality of syndicalism and the working class, as a primary intervention strategy, was again being called into question, particularly in countries such as Spain and Portugal (and in the Eastern Bloc), where workers’ organisations were chained to the state. Subsequently, the post-industrial development of the more advanced countries and the absence of an industrial proletariat in search of liberation in the less developed countries only served to raise more questions for this discussion.

Moreover, global circumstances had changed dramatically during these years with the new polarisation between the East and the West and the beginning of the Cold War. In this global framework some anarchist lost all of their previous understanding and stopped thinking in terms of social emancipation, limiting their occasional interventions to their limited social spaces. Others attempted to adapt themselves to the new geo-strategic situation, almost always opting for the democratic West where they enjoyed more freedom. However, the majority clung on to their old ideological convictions as a means of not losing the meaning of their lives.

Finally, one other cleavage emerged during this period: one that was peculiarly Portuguese. It was that which, 30 years later, again opposed the ‘intellectuals’ and the ‘workers’ in the same space of anarchist

affirmation.<sup>71</sup> In relation to these two, the faithful militants who had been resolute supporters of the anarcho-syndicalist workers' organisation, were astounded by the audacity of the former, men such as Emílio Costa, Campos Lima, Pinto Quartin, Jaime Brasil and even Alexandre Vieira were involved in the intention to, in the framework of Salazar's removal and the democratisation of the regime, had a coherent political programme that could be debated and negotiated with any other group within the anti-fascist opposition. The main document produced with this intention was a project for a revision of the constitution. Although adequate for the time, this text resurrected some of the ideas that had been expressed by Campos Lima and Emílio Costa two decades earlier,<sup>72</sup> while also learning lessons from the bitter experience of the Spanish civil war as well as from the militia military and cooperative and communitarian experiments in Israel, which were largely due to the journalist (and former army officer) Jaime Brasil, who had personally observed both situations.

Indeed, the world was moving further away from the savage capitalism of the early industrialisations and from the police states that the previous generations of anarchist had known and fought.

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<sup>71</sup> João Freire, "A evolução ideológica de alguns expoentes do anarquismo português no pós-guerra", *Revista da Biblioteca Nacional*, Lisboa, 2, Vol. 10, (1-2), Jan.-Dec. 1995, p. 123-168

<sup>72</sup> Campos Lima, *A revolução em Portugal*, Lisbon, Spartacus, 1925; Emílio Costa, *Sindicalismo independente*, Lisbon, Seara Nova, 1931

Annexes

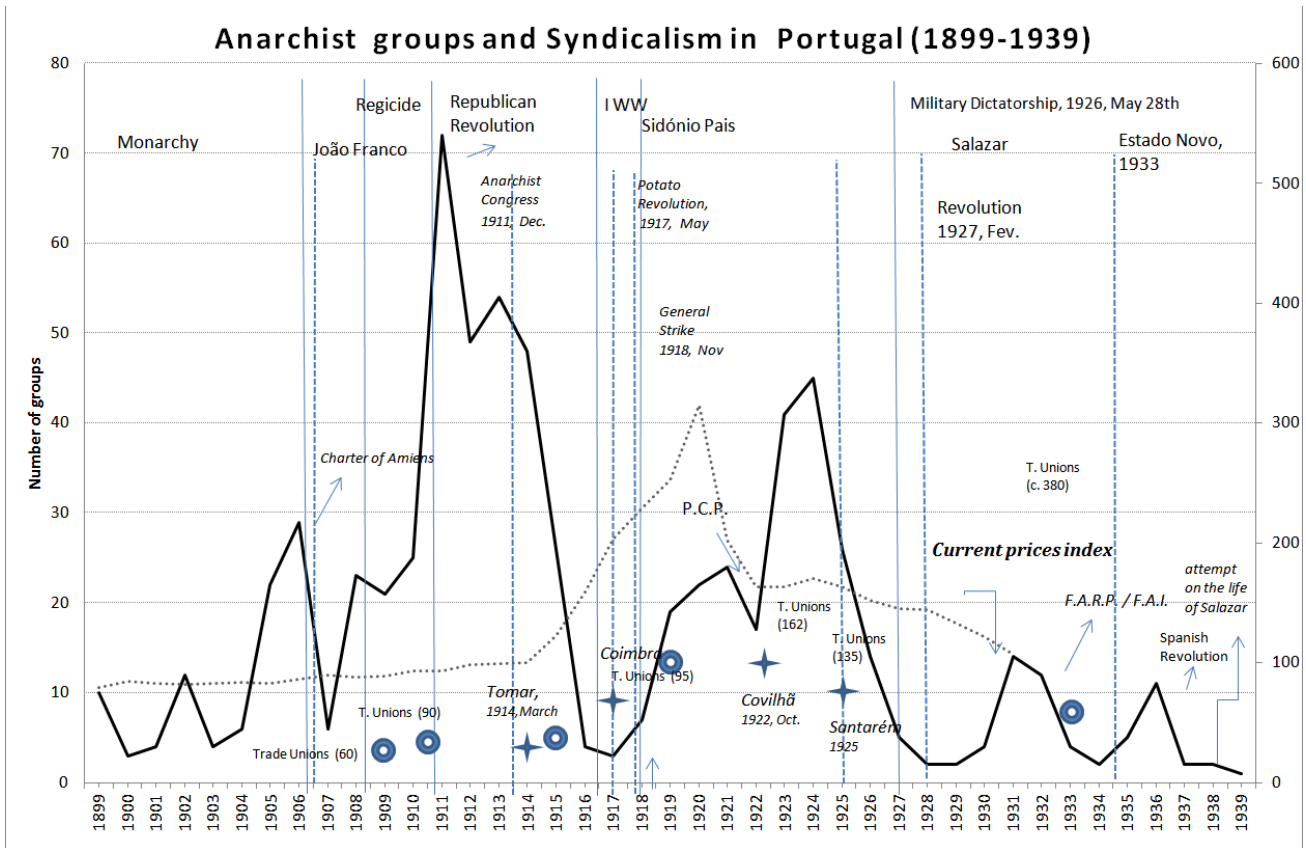


Figure 1

Note: This graph shows the number of new anarchist groups or for the first time identified each year in the anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist press (left axes). On top it is referred the main political events, moments of political rupture (vertical thick line) and of harsh repression affection workers organization (open violence followed by imprisonment and deportation of social militants) (vertical dot lines). Sometime events related with anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist organization is in entitled in the small typeset. The dot line represents the current prices index (1914=100) (axes on the right). Bellow there is represented in circles the number of workers unionized within trade unions and the number of unions (in brackets) that were affiliated to anarcho-syndicalist federations and later to U.O.N. or to C.G.T. (right axes 1\*1,000). The stars represent the major workers congress, and his position relates to the number of workers represented in the occasion.

Sources: João Freire, *Anarquistas e Operários...* (Lisboa, 1992); Nuno Valério, coord., *Estatísticas Históricas Portuguesas*, I.N.E., (Lisbon, 2001), 'Gold current prices', pp. 621-639.

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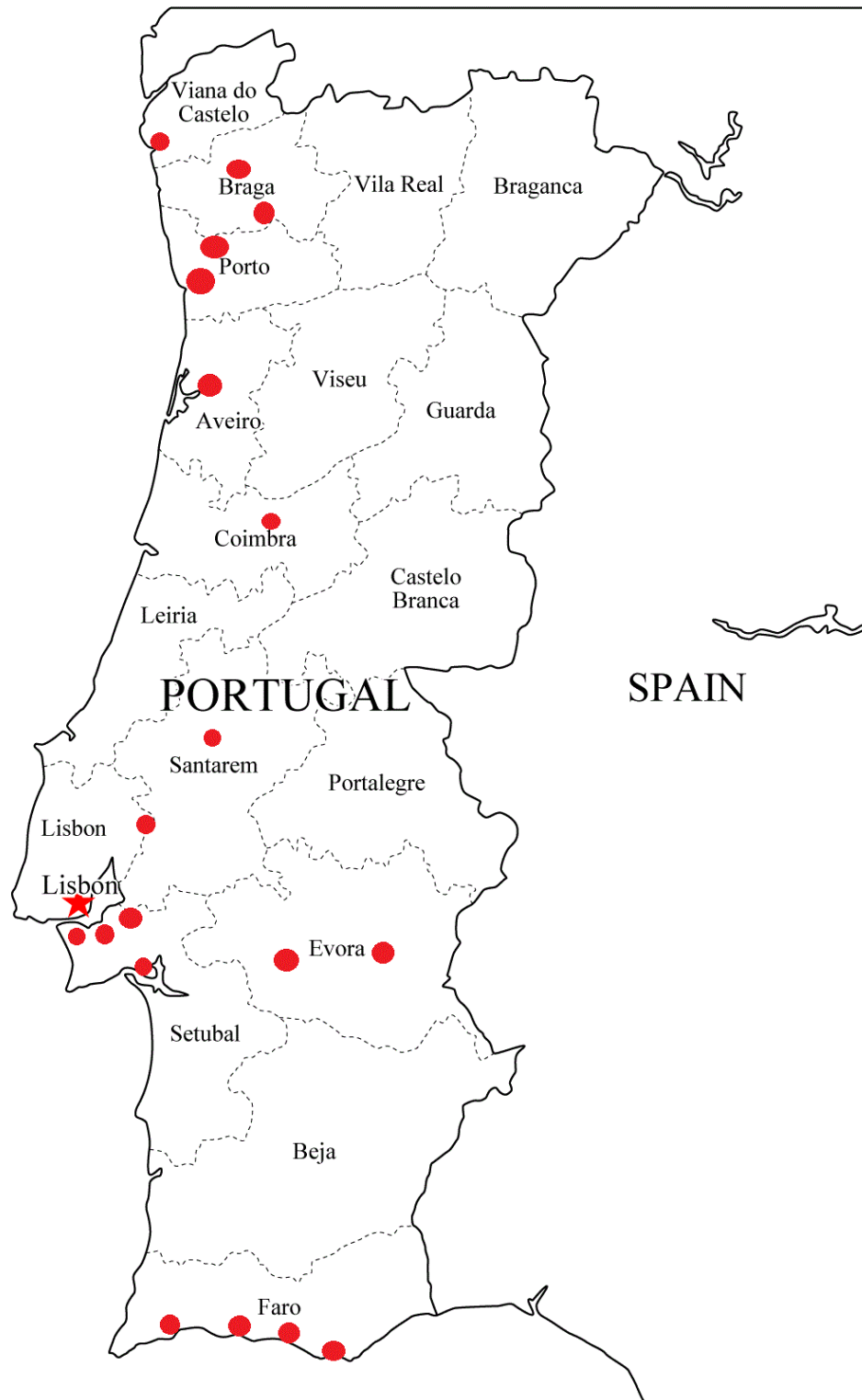


Figure 2. Local Workers Unions (*União dos Sindicatos Operários*), 1910-1926



Fig.3. Location of the centres of Syndicalist Youth in Portugal (1913-26) – one reliable *proxy* for the social geographic influence of anarcho-syndicalism.