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A Response to Repression of Francoism: The Womyn's Anarchist Movement in Spain

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Chapter I: Introduction

As I studied in Spain for about a year, I met a lot of interesting womyn. These womyn shared with me the stories of their lives during the reign of General Francisco Franco (1939-1975). My personal experiences with these womyn led me to choose a topic addressing the womyn's struggle under Franco's regime. My own feminist perspective led me to examine more closely their efforts. That feminist bias will find its way into this thesis. The womyn's struggle led with and within the anarchist movement particularly fascinated me. This interested me because the anarchism that I had studied previously about was the radical, violent model. I wondered why womyn would choose this avenue to relieve their situation. This thesis attempts to explore why womyn associated with the anarchist movement and how womyn in anarchist groups fought their oppressor.

Under the reign of the Spanish dictator Francisco Franco womyn were repressed. This repression forced womyn to look beyond the state to secure their interests, such as the ability to obtain an equal education, the liberty to work, and essentially, all opportunities afforded to men. The government's actions in Spain excluded womyn, so in turn many womyn sought to ban government from their lives. Womyn withdrew from the government by embracing a political system that disallowed government.

While the evidence demonstrates that the decreasing status of womyn provided a stimulus for change, the question remains as to why they chose anarchism. Other options

such as communism and democracy appear less radical and dangerous than a total rejection of government. I will argue that two main factors attracted womyn in Spain to anarchism. First, I will contend that there exists a mutually encouraging relationship between anarchism and feminism. Secondly, I will identify the Spanish predilection for anarchism. Those preconditions include: Spanish movements in the past that were anarchic and the influence of culture. The combination of these two factors illustrates reasons for womyn electing anarchism as their hope for liberation.

In order to create outlets for empowerment, womyn elected anarchism as both the end goal and vehicle of their movement. Chapter IV will explore the catalysts to this withdrawal and the reasons why womyn specifically espoused anarchism. Anarchism provided a tool to combat Francoism by promoting a communitarian focus that many womyn saw as particularly appropriate for translating their personal experience into politics.

The end goal of anarchism, a world based in terms of communitarianism, paralleled the goals that a significant number of womyn held. Chapter V examines the way these womyn employed anarchism to confront the oppression. The chapter will show how womyn organized into anarchist groups and pressured the government through strikes and other methods in order to accomplish their goals. By withdrawing from the government and embracing anarchism, womyn in Spain created a mechanism to alleviate the oppression of Francoism.

We can use the following methodology to explore this thesis further. Chapter III will explore why womyn felt that it was necessary to extract themselves from government

and the antecedents to their choice of anarchism. In order to examine this womyn's movement against Franco's government we must understand the history of the status of womyn in Spain. To avoid wading through a chronological history that fails to offer insight into why womyn would adopt anarchism, we can apply theory to their experience and identify the catalysts to the anarchist movement. We will employ the theory offered by V. Spike Peterson and Anne Runyan on political power (Chapter II). This theory provides us with four factors that will serve as a common basis to judge the changing role of womyn under Franco. They are: gender socialization, situational constraints, structural obstacles and legal restraints. Applying these factors, we will also focus on womyn's position prior to the Civil War and then under Francoism. Combining the theory with poetry and prose from the womyn themselves yields balance between a theoretical and sociological perspective. Finally, we will compare and contrast the status of womyn during the Second Republic to that under Franco. This analysis will highlight the increasing oppression womyn suffered during the Franco regime and demonstrate the impetus that encouraged womyn to adopt anarchism.

Having understood why womyn would withdraw into anarchist groups, I can now look at how they organized and fought against the repression of Francoism. Chapter IV will look at the types of anarchism womyn chose and the programs for action taken by these movements. Among the varying anarchist womyn's groups I will look for common threads and motifs that unite their cause. Then I will concentrate on the impact these anarchist movements had on Francoism.

Finally, I will look at the role of womyn in Spain today, based on the four factors

stated earlier, to measure the growth of womyn's empowerment in Spain and assess how the womyn's anarchist movement's contribution to this growth.

This methodology is laid out to demonstrate and defend the contention that womyn in Spain by extricating themselves from the government and adopting anarchism, effectively fought against their oppression, a persecution that took many forms and covered multiple aspects of the womyn's lives.

Chapter II: Theoretical basis for examining the changing status of womyn

The deterioration of womyn's status in Spanish society was a key factor pushing womyn to embrace anarchism. To grasp the extent of this degradation, a comparative analysis between the Second Republic and Francoism is necessary. The theory of Peterson and Runyan provides us with a method for evaluating the declining political status of womyn. The obstacles to womyn achieving power positions are, according to Peterson and Runyan, gender socialization, situational constraints, structural obstacles, and legal constraints (Peterson & Runyan, 1993, pp. 59-61). By examining each of these four outlined areas we can determine the degenerating role womyn played in Spanish society.

Peterson and Runyan contend that gender socialization shapes womyn and men into certain roles. They point out that this "socialization into appropriate 'feminine' behavior makes women [sic] less likely than men to pursue traditionally defined political activities" (Peterson & Runyan, 1993, p.59). Feminine behavior according to these authors is defined as behavior that is nurturing and compassionate. These characteristics lead to a person who values cooperation over competition. In a country where politics are based in terms of masculine justice and where people are defined in competitive terms of winners and losers, a feminine person is excluded both philosophically and institutionally. The end result, Peterson and Runyan argue, is that gender socialization pigeonholes people into these feminine and masculine roles negatively affecting a womyn's chances and opportunities for gaining power enjoyed by men (Peterson & Runyan, 1993, p.60). In order to overcome this obstacle, womyn require either a non-competitive system of

politics like communism or anarchism, or they need to be socialized to competition.

Gender socialization can occur anywhere, but these theorists indicate that two primary centers for learning the different roles are in the home and in school. Home and school are the first places where children observe and learn about the relations between womyn and men. The initial lessons learned in these two centers form the child's ideas about the roles of men and womyn for the duration of their lives. For womyn to gain political power they must experience reform of these two institutions. Otherwise, the lessons learned early on will continue to debilitate womyn and their chances for contributing to society.

The second category is situational constraints. Situational constraints take the stereotypes and place them into concrete situations. If the old saying "money is power" is true, then womyn do not have either. Economically womyn find themselves at a disadvantage. The result of the gender stereotyping we saw earlier is that when womyn try to get jobs they are relegated to pink collar work -- work that is traditionally viewed as feminine (Peterson & Runyan, 1993, p.60). A womyn, in this situation, does not have the freedom to work outside the home. If she does find work away from the home, the jobs she is forced to take are domestic in nature like cooking or cleaning. Work in the home does not pay (unless a benevolent husband deems womyn's work of monetary value--an extremely rare case). Domestic jobs also pay little and require intense amounts of physical labor. Womyn find themselves with less access to jobs and money. Without finances of their own womyn are relegated to a second class status that leaves them devoid of power.

Peterson and Runyan's third category includes structural obstacles. Structural obstacles refer "broadly to sets of power relations and/or social-cultural institutions that

determine the boundaries of individual behavior" (Peterson & Runyan, 1993, p.61). The institutions that these theorists are referring to are religious belief systems and the military (Peterson & Runyan, 1993, pp.61-62). Religion enforces its divine revelation on the proper roles of the genders by using guilt, religious castigation and humiliation for the people that do not comply. The military can also hurt the station of womyn by perpetuating patriarchal beliefs and excluding womyn from military service. The military itself can promote a second class status for womyn by denying womyn access to political power that is held by members of the military. These institutions define how equal a womyn can be in comparison with a man by limiting the behavior of an individual by using their respective means of coercion. On the other hand, if these institutions do the opposite and expand the opportunities for womyn they can actually enhance womyn's status in society.

Finally, we can look at the legal limitations placed on womyn. Here we focus on the government's legal constraints placed upon womyn to understand how womyn were denied access to affect politics and how their freedoms were repressed. The state's inherent nature "necessitates the curbing of freedoms, limiting autonomy, preventing actions and imposing order and constraints" (McAuley, 1992, p.25). So the state can take on womyn by establishing laws that ensure her subordination to men or actually empower her. A womyn can actually be sentenced to jail for trying to be equal to a man as in the case with Eva Forest, a womyn who tried to promote democracy and equality for womyn in Spain and was imprisoned for it (Forest, 1976, p.9). As far as enforcement of these legal barriers goes the military and police forces obviously can compel people by physical

force. As hard as it is to believe that womyn will be placed in jail or tortured or both for trying to overcome their situation by the military it can (and did) happen.

The combination of these four factors on womyn is appropriate for an analysis of the status of womyn because it accounts for key areas affecting their lives. This analysis includes studying social, cultural, political and legal constraints upon womyn. These factors create a framework, but we must recognize the limitations of this approach to studying the changing status of womyn. No one divides their lives into categories. All these dimensions--religious, economic, educational, etc.--interrelate with one another. However, by using this alliance of ideas, we gain a fairly holistic picture of the challenges and obstacles facing womyn. The Spanish womyn's anarchist movement defies the normal, traditional channels womyn used to overcome these obstacles. The Peterson and Runyan model would suggest that a womyn should go and ask her boss for equal wages and the politician for the right to vote. Many womyn decided instead to reject all authority and ban the government from their lives. So while the theory on political power aids in providing a framework for understanding why womyn would desire change, we will need to additionally explore the relations between anarchism and feminism and the Spanish historical and cultural tendencies toward anarchism.

Chapter III: Womyn banning government from their lives

A brief history of the Spanish Civil War

Before we delve into an application of the theory, we must look at a brief history of the revolution in Spain to place everything into context. The Second Republic (1931-1936) in Spain was plagued with an inability to control violence and to prevent havoc in the country. The violence stemmed from terrorist groups attacks, regional secession movements, and anarchist uprisings against the Republic. The military, impatient with the Republic's handling of the chaos, advocated action to stop the unrest (Crozier, 1967, pp.164-165). On July 17, 1936, Spain erupted in an uprising (Carr, 1971, p.6). The fighting that started in Morocco spread to Spain and rapidly spread across the entire nation into urban centers like Madrid and north all the way to Barcelona and San Sebastian. The uprising escalated into a Civil War between the Nationalists and the Republicans. By October, General Francisco Franco emerged as the top general in Spain on the side of the Nationalists (Carr, 1971, p.3). After almost three long years of bloody battle, during which Franco received military support from Hitler and Mussolini, Spain finally ended the Civil War on April 1, 1939 (Jackson, 1965, p. 477). Calling this the end of the war though, appears to be an April Fool's Day joke. The years under the Spanish dictator, General Fransico Franco, were characterized by a different type of war against humanity, specifically against womyn.

Status of womyn during the Second Republic using the Peterson/Runyan model

Womyn during the Second Republic made significant leaps forward from traditional Spanish practices. There would still exist some obstacles to womyn's empowerment, but improvements were being made in their status. Based upon the theory of Peterson and Runyan, we will survey the status of womyn during the Second Republic. This examination of the status of womyn will provide us with a tool to contrast the role womyn would play under Franco.

Gender socialization under the Second Republic was becoming less distinct and was characterized by increased awareness of equality between men and womyn and a decrease in gender stereotypes. Stereotypes are generally learned in the home and at school. Womyn, during the Second Republic, played an increasingly equal role in the family in comparison to their husbands. During this time period the influence of the Catholic Church on the family was declining and the moral justification for placing the womyn as a servant to her husband, which stemmed largely from Catholic tradition, was also waning (Carr, 1971, 28). Womyn were by no means considered equal to their spouses. Even among the most "enlightened" men, womyn struggled to be equal. Lola Iturbe's article, "La educacion social de la mujer," documents the men's unfortunate failure to integrate womyn:

All those companeros, however radical they may be in the cafes, unions, and even affinity groups [FAI], seem to drop their costumes as the lovers of female liberation at the doors of their homes. Inside, they behave with their companeras just like common "husbands" (Ackelsberg, 1991, p.87).

Some distance between the separation of men and womyn in the home still existed, but the

movement forward was transpiring.

Gender socialization of womyn weakened as breakdowns in the stereotypes of genders at school began to occur. At school, where a great deal of social behavior is learned, the stereotypes between girls and boys abated. In the field of education, secularization of the schools had great impact because the Catholic Church had tended to enforce gender distinctions. In the Cortes in 1933, however, a law was passed that closed Catholic private schools (Jackson, 1969, p.121). Before the Second Republic, another way these stereotypes were reinforced is by the fact that in the cities "coeducation" was prohibited (Bookchin, 1977, p.130). During the Second Republic, boys and girls that were once divided into separate classes, now had the opportunity to learn together. The actual education that men and womyn received became more equal. This is evident in the case of Carmen Laforet. Carmen grew up during the Second Republic and had the opportunity to attend one such school (Brown, 1991, 26). Carmen acquired writing skills, just as any boy. Consequently, her writing was able to flourish. In 1944, she won the Nadal Prize for her poetry (Brown, 1991, p. 26). Her success depended upon the education she was allowed to receive earlier in her life. While gender distinctions still existed, a gradual progression to more liberalized education, as Carmen's example demonstrates, took place.

The tradition of dividing men and womyn into different gender roles is visible in the Spanish literary heritage and the Spanish canon of literature. Joan L. Brown notes that, "It is only with great difficulty that intellectual status can be granted to women [sic] in a social system characterized by the ethic of machismo" (Brown, 1991, p.18). Womyn

were not seen as able participants in literature on the sole basis of their gender. Brown quotes a conservative literary critic, Gonzalo Sobejano, saying that, "economic (under)development and religion, have historically functioned to enforce women's [sic] intellectual inequality in Spain, and that scarcity can be explained by their inferior status" (Brown, 1991, p.18). In other words, historically womyn have been excluded from participating in an area deemed masculine. During the Second Republic, a surge of womyn entered into this male dominated field. Angela Figuerria-Aymerich, Gloria Fuertes, Carmen Laforet and Idea Vilarino are examples of womyn authors who were products of this period (Flores & Flores, 1986, pp.xxi-xxii). Just the fact that they were writing and were later published is a notable change from the past. These womyn would all use the writing skills they were able to learn during this time period; during the reign of Franco, they would write works decrying their disadvantaged positions. More equal educational opportunities during the Second Republic provided a voice to the plight of womyn. Womyn in general in Spain now had the chance to bridge the gap between masculine and feminine worlds. The gender distinctions were decreasing.

The situational constraints levied by economic institutions abated during the Second Republic. Womyn were able to more freely participate outside the domestic sector. As womyn joined the work force, they claimed an increasingly larger role in the economy. Womyn began to organize themselves into unions like the Damas Radicales and the Damas Rojas (Bookchin, 1977, p.144). These groups of tough working-class womyn, Bookchin states, joined other unionists asking for "wage increases, an eight-hour day, and recognition of the *sindicatos*" (Bookchin, 1977, p.178). On issues pertaining specifically

to womyn, Dolores Ibarruri (La Pasionaria) demanded “a complete renovation of our traditions: the right to work, equitable wages, maternity care, day care centers, divorce without preconditions and the legalization of abortion” (Flores& Flores, 1986, xx). These unions aided womyn's ability to open doors that were once closed to them.

Structural constraints included religious institutions and the military. The religious belief system was based on the Catholic Church. Before the Second Republic in Spain, the Catholic traditions of prohibiting divorce and civil marriages were made legal issues. Under the government of the Second Republic, the legality of divorce and civil marriages (Carr, 1971, p.28) allowed womyn an escape valve from potentially bad marriages. The Church's ability to enforce their traditional views on the role of womyn declined because an additional method of enforcement was taken away. If the Church fails to instill religious guilt or humiliation for actions they deem inappropriate or sinful, then all that remains is religious condemnation. With declining numbers of devout believers, many rejected the right for the Church to castigate or punish people. The legality of divorce illustrates the divergence of Church teachings from Spanish practices. The ability to leave a marriage served as a check and balance system, because womyn could now leave men who abuse them.

The military during this time period represented one of the largest obstacles to womyn's liberation. Not much had changed since the pre-Republican days. The military still remained in the control of conservative men. General Fransico Franco epitomizes the conservative control over the military (Trythall, 1970, p.27). Franco even established the General Military Academy at Saragossa, where officers would learn the same philosophies

and have the same ideals as the leaders (Crozier, 1967, p.91). Womyn did not hold any high ranking positions in the military. Being in the military often led to positions in the political arena. Excluding womyn from these opportunities shut them off from potential avenues of power. On another level, the conservatism embraced by these men in the military often posed a barrier to womyn reaching equitable roles in society with men. When the military felt that Spanish society was becoming too liberal it took it upon itself to launch a revolution against the Second Republic (Carr, 1971, p.6). Reform of the military was the one great failure of the Second Republic. The military would become the Achilles' heel of this government.

Legal constraints were lifted on womyn's rights to speak freely and their right to vote. Restraints on womyn's freedom of speech and freedom to express themselves were institutionally prohibited. The government had no laws prohibiting womyn from writing in several different languages. This was in contrast to prior years, where "the inaccessibility of education and the sanctions against women's [sic] nondomestic achievement" (Brown, 1991, p.17) had prevented womyn from speaking out in public. The freedom to express themselves was significant in allowing womyn to form a sense of solidarity. Marge Piercy poetically describes the importance of this connection:

Strong is what we make
each other. Until we are all strong together
a strong woman [sic] is strongly afraid (Piercy, 1980, p.57).

The absence of legal constraints gave womyn a sort of permission to explore these avenues of communication which strengthened womyn in Spain.

The Republican government was adopting steps to include womyn into the

political arena. The Second Republic was the first government in Spain to extend suffrage to women. In the introduction to The Defiant Muse, the author denotes the relevance and significance of this chance to vote (Flores & Flores, 1986, p.xx). The inclusion of womyn demonstrates a respect for womyn's rights as citizens and a willingness to take actual steps to integrate womyn into a once exclusive group.

The Second Republic was relatively good to womyn. While gender socialization still existed, gender roles faded as in the home and at school the distinctions between boys and girls diminished as they associated more with one another and learned together. Situational barriers like the economy started to dissipate with the rise of womyn outside of the domestic realm and the emergence of womyn's unions. Structural obstacles like religious institutions and the military still posed a challenge to womyn's power, but the road was getting easier. Finally, with an increase in womyn's freedom of speech and in the extension of womyn's suffrage, legal constraints did not hurt womyn. This liberalization would meet a strong backlash under Franco.

Status of womyn under Francoism using the Peterson/Runyan model

Rights feminists gained under the Second Republic were nullified by Franco (Romeu, 1994, p.39). In a place where "feminism meant to be irreligious, feminists suffered hatred, abuse and even imprisonment" (Flores & Flores, 1986, xx). Unfortunately the abuse would not be restricted to feminists alone, but to womyn in general. All of the Second Republic's achievements in decreasing the gender roles between womyn and men were overturned. The reinstatement and strict inclusion of

Catholic doctrine in state policy decreased equality in the family. Womyn's equality within marriage was eroded by the Catholic view of a womyn's traditional place in society, marriage laws, and the concept of marital permission. During this time period, womyn were pushed back into traditional domestic roles that the Church felt were morally right. A womyn who worked outside of the home was the equivalent of a sinner. If one person in the marriage was Catholic then they had to have a Catholic marriage. This made divorce and civil marriages illegal, so womyn found themselves trapped in unwanted, even abusive relationships, with no outlet (Hooper, 1987, p.198). The check and balance system created by more liberal marriage laws no longer existed. A blatant attack on the womyn's freedom to decide what is best for herself and her family, this law effectively denied womyn an equal role in the family.

Educational gaps reasserted themselves between womyn and men, reinforcing the traditional gender roles. The restraints on womyn began with their inability to acquire an education equal to that of men. Womyn were excluded from the Spanish Royal Academy until after the death of Franco (Flores & Flores, 1986, p. xix). Higher education was difficult to obtain for womyn, if it was permitted at all. The parochial schools were on the rise and coeducation was on the retreat. Gender socialization of womyn into womyn's work and men to men's work degraded womyn's ability to achieve the same as a man (Peterson & Runyan, 1993, p.60).

We see the womyn's struggle to evade these gender distinctions in their literature, which during this time reflects womyn's ongoing frustration with Francoism. Womyn met many barriers to writing, and did not find acceptance even when they did gain the

opportunity to write. Gloria Fuertes, a Spanish poet during this era, writes in her poem:

"Not Allowed to Write"

I work for a newspaper;
I could be the manager's secretary
and I am only the cleaning woman [sic].
I know how to write, but in my town
women [sic] are not allowed to write (Flores & Flores, 1986, p.83).

Fuertes illustrates the inability of these womyn to express themselves in Spain because of either governmental or societal restrictions. Joan L. Brown in her introduction to Womyn Authors in Spain, writes:

The standard impediments to women's [sic] writing, including the inaccessibility of education and the sanctions against women's [sic] nondomestic achievement, did not preclude exceptional women from producing fine literature... but when Spanish women [sic] did create literature, their contributions appear to have been ignored or denied (Brown, 1991, p.17).

This blatant exclusion of womyn's contributions leads us to our final point. Ultimately, we can recognize the dissatisfaction womyn have in their lives because of a second class status imposed upon them by the males in society. Susana March, also a poet during this time writes of the inequality between men and womyn, crying out:

Overcome this great divide of sex
and everything will be simple...
I want your heart without love,
But with friendship! That loyal heart
which you parcel out
among those of your own sex...
Just as I rid myself
of my natural artifices,
rid yourself of your complexity,
and be my friend! (Flores & Flores, 1986, p.87).

Womyn find themselves discontent with their lives. The inequities of their situation

expressed in March's poem, "To a Man," are not tolerable.

Situational constraints were more acute under the reign of Franco. Economic barriers limited womyn participants in the nondomestic workforce. Under Franco the stratification of labor into what is a womyn's work and what is a man's work increased. This role confines them to the home and reproductive work rather than productive work. Angela Figuera-Aymerich's poem, "Destiny" describes some of her frustrations with the masculine world:

He liberates himself only to shackle me
in bitter servitude to the species.
From what depths do I give forth, laboring
with every cell and fiber, with my most intimate organs,
The vital sweetness
of my inmost being, one day after another (Flores & Flores, 1986, p.77).

Angel Flores and Kate Flores in The Defiant Muse, describe this as "a poignant poem of maternity as enslavement to the species" (Flores & Flores, 1986, xxi). In a world that economically and financially only rewards productive labor held by men, womyn have no opportunity to break out of the system. Economically, womyn can not succeed without the assistance of a husband.

The unions that existed in the years prior to Franco also disappeared. Now all such movements were considered attacks against the state. The stories of Eva Forest and Mari Luz Fernandez illustrate womyn who suffered as a result of these restrictive policies. Both womyn were accused of opposing the regime with violence. The accusations that they were involved in a bombing of key military officers were false and the trials were superfluous. The real reason these womyn were being tried according to Eva's diary

contained in the book, From a Spanish Prison, was because of their involvement in other opposition groups like the Democratic Womyn's Movement (MDM) (Forest, 1976, pp.9-10). This tactic of the government in preventing opposition was effective, at least temporarily, to silence and punish these womyn. This situational barrier deterred other womyn from organizing and participating in unions.

The religious and military structural constraints of Francoism significantly barred womyn from participating in the government. The state's codification of Catholic values imposed a traditional domestic and subservient role on womyn in the family. Marital permission was a law that restricted a wife's ability to act on her own. Article 57 of the Spanish Civil Code states, "The husband must protect his wife and she must obey her husband" (Hooper, 1987, p.196). The statute was interpreted to mean that a womyn had to receive explicit marital permission from her husband to do anything, especially work. Under the auspices of creating a greater influence of religion, the government was able to eliminate womyn from the political sphere.

Perhaps the most grotesque display of the repression of womyn in Spain is the military's suppression of womyn. A French newspaper depicts in an article titled, "The Fight of Women [sic] Under the Terror of Franco," a true scene where 30-40 mothers are in jail with their children (Romeu, 1994, p.41). As Romeu recounts, these mothers were kept there from 1939-1941, where they endured unspeakable horrors. The food and living conditions were so horrible that the children began to die. "Their little bodies were stacked in a small mountain" (Romeu, 1994, p.41). These womyn were jailed for numerous reasons--from being anarchist or democratic to being a feminist. Their crime

was to call for equality in their lives. Their punishment was to sit in a jail and watch the rotting corpses of their children. This image demonstrates all too well the oppression of womyn. The military attacked womyn directly, because as stated earlier, the feminist movement was equated with being irreligious. The military lashed out ferociously against these womyn.

Legal constraints drastically reduced womyn's freedoms. The government was dominated by men in both numbers and philosophy. A patriarchal mentality held by these men institutionalized the domination and subjugation of womyn. The gains of the Second Republic of freedom of speech and womyn's suffrage were repealed under Franco. Angel Flores and Kate Flores record the change in the government's position on womyn writing, "Franco's rise to power seemed to mark an end to all that they had gained, although some women [sic] carried the struggle underground" (Flores & Flores, 1986, p. xx). Without the power to speak out, or affect change through voting, womyn were forced to look for outlets outside of the government for ways to reclaim the rights and freedoms that Franco's government had snatched away from them.

Franco's regime did its best to repress womyn. Gender socialization became a dividing force between men and womyn. In the home, womyn and men were increasingly unequal and in the classroom, the children were divided by gender and certain types of education were placed out of reach for girls. Situational barriers, as in the workforce, also limited womyn's lives to traditional roles of reproductive work. The religious and military structures provided repugnant constraints on womyn. Finally, legal constraints over freedom of speech and the right to vote were also removed from the grasp of womyn.

The overall trend from the Second Republic to Franco's regime was a serious attack on the rights of womyn. The violent nature of this attack forced womyn to look outside of the government for their political power. Anarchy was the answer they came up with. To better understand why some womyn chose anarchy we must study the relationship between anarchism and feminism and the Spanish tendency for anarchism.

Feminism and Anarchism

Anarchism and feminism have a unique and mutually encouraging relationship. The basic ethics of feminism, those of nurturing and caring, encourage a society based on inclusion and cohesion rather than separation and stratification (Fox-Genovese, 1991, p.33). An important note here is that many people have different conceptions of what feminism entails. Many womyn in the anarchist movement in Spain believe as does Susceso Portales, national vice-secretary for Mujeres Libres, when she states, "We are not--and we were not then--feminists. We were not fighting against men. We did not want to substitute a feminist hierarchy for a masculine one. It's necessary to work, to struggle, *together...*" (Ackelsberg, 1991, p.2). The feminism they are rejecting is the brand associated with militant man-haters. By contrast, womyn in their movement just considered themselves anarchists with an agenda to more fully incorporate womyn into the movement. While in title they were not feminists, in action and belief they were lived feminism according to many theorists today. Feminism, according to Elizabeth Fox-Genovese in Feminism Without Illusions, Martha Ackelsberg and others, includes the ideas of community and unity rather than solely opposition to men.

Feminism struggles with the fact that a lot of political movements either had too narrow of a focus or allowed hierarchies to exist. Other options to womyn in Spain included authoritarian regimes, democracies, and communism. Feminism would reject authoritarian regimes because of their hierarchal structure. Even democracies still operate with hierarchies. One of the closest ideologies to the communitarian focus was communism. While Marxism debases hierarchies, this ideology falls short of meeting womyn's needs. Martha Ackelsberg in her book, Free Women of Spain, illustrates this shortcoming, writing:

Many feminist critics insisted early on that this monolithic approach [that economic relationships equate with domination] to oppression was also Marxism's limitation. Marxist socialist analysis had no room for an independent understanding of the subordination of women [sic], which exists in socialist as well as in capitalist societies, irrespective of the mode of production (Ackelsberg, 1991, p. 13).

Womyn are not trapped just in economic hierarchies, but in religious, social and governmental ones as well. Marxism's failure to address these issues leave womyn with hierarchies in their lives. These hierarchies maintain their control over womyn's freedom. Leninism demonstrates another short-coming. The necessity for capitalist accumulation forces people to suffer a hierarchal economic structure. Womyn can appreciate the end goal of Leninism, a classless society, but the mechanism for getting there, which includes a heirarchy of men over womyn, is evil. The best option for womyn is one that has a relationship that combines both the end goal and the movement.

Anarchism solves better in comparison to authoritarian, democratic or even communist regimes for feminists because both reject all forms of heirarchies. Anarchists

and feminists both argue "that the exercise of power in any institutionalized form--whether economic, political, religious or sexual--brutalizes both the wielder of power and the one over whom it is exercised" (Ackelsberg, 1991, p. 20). Battling against all institutionalized power rather than just economic structures provides feminists with the breadth necessary to envelop their interests. Anarchists also attack the hierarchies in society. Bookchin defines anarchism as "a great libidinal movement of humanity to shake off the repressive apparatus created by hierarchical society" (Bookchin, 1977, p.17). The anarchist ideal of uniting a society without the necessity of a government entity embodies a type of government ideal for fostering and nurturing feminist ideology.

Anarchism is a general term like feminism and many disagree on its exact definition. Emma Goldman in her article, "Anarchism: What it Really Stands For," addresses the objections made by people to anarchism. The objections are "First, anarchism is impractical, though a beautiful ideal. Second, anarchism stands for violence and destruction, hence it must be repudiated as vile and dangerous" (Goldman, 1911, p.483). To these objections she responds with a concise definition:

ANARCHISM:--The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary (Goldman, 1911, p.484).

Anarchism under her definition is acceptable to feminists. Goldman goes on to state that the main evil in society is economic (Goldman, 1911, p.484). Anarchism for her is a vehicle to attack the economy. Her focus on economics would alienate some feminists, specifically those in Spain. These feminists believe that all forms of hierarchy are evil

(Ackelsberg, 1991, p.13). Centralizing the attention on one area would lead to the same problems as in Marxism.

Literature of some womyn in Spain indicates an anarchist bent in their feminism. Various womyn writers in Spain connected their liberation with anarchism. Emma Goldman provided inspiration to these womyn. Her arguments that "women [sic] needed internal emancipation to know their own value, to respect themselves, and refuse to become psychic or economic slaves to men" inspired many womyn (Ackelsberg, 1991, p.30). For example in May of 1925, Federica Montseny published an article "In Defense of Clara II," where she defended her sexually emancipated protagonist, Clara, in the novel La Victoria (Ackelsberg, 1991, p.30). Montseny believed that this womyn illustrated the ideal womyn to whom Goldman was referring. She believed that womyn's emancipation and the goals of anarchism went hand in hand--at least in theory. She lamented that "Goldman gave no real guidance about how to achieve that liberation" (Ackelsberg, 1991, p.30). Clara took the initiative in the novel and lived a life free from the bond of conventional marriage. The sexual freedom of Clara in the novel, Montseny knew, would be realized in an anarchist society where free love would liberate womyn.

Other writers also supported the anarchist concept of free love in their writings. Maria Lacerda de Moura in "When love dies" and "What is plural love" insisted, "Love has always been in open struggle with monogamy" (Ackelsberg, 1991, p.30). She argues in her essays that:

plural love would eliminate most of the problems of jealousy, allow women [sic] to be truly free to select their mate (or mates), and end prostitution and the sexual exploitation of women [sic] (since unmarried, sexually active

women [sic] would no longer be stigmatized and vulnerable)" (Ackelsberg, 1991, p.30).

These womyn did not want mere reforms of civil marriage and divorce laws, rather they desired complete emancipation from those structures. This desire to go beyond the normal conventional outlets is indicative of the womyn in the anarchist movement in Spain. Unwilling to settle, these womyn pursued options like anarchism which promised complete liberation from their oppressors rather than mere token measures to assuage their situations.

Having laid out the philosophical correlations between anarchism and feminism we can examine how this philosophy translated into reality. Once again we can apply the Peterson and Runyan model to evaluate whether or not the relationship between these philosophies is actually complementary. The cases of the Casas Viejas and Mujeres Libres provide us with the empirical examples we need.

Gender socialization between the sexes was almost eradicated. In the home womyn were equal to men. The abolition of marriage liberated womyn and men both. They were now equal partners joined together by their own volition. The anarchist collectives' view on marriage was very strict, as seen in the article:

Proposal for the Creation of Wedding Factory

Comrade Revolution has made us aware of his great affliction. People continue to marry. . . . Comrade Revolution thought that people's morals and spirit had improved somewhat, but he realizes that the spirit and morals of people are not susceptible to improvement. People are continuing to marry. . . . In the face of this inescapable reality, we attempt to alleviate some of its inevitable consequences. People continue loving the modes of their oppression. At the least, let us see if we can lighten the chains. . . .

Proposal

Location

The wedding factory will be located far from every urban nucleus. It is not good that tragedies take place in the public eye, because they will demoralize the people. Besides, the difficulties of access to the factory will force the stupid ones to think [about what they're doing].

Materials for construction

Should be of such kind that dampen noise. What goes on inside is not anyone's business, and it's always better not to hear the statements of those who come to complain about how theirs have gone wrong.

Material

Of two kinds: (a) necessary and (b) voluntary
 (a) A cold shower; a committee convinced of the importance of its mission; a seal that says: "Enter, if you dare"; a stamp pad of red or red and black for the seal.

(b) A stake.

Library

One copy of the Laws of Common Sense.

Related institutions

A shop for rivets, collars, rings, and chains. An allegorical tricolor of Freedom.

Functioning of the factory

It is quick. Individuals wait, by pairs, in the two-person cubicles.

Later they will pass into the ceremonial room. They can do nothing, absolutely nothing, without the proper stamp. [An official] stamps a small piece of paper, their cheeks, and their underwear.

Then, with a very hollow voice, the Committee reads them the Laws of Common Sense, which can be reduced to three:

1. When there were priests, the priest deceived you; when there were judges,

the judge deceived you; now we are deceiving you ourselves, since you came here.

2. He who cannot go on without a guarantee of property and fidelity deserves the most vile oppressions upon his heart (danger of asphyxiation).

3. The act of passing through the factory gives evidence of idiocy, and predisposes to two or three afflictions per day. We know what we are doing!

The ceremony is free. Those who go have already suffered enough misfortune. Afterwards, rings and chains are put on them, they are made to kiss the tricolor picture of libertarian communism, and they are thrown down the ramp.

In order to avoid disturbances to the normal functioning of the factory, it is a good idea to place the following poster at the exit:

NO COMPLAINTS ACCEPTED.

SOURCE: "Proyecto para la creaci3n de una fabrica de bodas en serie (Churros autenticos)" *Mujeres Libres*, no. 7.

(Ackelsberg, 1991, p.185).

In the schools womyn were educated with men and were taught the same as men.

New education programs were established to help womyn catch up with men. In 1937,

Casa de la Dona advertised:

Elementary classes (Illiterates and three grades): Reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, grammar and natural phenomena

Classes Complementary to Elementary Education: World history, French, English, Russian, typing and stenography

Complementary Professional Classes: Nursing, child care, skills

(mechanics, electricity, business), sewing, agriculture and aviculture

"Social Formation": Union organization, sociology, economics, and general culture (Ackelsberg, 1991, p.119).

The focus on equal education liberated womyn beyond even what they had during the government of the Second Republic. Anarchism was the political idea that allowed womyn to overcome the distinctions between genders.

Situational constraints likewise dissipated. Womyn bettered themselves under the anarchic system in two ways. First of all, the focus was taken away from economics as the sole evil and placed other issues and structures that subjugated womyn under scrutiny.

Ackelsberg writes, "anarchists have insisted that power has its own logic and will not be abolished through attention to economic relations alone" (Ackelsberg, 1991, p.17).

Secondly, womyn could participate in all sectors of the economy. Although it took some time and a great deal of dialogue before womyn were actually integrated, the change did occur (Ackelsberg, 1991, pp.22-23). Womyn were gaining more opportunities than had been offered them in centuries.

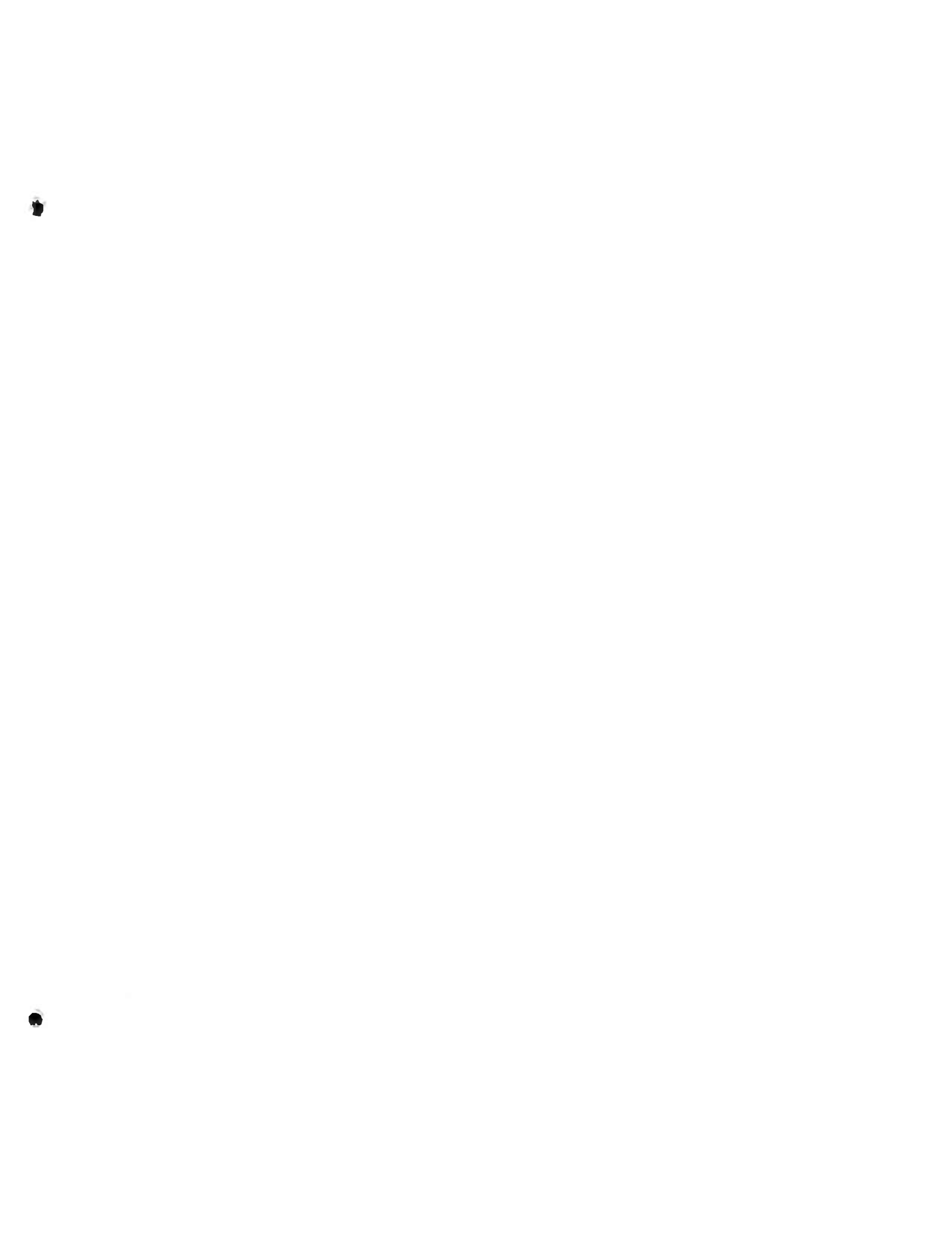
The structural obstacles also waned. Anarchism rejects religion. Emma Goldman asserts that religion enslaves people. In order to be truly free she calls for us to "Break your mental fetters...for not until you think and judge for yourself will you get rid of the dominion of darkness, the great obstacle to all progress" (Goldman, 1911, p.485).

Enriqueta Rovira demonstrates the separation from religion in this conversation:

People would say to us, "Were your children baptized?" and we would say to them, "We weren't baptized." "How terrible, what girls! Such beautiful children...being brought up without God, you are like dogs!" And we would say, "No you are the ones who are like dogs, that you need a master" (Ackelsberg, 1991, p.16).

Religion no longer could manipulate the people through guilt or shame or condemnation.

The militia of the anarchists was organized without a hierarchy and permitted womyn to participate. It was a "voluntaristic militia in which men and women [sic] elected their own commanders and in which military rank conferred no social, material, or symbolic distinctions" (Dolhoff, 1974, p.xii). Not even the Second Republic could claim



that the military was not a foe to womyn's liberation as anarchism could.

Legal constraints did not exist. The obvious reason is that there are no laws because there is no government to create or enforce them. The destruction of the state allowed them unrestricted freedom to speak and the ability to be part of the community of anarchy. Womyn began publishing their own magazines and periodicals. The Mujeres Libres published 13 issues of their own journal (Ackelsberg, 1991, p.184). Below are a couple of photos of these publications.



(Ackelsberg, 1991, p.114).

Not all of these changes transpired quickly, nor were the liberties of womyn immediately recognized. However, the eventual inclusion of these goals, ideas and actions gave womyn more liberty and freedom within the community than they had ever experienced.

The combination of the historical and cultural conditions in Spain and the bonds

between feminism and anarchism would seem to indicate that womyn would become anarchists in Spain, but not all womyn did. Still, significant numbers of womyn did join anarchist organizations. The group Mujeres Libres alone was made up of over 20,000 womyn (Ackelsberg, 1991, p.1). The anarchists had "about eight million people who directly or indirectly" participated in the movement (Dolgoft, 1974, p.6). The numbers alone indicate that the anarchists were a powerful force in Spain.

Antecedents for Anarchy

To identify the unique Spanish preconditions for womyn choosing anarchism, we can look at the history of anarchism in Spain and then examine Spanish cultural tendencies toward anarchy. Spanish anarchism extends back in history around 120 years. During the early 1870's, Giuseppe Fanelli introduced Italian anarchism to Madrid and Barcelona (Dolgoft, 1974, p.xv). Fanelli's ideas contributed to the formation of a Spanish section of the International Working Men's Association. They were known as the "Internationalists" and their ideas spread rapidly from Madrid and Barcelona to all regions in Spain. In the international arena the International Working Men's Association was divided by rifts between the anarchists and Marxists. Anarchism does not require capitalist accumulation and engineering. The build-up of capitalism, for Marxists, was seen as absolutely essential to their revolution. The lack of capitalist experience in Spain, Murray Bookchin meant that Spain avoided the international dilemma between the anarchists and the Marxists (Dolgoft, 1974, p.xvii). So, unhindered by this division, anarchism in Spain progressed.

Spanish culture greatly influenced the ability of anarchism to take root in Spain.

Problems that anarchists encountered elsewhere in world, such as breaking the traditions of economic hierarchy and unlearning capitalism, existed to a lesser degree in Spain than elsewhere. Hierarchy did exist among the elites and within the church. However, the majority of Spaniards did not participate in these hierarchies. The agrarian heritage of Spain encouraged a more communitarian codependence rather than a structured hierarchy.

The case study of Casas Viejas provides us with an empirical example of how anarchism did not have to make people unlearn capitalism. Jerome R. Mintz notes in his book, The Anarchists of Casas Viejas that “Spain is the only country in the world where anarchism developed into a major movement” (Mintz, 1982, p.2). Casas Viejas was a region in Spain that was dedicated to the concept of anarchism (Mintz, 1982, p.1). In places like Casas Viejas isolation from capitalism allowed pre-capitalist villages to adopt with relative ease the philosophies of anarchy (Dolgoft, 1974, p.xvii). Old agrarian traditions engendered many of the same ideals as anarchist philosophy (Bookchin, 1977, p.33). The agrarian experience promoted a communitarian idea of anarchism. On the other hand, the workers' traditions of libertarianism encouraged a different focus of anarchism in Spain (Dolgoft, 1974, p. xvii). The combination of the goals of communitarian anarchists and the libertarian ones was pervasive in Spanish society. The combination would be known as anarcho-syndicalism. Both Casas Viejas and Mujeres Libres were part of this anarcho-syndicalist movement. However, there were various types of anarchism in which womyn in Spain participated.

Chapter IV: Womyn's anarchist groups and their pressure against the government

Types of anarchism and political parties that womyn joined and embraced

Womyn participated in several types of anarchist movements, specifically, anarchist communism, anarchosyndicalism and communalist-anarchism. Dolgoff quotes Kropotkin's description of anarchist communism as "communism without government, free communism" (Dolgoff, 1974, p.29). Kropotkin points out the perfect nature of anarchism as the political model for communism because the best way for change is "not in increasing powers of the State, but in resorting to free organization and free federation in all those branches which are now considered as attributes of the State" (Dolgoff, 1974, p.29). Lola Iturbe, in her article, "Anarchist Communism Will Liberate Women [sic]," argues that "only the reign of libertarian communism can provide a humane solution to the problem of women's [sic] emancipation. With the destruction of private property, this hypocritical morality will fall by the wayside, and we will be free" (Ackelsberg, 1991, pp.25-26). Communist anarchism provided one form of anarchy that liberated womyn.

Anarchosyndicalism was also adopted by womyn in Spain. Rudolf Rocker believed in achieving the Socialist economic model and was "convinced that...[this model] cannot [exist] by the decrees and statutes of a government, but only by a solidaric collaboration of the workers with hand or brain in each special branch of production" (Dolgoff, 1974, p.30). Womyn particularly liked this form of anarchism because the means for achieving the end goals were combined with anarchic means for accomplishing those ambitions. The womyn's anarchist group, Mujeres Libres, were an off-shoot of this

type of anarchism. Anarchosyndicalism was based on the idea of workers uniting in a common cause. Each person would perform the tasks which they could do best. So, under this philosophy, if a woman were adept at fixing cars she could do so without regard to whether such a job were "masculine" or "feminine." The job would just be something at which she excelled.

Communalist-anarchism was embraced by many women. For communalist-anarchists "freedom was fundamentally a social product: the fullest expression of individuality and of creativity can be achieved only in and through the community" (Ackelsberg, 1991, p.21). By aiding one another women in this group believed they would be able to eliminate the shackles that hierarchies placed on them. Instead of the limitations of working through economic systems through anarcho-communism or the restraints of unions, women in this group used community based strategies to debunk all forms of hierarchies (Ackelsberg, 1991, p.23). The women's anarchist groups liked communalist anarchism because it "was collectivist and communalist in orientation, which meant that it was committed to a vision of society in which self-development of each is connected with the development of all" (Ackelsberg, 1991, 11). Together women and men would grow in a totally egalitarian world.

Having looked at different movements, we can study the variety of political parties that were part of the anarchist movement in Spain. Murray Bookchin, in The Spanish Anarchists, outlines the evolution of anarchist movements in Spain. One of the first groups to form was the "Internationalists" during the Heroic Years (1868-1936) in Spain (Bookchin, 1977, p. book cover). Another movement was Proletarian anarchism that

also developed during this same time period. A third movement was peasant anarchism (1871-1887), marked by its agrarian unions and uprisings (Bookchin, 1977, p.108).

Anarchosyndicalism followed the peasant movement (1896-present). The party of the National Labor Confederation or CNT, which was formed (Dolgoﬀ, 1974, p.175) in 1910, was also a large anarcho-syndicalist labor union. The Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI) was formed in 1927 and was “the militant anarchist organization of committed libertarians” (Dolgoﬀ, 1974, p.175). The CNT and the FAI worked closely together to accomplish their agendas in society.

There are common motifs and ideas that are central and inherent to all the types of anarchism that these womyn elected. These include the dissolution of government, equal labor and economic rights, and as Rocker states, “to carry on production and the distribution of the products in the general interest of the community on the basis of free mutual agreement” (Dolgoﬀ, 1974, p.30). Another issue that particularly interested womyn was one of the planks of the Constitution of the Libertarian Collectives. Section 4 reads:

A conquest of enormous importance was the right of womyn to livelihood, regardless of occupation or function. In about half the agrarian collectives, the women received the same wages as men; in the rest the women received less, apparently based on the principle that they rarely lived alone (Dolgoﬀ, 1974, p.167).

The economic promise of this plank promotes the ideals of equality in anarchism. The unity and commonality essentially illustrates the fight against hierarchies and domination.

Programs of action taken by womyn and womyn's role in the destruction of Francoism

Traditional male anarchist movements neglected womyn. Ackelsberg indicates that while Spanish anarchists acknowledged the importance of womyn, "few gave those concerns top priority" (Ackelsberg, 1991, p.17). Womyn were not willing to give up on anarchism though. Womyn's anarchist groups began to develop on their own. The following is the anthem of the Mujeres Libres group:

Fists upraised, women [sic] of Iberia
toward horizons pregnant with light
on paths afire
feet on the ground
face to the blue sky.

Affirming the promise of life
we defy tradition
we mould the warm clay
of a new world born of pain.

Let the past vanish into nothingness!
What do we care for yesterday!
We want to write anew
the word WOMAN [sic].

Fists upraised, women [sic] of the world
toward horizons pregnant with light
on paths afire
onward, onward
toward the light (Ackelsberg, 1991, p.vii).

Even though the womyn "were frustrated by the failure of the movement to adequately incorporate women [sic] and issues of concern to women [sic], they nevertheless remained convinced that the movement provided the only context for achieving a true liberation of women [sic]" (Ackelsberg, 1991, p.18). Womyn persevered with anarchism and adopted

their own programs for action.

Womyn's role in the destruction of Francoism can be evaluated by looking at the different underground movements and organizations of womyn in Spain, then examining some of their strikes and demonstrations, and, finally, evaluating the success of these organizations and their actions. The underground movements and organizations that womyn took part in were extensive. During the threatening time of Franco, womyn were careful not to get caught. The necessity for anonymity fostered the proliferation of diverse groups all over Spain. Members often joined the groups based on either similar ideology, or regional location. Some of the ideological groups include the Damas Rojas and the Damas Radicales, mentioned earlier, which were examples of womyn's unions (Bookchin, 1977, p.144). Amor y Armonia was the anarchist womyn's group in Casas Viejas (Mintz, 1982, p.163). With a membership made up of young womyn, this group established a program that recognized and examined womyn's role in anarchism. Las Tres Rozas was another group of young womyn who were active in the anarcho-communist movement. Thirteen womyn from this group were shot in a firing line for suspicion of activities against the state (Romeu, 1994, p.42). When word of this tragedy spread, womyn united in their grief. The poem by Rafaela Gonzalez, a cellmate of the girls in Las Tres Rozas, portrays the sorrow almost all womyn in Spain felt.

"How The Stars Die"

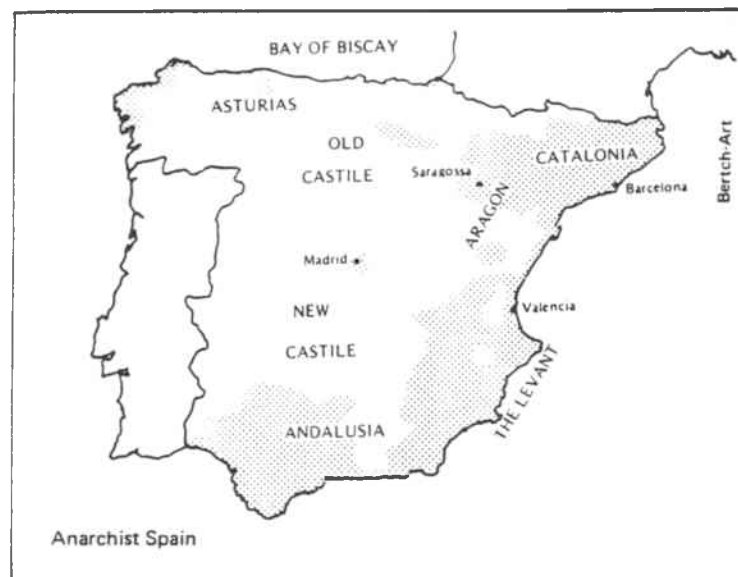
The stars fall to the ground
 thirteen red stars
 blue ones and yellow
 for the girls, the land is covered with white lilies
 with white roses and with little bells

Oh, the stars have died! (Romeu, 1994, p.293).

Womyn and men both protested the death. In a way, these protests were symbolic of ones all over the country. Soledad Estorach received her introduction to anarchism at one such protest. She relates:

"Many people went to storm the prisons to free the prisoners, and I went too. There was some guy there shouting, 'Down with politics! Down with the Civil Guard!...Long live anarchy! And I thought, 'Ah, here is an anarchist.' This was my first encounter with an anarchist--and he did not look like he was a terrible person. He had a good face" (Ackelsberg. 1991, p.16).

This interaction spurred the recruitment of new anarchists into the fold. Other groups were: International Democratic Federation of Women (FDIM), Sisterhood of Feminine Catholic Action (HOACF), Union of Antifascist Women (UMA), Union of Spanish Women (UME), and the Popular Union of Women (UPM) (Romeu, 1994, p.397). All these groups had different agendas depending upon their respective ideologies.



The figure above shows the regional distribution of anarchism in Spain (Dolgoft,

1974, p.3). Regional movements accounted for the other forms of organization that womyn joined. The Independent Spanish Radio (REI) broadcast messages from groups in the Basque country and from Andalucia (Romeu, 1994, p.43). These messages pledged solidarity with other womyn and focused on issues of particular interest to womyn in that region. In a letter to the Mujeres Antifascistas de Sevilla (Antifascist Women of Sevilla), Carmencita de Triana calls to other womyn in the area to stand up and fight against the tyranny of Franco (Romeu, 1994, 44). In the antifascist movement in Galicia, womyn made up 30 per cent of the militia (Romeu, 1994, p.48). These regional movements reflected womyn's desire to unite and fight against the fascism of Franco.

Having surveyed the different movements, we can now investigate the demonstrations and other actions these womyn employed to reach their goals. Fernanda Romeu Alfaro, in her book El Silencio Roto, identifies the womyn's movement in three periods known as the Consolidation (1952-1960), Maturity (1960-1970), and the Plenitud (1970-1975) (Romeu, 1994, pp.62, 73, 101).

During the Consolidation, womyn's movements often focused on single issues. The issues they chose reflect the anarchist influences we saw earlier. Romeu outlines the central goals of the "clandestine fight of womyn," as "helping the workers' fight, participation in the pro-amnesty campaigns, and defending the worldwide Campaign for Peace" (Romeu, 1994, p.63). The demonstration against United States military bases in Spain embodies almost all of these goals. The Union of Women of Catalunya and the Union of Antifascist Women in Spain in 1958, mobilized their members to rise up in outrage against these bases. In defense of this uprising, womyn protested against their

work and pesetas being exploited to aid in bases designed for war (Romeu, 1994, p.66). This uprising reflects the goals sought by anarcho-syndicalism. The message reflects the goal of peace and the resistance to the exploitation of workers. It also has a tinge of communal anarchism because the womyn called for a solidarity of community. The social movements were movements of the united masses. In messages broadcast over REI, womyn were called to the fight from all sectors of life (Romeu, 1994, p.67). Mothers were invited to secure their families. Intellectual womyn answered calls for their expertise. Womyn workers flocked to denounce their exploitation and ask for equitable pay. The goals and actions of these movements reveal the anarchist influence in their character.

The years of the Maturity were marked by political compromise. Anarchist womyn's groups during the sixties proliferated to the point that womyn were not effectively unified (Romeu, 1994, p.77). There were too many different groups. Romeu indicts the womyn's worker movement and university movements as vanguards that failed to mobilize the masses, except in a few cases (Romeu, 1994, p.77). The vanguards were seen as evil, like those of Leninism, because they created hierarchies to try and achieve their goals. These means for accomplishing anarchy were unacceptable to those womyn who rejected such structures.

On February 9, 1964, a group of 102 womyn signed a letter to Franco, demanding the release and amnesty for womyn that had been unjustly incarcerated (Romeu, 1994, p.88). These womyn cut their hair in protest against the domination and brutality against their sisters. The fight for amnesty extended to an intensification on the attacks against

other societal and religious hierarchies (Romeu, 1994, p.88). These attacks on the hierarchy are part of womyn's anarchist movements.

The Plentitud movement initiated a time of solidarity among the radicals. Reinigorated, the womyn's anarchist movements and other womyn's movements ignited in new and diverse activities (Romeu, 1994, p.103). During 1970-1975, womyn became more than just another component of the fight. Womyn were the fighters. Romeu lists the new activities as: doubled militancy, an increase in politically-clandestine activities, and the maintenance of solidarity (Romeu, 1994, p.103). The protests of womyn were more numerous and public. Womyn were demanding their freedom and equality. These activities against the repressive government escalated until the death of Franco.

In 1975, with the death of Franco and the Christmas Eve celebration of the Liberation of Womyn, womyn rejoiced in how much they overcame and revelled in the promise of a more equal and liberated future (Romeu, 1994, p.104). The womyn's struggle under the reign of Franco gave them leverage in the years to follow to demand the rights that had been denied them. The fight these womyn endured was extraordinarily difficult, but, as a womyn known only by her initials J.A.V., said, "pero sobrevivimos"--we survived (Romeu, 1994, 170). The battle is not over though. Anna Delso of the *Mujeres Libres* reminds us:

One can talk for a long time about the experiences such as those we lived. The most important thing, though, is not having made the revolution, but having continued the struggle in the years since, each in his or her particular setting, or in many settings at once, without trumpet or drum (Ackelsberg, 1991, p.162).

The struggle of the *viejas* or the old ones continues on in the lives of the *jovenes*, the

young ones.

Womyn's role today in Spanish society

To measure womyn's accomplishments, we can use the same criteria of gender socialization, situational constraints, structural obstacles and legal constraints. Gender socialization in the home began to diminish almost immediately after the death of Franco. Article 57 of the Spanish Code was repealed. Womyn were no longer subjected to the traditional Catholic view that womyn were subservient to their husbands. The gender roles in the family were equalizing.

In higher education especially, womyn's roles were liberalized. Womyn are now allowed to pursue any field they wish, just as a man would. Womyn have been "let into such bastions of rampant machismo as the Academy of Spanish Language" (Hooper, 1987, p.195). The stereotypes that once left them out of higher education are now disintegrating.

The evidence that these stereotypes are decreasing is seen in the surge of womyn writers. There are now more womyn writers in the last 25 years than existed in over eight previous centuries combined and recognition for womyn's contributions made in the past is also on the rise (Brown, 1991, p.18). Also, the allegorical folk songs are finally acknowledged as the work of womyn. These are big leaps in the work of womyn, from the times of Franco and before.

Economically womyn were faring better. John Hooper, in his book The Spaniards,

records this growth but tempers it by writing:

. . . while the number of women [sic] going out to work has increased substantially in recent years, women [sic] still account for a marginally smaller proportion of the workforce than in the other OECD countries. . . There is still no law to prevent bosses paying women [sic] less money for doing the same job as men . . . (Hooper, 1987, p.195).

This inequality demonstrates that there is still more work to be done. The mothers have made the way easier for their Spanish daughters; however, each generation has to serve their battle time.

Structural constraints of religious institutions and the military are also on a path of progression. Divorces were made legal on July 7, 1981 (Hooper, 1987, p.201). Womyn could once again leave a marriage if it were bad. Civil marriages are also available to anyone who wants them. The imposition of Catholic faith on the family by legal means no longer occurs.

The change in the military's position on womyn is perhaps the most discernible. Womyn are now permitted into the Guardia Civil and the Policia Nacional (Hooper, 1987, p.195). Another astonishing point is that for the "first time . . . women [sic] were free to apply for entry to the Cuerpo Superior de Policia, one of them -- Sagrario Martinez Sanmillan -- came out on top of the 3,500 applicants" (Hooper, 1987, p. 195). The admission of womyn into these positions is truly an about face from the military's earlier posture on womyn.

Womyn have greater power over legal constraints. Womyn once again can claim the right to vote. They are no longer excluded from at least this right extended to men.

However, the number of womyn participating as office holders in the political arena is still very low.

Womyn are now increasingly equal to their husbands and can obtain the same education as a man. Womyn entering the workforce have greater opportunities than ever. Religion and the military are no longer the heinous threat to womyn's empowerment they once were. Finally womyn's suffrage has been reinstated. These are huge obstacles overcome with the aid of the womyn's anarchist movements.

Chapter V: Conclusion

In order to clearly contrast and depict the change in status between the Second Republic and Francoism, and to document the accomplishments of the anarchist society and womyn today the following table provides clarity. Table 1, on the *Comparison of Womyn's Status and Chronicle of Achievements*, is divided into the four categories utilized in this paper (gender socialization, situational barriers, structural obstacles and power of the means of coercion), so we can examine the differences at a glance.

Table I *Comparison of Womyn's Status and Chronicle of Achievements*

<i>Category</i>	Second Republic (1931-1936) Changes	Era of Franco (1939-1975) Changes	Anarchist Society (Mujeres Libres & Casas Viejas)	Womyn in Spain today Changes
Gender Socialization	-Increased equality in home -Secularization of schools and coeducation -Divorce and civil marriage legalized	-Divorce and civil marriages are illegal -Parochial schools dividing girls and boys flourish -Womyn's access to higher education is limited	-Marriage is outlawed or extremely discouraged -No gender segregation in schools -Womyn are taught the same subjects as men	-Divorce is legalized -Secularization of the schools -Desegregation of the schools -Womyn have access to higher education -Surge of womyn writers
Situational Constraints	-Womyn can enter productive work force -Womyn can join unions	-Womyn are relegated to "womyn's" work--reproductive work -Unions are banned	-All hierarchies are attacked -Economics is not defined as sole factor that hurts womyn -Womyn can participate in all sectors of the economy	-Womyn can enter into the general workplace -Still difficult to get equal pay for equal work

Structural Constraints	-Role of the Catholic Church was decreasing -Womyn can get a civil marriage or a divorce -Military very conservative, excludes womyn	-Marital laws are imposed upon womyn--marital permission slip -Divorce and civil marriages are illegal -Military oppression and abuse of womyn dramatically rises	-Religion is outlawed -Promote free love rather than marriage -Militias include womyn, are voluntaristic, and leaders are elected	-Divorce is legalized throughout Spain -Civil marriages for anyone who wants them -Womyn can participate in the Guardia Civil and the Policia Nacional
Legal Constraints	-Womyn have Freedom of Speech -Womyn gain the right to vote	-Womyn cannot speak out freely -Divorce and civil marriages are illegal -Womyn's suffrage is repealed	-Womyn can speak out freely -Marriage is discouraged -womyn are equal politically to men -No government hierarchy exists to dominate womyn	-Womyn's suffrage -Politics are still dominated by men -Surge of womyn writers shows the increase in Freedom of Speech

This table demonstrates the changes that womyn have endured, enjoyed and in some instances caused. The dramatic freedom offered by the anarchist model, as seen in this chart, demonstrates why a lot of Spanish womyn adopted anarchism as the goal and vehicle of their liberation. The anarchists in combination with other democratic, socialist and communist groups worked to achieve the freedoms womyn experience today in Spain.

Mercedes, a young womyn who was part of a womyn's anarchist group in Spain, summarized the situation womyn faced in Spain.

We had one million people against us . . . All the great revolutionaries -- Alexandra Kollontai, Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin -- tried to do something with women [sic]. But they all found out that, from within a party, within an existing organization, it is always impossible . . . I remember reading, for example, of a communication between Lenin and Clara Zetkin, in which he says to her, "Yes, all this you're talking about with respect to the emancipation of women [sic] is very good. A very fine goal, but for later." The interests of the party always come before those of women [sic] (Ackelsberg, 1991, p.65).

Womyn during the era of Franco were forced to create their own anarchist movements in order to ensure that their rights were secured. Male groups did not always reflect their interests. As we have seen in this paper, womyn struggled to survive. Their struggle helped to realize some freedoms in the current government.

The fight for womyn's freedom continues today in Spain. Womyn still do not receive equal pay for equal work and there is a notable absence of womyn in the political arena. Traces of the anarchist movements of their mothers guide young womyn today as they seek to progress further the rights and status of womyn in Spain.

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