

**Decentering Anarchism:
Governmentality and Anti-Authoritarian Social Movements in Twentieth-Century Spain**

Adrian Wilson

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Approved by:

Wendy Wolford, Ph.D.

Lawrence Grossberg, Ph.D.

John Pickles, Ph.D.

Abstract

ADRIAN WILSON: Decentering Anarchism: Governmentality and Anti-Authoritarian Social Movements in Twentieth-Century Spain
(Under the direction of Wendy Wolford)

In this thesis, I outline a genealogy of the Spanish anarchist movement. I outline the epistemological terms on which anarchism has been defined by both historical and contemporary anarchist groups, and then I destabilize these epistemological understandings of anarchism by outlining the historical genealogy of the anarchist movement as it developed alongside the 19th-century Spanish state. I then use a case study of the agrarian anarchist collectivization movement during the Spanish Civil War to illustrate this genealogy. Finally, I theorize the contemporary, ‘post-leftist’ Spanish anarchist movement, using Foucault’s theory of the role of freedom in modern governmentality.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations.....	iv
Introduction.....	1
Section 1: The Signification of Anarchism.....	15
Section 2: Anarchism, Governmentality, and the Coloniality of Power.....	31
Section 3: Agrarian Anarchist Collectivization During the Spanish Civil War	53
Section 4: Freedom, Governmentality, and Contemporary Anarchism	70
Conclusion	77
Bibliography.....	79

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CNT	<i>Confederación Nacional del Trabajo</i> (National Confederation of Labor, a predominantly anarcho-syndicalist labor union)
FAI	<i>Federación Anarquista Iberica</i> (Iberian Anarchist Federation, affiliated with the CNT)
FRE	<i>Federación Regional de España</i> (Spanish Regional Federation (of the IWMA))
IWMA	International Workingmen's Association
PCE	<i>Partido Comunista de España</i> (Spanish Communist Party)
UGT	<i>Unión General de Trabajadores</i> (General Workers' Union – affiliated with the PSOE, or Socialist Workers' Party)

Introduction

A large dirt road leads up a relatively steep hill on the outskirts of Cartagena, an old industrial city on the Mediterranean coast of the Spanish province of Murcia.¹ Promptly climbing out of the working-class housing developments on the western edge of the city, the road winds its way up a dry slope, sparsely covered with brush and small trees. After several kilometers of walking – during which the view of the city becomes increasingly spectacular – one comes across a rather surreal sight: a huge, crumbling old building, with several colorful banners attached, and surrounded by about two acres of terraced gardens. Old men, taking a break from tending their plots, sit around a giant old water cistern at the north end of the property; chatting about politics, they greet the visitor with a nod. Proceeding to the front door, one finds a tall, ramshackle fence, enclosing a small courtyard in front of the building; this fence is not for protection against theft, but rather against the police, who have tried on multiple occasions to forcibly clear the house of its inhabitants. The building is a former hospital, and the land that it stands on belongs to the provincial government of Murcia. This is La Base, one of the largest and most well-known ‘rurban’ squats in Spain.²

In 1999, a radical environmentalist conference was being planned in Cartagena. The organizers – experienced activists from Holland, Sweden, and other European countries –

¹ All names and locations have been changed to protect the identity of those involved.

² There are a series of Spanish squats that are often referred to as *rurbano*, or ‘rurban’: located just outside of cities, these squats have access to the urban squat community, and thus aren’t as isolated as the many strictly rural Spanish squats are; however, these communities also live on large plots of land, and their subsistence is based in part on such projects as growing food and collecting rainwater.

visited the city several months before the conference was scheduled to be held, and convened a planning meeting with local activists in order to find a suitable location. The participants at this meeting decided that a group of local activists, supported by more experienced European squatters, would occupy an old, abandoned hospital on the outskirts of town, and use this building for the conference; afterwards, local squatters and foreign conference participants alike would be invited to continue squatting the house. After several months of preparations, this coalition of activists occupied the building in December 1999 – rapidly building barricades, stockpiling food, and orchestrating a media spectacle that drew not only local television reporters, but also hundreds of supporters and sympathizers (who camped out on the grass outside). Several weeks after the building was occupied, the conference was held; people came from all over Europe to participate in an array of workshops, lectures, and social activities. After the conference was over, a core group of activists remained in the building, and prepared for the police's inevitable attempt to evict the squat.

Four months later, in early May, the police raided La Base in full force. Dozens of officers entered the house from the ground floor, the residents had constructed a series of blockades that delayed the police for fifteen minutes. This delay gave eleven people enough time to grab small amounts of food and water and climb onto a series of well-constructed mechanisms of nonviolent resistance: five-meter-high tripods, chairs mounted on walls, and something referred to ominously as a “death plank.” The police were unable to get these eleven nonviolent resisters down; they called in the fire department, who – unsympathetic to the police's goal of removing squatters from city property – flatly refused to forcibly remove the eleven resisters. Thus began a grueling three-day siege, at the end of which seven of the eleven people still remained in their positions. Exposed to sun and to cold, enduring substantial physical discomfort, and denied access to food by the police, the seven remaining resisters began to suffer from heat exhaustion,

dehydration, and malnutrition. The news media, camped out in front of the house, turned the police siege into a media circus; more importantly, though, health monitors determined that the blockaders were indeed under serious medical risk. On the fourth day, a district judge – swayed by media reports about the health conditions of the seven resisters – ordered the police off the property. (Interview 2) Since that date, there have been several minor confrontations with the police, but at no point since has the survival of the community been similarly threatened.

Today, La Base is a unique example of the rural Spanish squat community. In 2006, there were thirty-two people living at La Base – the ratio of men to women was about two to one, and one couple had a three-month-old baby that was the only child in the house. Activism is still central to community life: several days before I arrived, three house members were arrested for attempting to block the construction of a new maximum-security immigrant detention center. The house is ‘governed’ through a biweekly *asamblea*, at which house members reach decisions through a painstaking process of consensus. The community has no formal rules or disciplinary measures whatsoever, and there is no formal work-system for dividing chores; several people are understood to be responsible for particular responsibilities (the workshop, the electricity, etc.), but in general, house members take on work as they see fit. Out of the two acres of magnificently terraced gardens, about two-thirds is divided into plots that are distributed to community members (usually the elderly), and the remainder is La Base’s plot – again, tended on a volunteer basis, with two of the more agriculturally-experienced residents working as garden coördinators, and another member tending the dozen or so chickens that live next to the composting toilet. Electricity is stolen from the city grid, and rainwater is funneled from a huge catch-basin on the roof into a series of large drinking- and cooking-water cisterns around the house. Elaborate greywater and blackwater systems ensure that as much water is reused as

possible; the solar-heated outdoor shower, located in the garden at the edge of a terrace, is quite private while at the same time offering a spectacular view of the city of Cartagena.

The example of La Base illustrates several key points about the contemporary Spanish anarchist movement – which, following other anarchist theorists, I will characterize as ‘post-leftist.’ First, contemporary Spanish anarchists are above all focused on autonomy: their main political project is to create socioeconomic spaces that are as separate from state control and from the capitalist economy as possible. Second, contemporary anarchists focus on building sustainable alternatives to global capitalism: the residents of La Base spend a great deal of time working on systems to recycle wastewater, composting toilets, organic farming, etc. A third project of contemporary anarchists is the creation of horizontal, non-hierarchical structures of governance: the painstaking consensus-based *asambleas* and the explicitly anti-authoritarian structures of governance (to the point where La Base has no system for evicting problematic residents) are part of a larger political project of creating ‘anarchy’ in one’s own life and immediate environment. Fourth, the contemporary anarchist movement, like the 19th-century anarchist movement, is very much transnational: La Base, an old, run-down house on a little dirt road, is a hub in several transnational networks of radical activists. These social and political practices of the squatters at La Base are in many ways very different from those of the historical, leftist anarchist movement.

As I traveled around Spain in the summer of 2006, I discovered that different groups of people articulated and practiced anti-authoritarian politics in very distinct ways. On the one hand, the *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* (CNT) – the century-old anarcho-sindicalist labor union that has been the main institution of Spanish anarchism throughout the 20th century – stubbornly continues to articulate its political project in terms of class war and social revolution.

Founded in 1910, the CNT had 1.5 million members by the 1930's, and was a powerful agent of social revolution during the Spanish Civil War. However, since its earliest days, significant divisions have existed within the union: divisions between urban industrial workers and rural landless workers, and also divisions between radical anarchist ideologues (usually based in the *Federación Anarquista Iberica*, or FAI) and labor-unionist pragmatists (many of whom were expelled from the CNT in 1932, and formed the Syndicalist Party). After the nationalist victory in 1939, the surviving CNT militants went underground: some stayed in Spain and fought a guerrilla war against the regime, while others fled to France or Latin America. Following Franco's death in 1975, the CNT returned triumphantly to Spanish politics; however, its organizational power has greatly declined, and today it represents only a few thousand workers. In many ways, the CNT's political rhetoric and strategies have changed little since the 1930's: at its Eighth Confederational Congress in 1995, the CNT declared that its goals are

to foster the development of the spirit of association between workers, making them understand that only in this way can they improve their moral and material conditions within the current society, assume control of the means of production and consumption in a self-determining form, and introduce libertarian communism.
(CNT Statutes)

On the other hand, there are other, smaller, more marginal spaces of anti-authoritarian activism – such as La Base, or the Madrid bookstore *Traficantes de Sueños*, or the *Casas Viejas* squatted social center in Sevilla, or the Squatters' Assembly of Barcelona, or the 'Hackitectura' collective in Málaga (Pickles & Cobarrubias 2006), or Radio Bronka in Barcelona (Interview 1). As I will discuss in the next section, these radical spaces and networks – many of which emerged out of the punk/squatters' movement – are based on political practices that are very distinct in important ways from those of older anarchist groups, such as the CNT. Indeed, as I spoke to some of the participants in these groups, I discovered that many of them refer to themselves as 'autonomists.'

The autonomist movement emerged out of the anarchist movement during the cultural and political revolutions of 1968; then, a decade later, many participants in the emerging punk/squatters' movements adopted autonomist politics – first in Germany, and then in other European countries (Katsiaficas 2006, 88-97). Autonomists express an ideological commitment to “anti-authoritarianism, independence from existing political parties, decentralized organizational forms, emphasis on direct action, and a combination of culture and politics as a means for the creation of a new person and new forms for living through the transformation of everyday life.” (Ibid, 3-4)

Thus, within the Spanish anarchist movement, there is an uneasy coexistence of two very different ways of talking about anarchist politics (which I will describe in Section 1 as ‘leftist’ and ‘post-leftist’). When I asked David – a resident of La Base – about the difference between political practices of the squat movement and the CNT, he argued that, ultimately,

the squat movement comes out of the punk movement. It's really a response, [a way of] saying [that] there is no hope, there is no future, there's no ability to fight, so we're going to merely direct our rage into a type of social struggle which is completely a dead end. Even though we know it's a dead end... It's the same as throwing rocks at the police. If we were really interested in fighting the police, we wouldn't pick up rocks, we would pick up guns. But... of course that's not an option... of course it's a disaster waiting to happen. And so, when you begin to realize that, you know that it's all a game. At that point, you say to yourself, 'okay, we're going to participate in a violent movement, because we want to be alive, and we want to maintain the idea of resistance.' But it's only an idea that we're maintaining. We are not really resisting. (Interview 2)

Here, David is simultaneously trying to articulate two very distinct understandings of social action, and the incompatibility of these two discourses leaves David expressing his argument in fundamentally conflicted and ambiguous terms. This thesis explores these theoretical tensions existing within David's statement, which reflect a larger conflict over the identity of anarchism in contemporary Spain. My project in this thesis is to outline a genealogy of Spanish anarchism, and in doing so to demonstrate how anarchist political discourse came to be framed in several different ways.

Over the past thirty years, critical scholars and social theorists have focused on deconstructing the binary categories that have been used by Cartesian philosophy as a means of ordering, categorizing, and appropriating the world and everything in it. For instance, Bruno Latour (1993) problematizes the separation of the ‘social’ and ‘natural’ realms; Arturo Escobar (1995) deconstructs the distinction between ‘developed’ and ‘underdeveloped’ societies; and Judith Butler (1990) challenges the prevailing binary construction of gender. However, the binary distinction between ‘power’ and ‘resistance’ continues to be a fundamental component of the work of many social movements scholars and social theorists, as well as of the political discourses of movements themselves. Basing their epistemologies on this power/resistance binary, social movement scholars researchers often essentialize the movements that they study, framing them as fundamentally ontologically separate from the institutions they oppose (Esteva 1987; Escobar 2003; Bevington & Dixon 2005). In many ways, this understanding of social movements was originally articulated by Georg Wilhelm Hegel, in his theory of the dialectical conflict between master and slave as the motor force of human history. Building on Hegel’s conception of social conflict, Karl Marx recast Hegel’s distinction in more purely oppositional terms, arguing famously that

the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes. (Marx & Engels 1978, 473-74)

It is difficult to understate the extent to which this Marxian understanding of social movements – as being engaged with the state or ruling class in a relationship of pure opposition and conflict – has influenced contemporary social movements research, and contemporary social thought in general. This aspect of Marxian philosophy has also

profoundly influenced traditional anarchist theory, as I will discuss in more detail in the following section.

However, as Sherry Ortner (1995) points out, recent researchers have decentered this Marxian understanding of the social movement, by demonstrating how social movements are profoundly shaped by the institutions that they frame themselves in opposition to. Thus, Sidney Tarrow argues that “rather than seeing social movements as expressions of extremism, violence, and deprivation, they are better defined as collective challenges... in *sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities*.” (Tarrow 1994, 3-4; emphasis added) Likewise, Ortner, suggesting that “resistance studies are thin because they are ethnographically thin,” argues that a greater focus on ethnographic methods by social movements researchers would

reveal the ambivalences and ambiguities of resistance itself... [which] emerge from the intricate webs of articulations and disarticulations that always exist between dominant and dominated. For the politics of external domination and the politics within a subordinated group may link up with, as well as repel, one another (Ortner 1995, 190)

Furthermore, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri make the important point that the actions of social movements influence the development of the state, as well as vice versa; thus, in *Empire*, they argue that the struggles of “the revolutionary multitude... have produced Empire as an inversion of its own image” (Hardt & Negri 2000, 394).

As Ortner points out, many of these new perspectives in social movement research have drawn on the work of Michel Foucault, who “drew attention to less institutionalized, more pervasive, and more everyday forms of power.” (Ortner 1995, 175) Thus, in *History of Sexuality* (1978), Foucault asserts that

resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power... [The] existence [of power relationships] depends on a multiplicity of points of resistance: these play the role of adversary, target, support, or handle in power relations... Resistances... are the odd term in relations of power; they are inscribed in the latter as an irreducible opposite. (Foucault 1978, 95-6)

This theoretical argument, undermining the distinction between ‘power’ and ‘resistance,’ is part of a larger focus of Foucault’s work on the micropolitical nature of power. As Ortner points out, Foucault’s theorizations of micropolitics have been incredibly central to the work of social movements theorists, and have helped many researchers approach theoretical problems in new and interesting ways.

However, the recent publication of two series of Foucault’s lectures at the Collège de France – in which Foucault, in an interesting departure from most of his previously published work, examines and theorizes *macropolitical* processes – makes it possible for social movement researchers to use Foucauldian theory in new and powerful ways. In *Society Must Be Defended* (2003), Foucault describes how discourses of ‘racism’ – in which a social war against an external ‘enemy’ is presented as vital for the protection of society – was first articulated as an oppositional discourse in 17th century England. However, Foucault argues that this oppositional ‘racism’ was recoded into a discourse of biopolitical “state racism in the late 18th century;” furthermore, this biopolitical discourse was in turn was appropriated by socialist and anarchist social movements in the late 19th century. Thus, Foucault contends that the ‘racist’ function of class war in these movements is rooted in a discourse that is genealogically derived from both state and anti-state structures – and that knowing this genealogy gives us the means to challenge the “function of racism” as it exists in contemporary social movements. Similarly to the works of social movements theorists such as Ortner and Tarrow, *Society Must Be Defended* profoundly challenges the Marxian understanding of social movements as ontologically distinct from institutions of power; however, unlike Ortner, Foucault focuses on macropolitics, which he does by conducting a genealogical analysis of discourse.

Furthermore, in *Security, Territory, Population* (2007), Foucault de-essentializes the state, through an examination of governmentality as a modality of power; in this thesis, I construct my

arguments based on Foucault's theorization of governmentality in this book, and I argue that the framework of governmentality allows us to further decenter and de-essentialize our understandings of social movements. In *Security, Territory, Population*, Foucault demonstrates that the development of contemporary movements of resistance – which Foucault refers to as “counter-conducts” – is inseparable from the development of the governmentalized state. To Foucault,

what is at stake in the counter-conducts that develop in correlation with modern governmentality are the same elements as for that governmentality... [T]he history of the governmental *ratio*, and the history of the counter-conducts opposed to it, are inseparable from each other. (Foucault 2007, 355-57)

In this paper, I present Spanish anarchism as an example of the profound interchangeability of state and anti-state discourses, and I theorize the relationship between state and anti-state movements in terms of continuity and circulation (rather than in terms of pure opposition, as articulated in Marxist theory). Specifically, Foucault's framework allows me to theorize both contemporary states and social movements within the framework of governmentality, and to understand how the history of governmental technologies of power has shaped the histories of both state and anti-state action.

Following the arguments of contemporary social movements researchers such as Ortner, Tarrow, and Tilly, my goal in this paper is to demonstrate the ways in which the Spanish anarchist movement, and the Spanish state that it ideologically opposes itself to, are mutually constitutive: they have evolved together and mutually produced each other through a complex, dialectical process of engagement and opposition. Methodologically, I use Foucault's genealogical method to illustrate this argument, demonstrating that the history of Spanish anarchism is inseparable from the history of the expansion of governmentality as a modality of Spanish state power. Specifically, I make three sub-arguments about the Spanish anarchist movement, which I use to construct my overall argument. First, I argue that the development of

historical, leftist Spanish anarchism is inseparable from the history of governmentality as a Spanish state technology of power. Second, I contend that the development of contemporary, post-leftist Spanish anarchism is inseparable from the 20th-century shift towards new forms of governmentality (Foucault 2007, 49). However, the historical anarchist movement should not be understood as a singular entity: thus, my third sub-argument is that a powerful yet subaltern anarchist movement of agrarian landless workers – based on a fundamentally different discourse of anarchism – profoundly challenged the predominant ideologies and practices of the CNT during the Spanish Civil War.

This genealogical analysis of anarchism allows me engage with three different fields of scholarship. First, I position my argument alongside new theoretical approaches to social movements research. Social movements researchers often describe social movements as if they emerged from some sort of impossibly autonomous, ontologically distinct Outside (Wilson & Wofford 2006). However, numerous contemporary social movements theorists have focused on the project of de-essentializing, decentering, and contextualizing the analytical category of the social movement. For instance, Charles Tilly argues that we should examine “repertoires of contention” within social movements – thus emphasizing the influence of ‘outside’ cultural, social, and political practices on movement participants’ actions (Tilly 1993). Doug McAdam et al problematize the static, individual-based understanding of social movements, theorizing movements in dynamic and relational terms (McAdam et al 2001). Likewise, Wendy Wofford draws attention to the discrepancy between movement ideology and participants’ particular socioeconomic situations (Wofford 2003, 2005, 2006).

In the same way that Wofford calls on social movement researchers to use ethnography as a means of “embed[ding] actors in their particular material and symbolic environments” (Wofford 2003, 202), I argue that by historically analyzing the genealogy of anti-state social movements, we

can better understand the specific structural positions within which those movements are embedded. Specifically, we can better understand how social movements – especially leftist, working class-based social movements in the 19th and early 20th centuries – are in many ways similar creatures to the institutions that they have ideologically framed themselves in opposition to. Thus, not only does historical analysis help us de-essentialize our analyses of social movements by examining how what Welford refers to as the movement’s “Official Genesis Story” was historically constructed (Welford 2003, 202), but this perspective also emphasizes the ways in which discourses and practices are interchanged between social movements and state institutions.

Second, this paper engages with the historiography of Spanish anarchism. I will discuss this particular historiographical school in more detail at the beginning of section two; here, there, I argue that the three existing schools of Spanish anarchist historiography are, to varying extents, all problematic. The first two schools of Spanish anarchist history – anarchist historians and Marxist ‘millenarian’ historians – both construct flawed arguments about Spanish anarchism, based on their particular understandings of social action; the social history school, while much more academically sophisticated, fails to address the question of why a specifically anarchist movement developed in mid-19th-century Spain. In contrast, I argue that the emergence of the Spanish anarchist movement is inseparable from the emergence of the Spanish governmentalized state – which, in turn, is inseparable from the history of Spanish coloniality.

Third, this paper makes an argument about research on anarchism in contemporary Spanish and European societies. I agree with Casas-Cortés et al’s argument that social movements – rather than being mere objects of study – are themselves knowledge-producers, and that movements’ ‘knowledge-practices’ ought to be incorporated into our theoretical frameworks. “Instead of detached, academic knowledge about movements that operate ‘out there,’ we argue

for the value of seeing the continuous generation, circulation, and networked nature of heterogeneous knowledges, which in themselves work to make different futures possible” (Casas-Cortés et al 2006, 21). Drawing on their argument, I would critique many academic researchers of contemporary anarchist social movements for framing anarchism ‘metaphysically’ (in the Foucauldian sense): citing texts written by anarchist authors who have been dead for a hundred years, they reflexively adopt the historical, leftist anarchist movement’s ideological discourse, frame the struggle between anarchists and state institutions in highly Marxian terms, and fail to acknowledge the multiplicity of different understandings of anarchism that are being articulated in the contemporary world. In contrast, a Foucauldian approach, by situating the anarchist movement, enables the researcher to engage with these anarchist “knowledge-practices” on their own terms.

Furthermore, Casas-Cortés et al’s argument undermines the very possibility of abstractly and metaphysically defining the anarchist movement; the obvious alternative would be to situate anarchist movements by studying them ethnographically, using ethnographic accounts of those movements’ “knowledge-practices” as tools to undermine singular, epistemological definitions of anarchism. Personally, I believe that historical and ethnographic methods are inseparable, that the historian’s deconstruction of metaphysical unity and theoretical abstraction should necessarily be tied to the ethnographer’s attentiveness to context and fragmentation (Ortner 1995; Welford 2006). While I have only done the former in this paper, I plan to conduct a detailed ethnographic study of contemporary Spanish rural anarchist communities as preparation for my dissertation.

In the first section of this paper, using anarchist texts, I explore the different ways in which the term ‘anarchism’ has been theoretically framed, outlining the distinction between leftist and

post-leftist anarchist discourse. In the second section – using Foucault’s theory of governmentality, together with Modernity/Coloniality theory – I depart from these theoretical articulations of anarchism, and analyze the conditions of possibility of the Spanish anarchist movement, by examining the historical development of the modern Spanish state. In the third section, I describe the agrarian anarchist collectivization movement that arose during the Spanish Civil War, outline the particular models of socioeconomic organization that those collectives created, and focus on the tensions existing within the anarchist movement. Finally, in the fourth section, I use Foucault’s understanding of ‘freedom’ to discuss the distinction between historical, leftist and contemporary, post-leftist anarchism.

Section One: The Signification of Anarchism

*Ever reviled, accursed, ne'er understood,
Thou art the grisly terror of our age.
"Wreck of all order," cry the multitude,
"Art thou, and war and murder's endless rage."
O, let them cry. To them that ne'er have striven
The truth that lies behind a word to find,
To them the word's right meaning was not given.
But thou, O word, so clear, so strong, so pure,
Thou sayest all which I for goal have taken.
I give thee to the future! Thine secure
When each at last unto himself shall waken...*

-John Henry Mackay

In this section, I will outline and analyze a number of different ways in which ‘anarchism’ has been framed as a theoretical concept; these different epistemological understandings of anarchism, which Mackay describes in his famous poem, are examples of what Foucault refers to as “interpretations.” In this section, I will also draw a distinction between leftist and post-leftist anarchist discourse, allowing me to destabilize the argument – often posited by anarchists, as well as by social movements researchers – that ‘anarchism’ is a singular, static discourse of social revolution. Then, in the remainder of this paper, I will situate these “interpretations” of anarchism in the context of the history of the development of the Spanish anarchist movement.

What does the term ‘anarchism’ signify? As Mackay points out, the most common signification of ‘anarchy’ in popular discourse is the equation of anarchy with chaos, or with the

death of society – a signification which was first expressed by classical liberal philosophers. For example, Thomas Hobbes argues that the state is “the public soul, giving life and motion to the commonwealth; which expiring, the members are governed by it no more than the carcase of a man by his departed though immortal soul.” (Hobbes 1958, 261) Likewise, to John Locke, when we

reduce all to Anarchy, and so effectually dissolve the Government... the People become a confused Multitude, without Order or Connexion.... [A] Government without Laws, is, I suppose, a Mystery in Politicks, unconceivable to humane Capacity, and inconsistent with humane Society.” (Locke 1960, 429)

This argument has deep roots in liberal political discourse, and continues to be an incredibly common way of positioning ‘anarchy.’

However, we can decenter this understanding of ‘anarchy’ by describing two particular structural functions that this particular definition performs. First, this liberal characterization of ‘anarchy’ is an integral discursive component of statist philosophy, through which the state is positioned as the only possible source of order in a modern, complex, industrialized society. As Malatesta puts it, “since it was thought that government was necessary and that without government there could only be disorder and confusion, it was natural and logical that anarchy, which means absence of government, should sound like absence of order.” (Malatesta 1995, 16) The liberal equation of the death of the state with the death of society is one of the many ways in which ‘the state’ is continually being discursively constructed. In Foucault’s words, “is it not precisely those who talk of the state, of its history, development, and claims, ...who develop the ontology of this thing that would be the state?” (Foucault 2007, 248)

In one particular expression of this liberal, statist discourse, existing stateless societies are framed as ‘primitive’, as lacking the political sophistication and intellectual capacity necessary to construct modern political institutions; thus, for instance, the term ‘anarchy’ is often used to

describe African societies in contemporary political discourse. Jeremy Bentham articulates this liberal argument particularly fittingly:

We know what it is for men to live without government, for we see instances of such a way of life... in many savage nations, or rather races of mankind; for instance, among the savages of New South Wales, whose way of living is so well known to us: ...no government, and thence no laws – no laws, and thence no such things as rights... no property... [and] security not more than belongs to beasts (Bentham 1839, 500-1).

Pierre Clastres attacks this particular argument, asserting that ‘primitive’ societies – rather than having failed to develop ‘modern’ political institutions – have in fact constructed political mechanisms to prevent the concentration of political power that would lead to the development of a centralized state. To Clastres,

each one of us carries within himself [*sic*], internalized like the believer’s faith, the certitude that society exists for the state. How, then, can one conceive of the very existence of primitive societies if not as the rejects of universal history? (Clastres 1987, 189)

Second, this framing of ‘anarchy’ as the destruction of social order also performs an important structural function within Marxist discourse. As a theory of social revolution, Marxism has been discursively constructed in opposition to anarchism ever since the split between Marx and Bakunin in the First International. (Thomas 1980)³ With notable exceptions, Marxists typically base their political projects on the capture of state power, whether by democratic elections or proletarian revolution. Thus, many Marxists legitimate their statist political practice by arguing that anarchists lack the organizational discipline necessary either to manage a post-revolutionary economic system, or to defend revolutionary gains against the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie. For instance, Friedrich Engels wonders “how these people propose to run a factory, operate a railway or steer a ship without having in the last resort one deciding will, without single management” (Marx & Engels 1978, 729). Similarly, Eric Hobsbawm argues that anarchists’ proposed

³ To be fair, a *great* many anarchist theorists construct anarchism in opposition to Marxism. Indeed, I’m doing so right now.

solution in terms of direct democracy and small self-governing groups... [is not] either very valuable or very fully thought out... [B]oth the nature of the modern social economy and of modern scientific technology raise problems of considerable complexity for those who see the future as a world of self-governing small groups. (Hobsbawm 1973, 88)

There is clearly something powerful at stake for these theorists in framing anarchism as an impossible project; importantly, we should note that each of these Marxist critiques is based on a revolutionary theory that is both totalizing and teleological, in which revolution is understood as a total, all-encompassing reorganization of space, actualized at a singular point in time. This leftist revolutionary discourse is characteristic of both historical Marxism and anarchism, and I will examine it in more detail below.

A second possibility would be to present the abstract definitions of anarchism, as articulated by anarchist theorists. Academic researchers of anarchist social movements tend to use texts written by late-19th and early-20th century ‘leftist’ anarchist activists to frame their discussions of anarchist movements. However, as we will see, contemporary ‘post-leftist’ anarchist theorists have produced a very different discourse of anarchism, one which most researchers fail to consider.

Historically, anarchist theory is typically classified into several traditional subtheories, which were defined by the Black International in the 1880’s: individualist anarchism, collectivist/syndicalist anarchism, and communist anarchism. Individualist anarchists (e.g., William Godwin and Max Stirner) argue for the replacement of capitalism and the state with an anti-authoritarian, market-based system of production, in which workers would own their own means of production; individualist anarchism is based on the premise that the state’s enforcement of monopolies and property rights is the reason for the oppressiveness of the capitalist system (Infoshop). Anarcho-syndicalists (e.g., Mikhail Bakunin and Rudolf Rocker)

assert the centrality of syndicates – revolutionary labor unions of free producers, similar to the Russian *soviets* or the workers’ councils of the German Left Communists – as the basic units of anarchist socioeconomic organization, both before and after the revolution; according to anarcho-syndicalist ideology, resources can be efficiently allocated throughout a complex industrial socioeconomic system, while avoiding centralization and the concentration of political power (Rocker 2004, 54-88). Finally, anarcho-communists (e.g., Peter Kropotkin) demand the communal control of production and consumption as well as the abolition of money and property, and generally oppose any institutions of political or economic organization. (Infoshop)

In 1930’s Spain, as we will see, anarcho-syndicalist ideology was widespread among the urban working classes as well as among rural petty bourgeois producers; anarcho-communist theories were widespread among landless workers in the south of the country; and individualist anarchist ideology played a marginal role within the movement. During the Spanish Civil War, anarchists were participating in a wide-ranging social revolution that was totally transforming Spanish society; thus, as we shall see, these differing ideological visions of a post-revolutionary society were profoundly related to a very real and divisive factional struggle within the Spanish anarchist movement.

However, each of these various 19th- and early-20th-century discourses of anarchism shares a leftist understanding of anarchism as a fundamentally anti-statist philosophy. In many ways, historical anarchist theory should be viewed as both emerging out of the same political context as historical Marxist philosophy – namely, the First International, which famously gave birth to these two sets of fratricidal leftist social movements, the historical Marxist and anarchist movements. Thus, like 19th-century Marxists, who framed their political projects overwhelmingly in terms of the irreconcilable class conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, historical anarchist theorists tended to fundamentally define the anarchist movement as existing in a

relationship of pure opposition and conflict with the state, and (most importantly) to subordinate all other potential understandings of anarchist political practice to the master signifier of anti-statism.

Following other anarchist theorists such as Jason McQuinn (2002), Bob Black (1997), and John Zerzan (1994), I characterize the oppositional and reductionist terms in which historical anarchist discourse has been constructed – in which state and anti-state movement are portrayed as fundamentally distinct and irreconcilably opposed, and in which this opposition is framed as the central and overriding aspect of anarchist theory and practice – as *leftist anarchism*. The leftist anarchist political framework – while discursively constructed in opposition to Marxism – is in many ways fundamentally Marxian, since historical anarchists’ characterization of their political project in terms of a pure, fundamental, and irreconcilable opposition is ultimately derived from the theory of Karl Marx (and, through Marx, of Hegel). Just as historical Marxists construct a fundamentally totalizing political project – based on the argument that the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie will result in a global shift towards a fundamentally different society – so historical, leftist anarchists construct an equally totalizing political project, based on the argument that merely by destroying ‘the state,’ anarchists can create an anti-authoritarian society on a national or global scale.

Likewise, leftist theorists – whether Marxist or anarchist – overwhelmingly focus on the negative, destructive aspects of their utopian political projects (the destruction of the state and/or capitalism), and undertheorize the positive, constructive aspects of their projects (creating the actual systems of political, social, and cultural relations that would constitute a revolutionary society). Utopian statements about these future societies thus tend to be abstract and philosophical in both cases, and largely fail to concretely consider what new social and political practices the construction of such a society would actually necessitate. (The tragic

effects of this undertheorization are apparent, for instance, in the statement of V.I. Lenin in 1920, that “Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country.” (Lenin, quoted in: Viola 1996, 20) Having constructed a revolutionary discourse that focused solely on overthrowing the Russian state and the power of the capitalist class, the Bolsheviks failed to construct a truly revolutionary theory of revolution.)

Such leftist articulations of revolution pervade the writings of late-19th and early-20th century anarchist theorists. Peter Kropotkin famously defines anarchism as “a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government” (Kropotkin 2002, 284). Mikhail Bakunin argues that “only when the State has ceased to exist [will] humanity... obtain its freedom, and the true interests of society... find their real satisfaction.” (Bakunin 1953, 299) Likewise, Errico Malatesta argues that “anarchy... signifies without government, the conditions of a people governing itself without benefit of constituted authority.” (Malatesta, in: Guérin 2, 1998, 6)

Furthermore, this leftist, fundamentally anti-statist definition of anarchism also predominates among contemporary academic researchers of anarchist movements, who tend to use texts by Bakunin, Kropotkin, and Proudhon as the basis for their theoretical discussions of anarchism. (This is akin to assuming that nothing worthwhile has been written by Marxists since Marx, Kautsky, and Lenin.) Indeed, even many anarchist academics base their arguments on these same historical anarchist theorists: Todd May’s description of anarchism in *The Political Philosophy of Poststructuralist Anarchism* is based the writings of Bakunin, Kropotkin, and Proudhon, while Saul Newman uses Bakunin, Kropotkin, and Stirner to frame his discussion of anarchism in *From Bakunin to Lacan* (May 1994, 45-66; Newman 2001, 37-74).

As Jason McQuinn points out, this tendency of academic anarchists is due in part to the historical circumstances that have led to the current shift towards anti-authoritarian political theories among many academics: namely, the rapid decline of authoritarian state socialism.

As the anarchist milieu has mushroomed in the last decade... a significant minority of [its] growth has come from former [Marxist] leftists... Most of the former leftists entering the anarchist milieu bring with them the conscious and unconscious leftist attitudes, prejudices, habits, and assumptions that structured their old political milieu... Part of the problem is that many former leftists tend to misunderstand anarchism only as a form of anti-statist leftism... Many simply don't understand the huge divide between a self-organizing movement *seeking to abolish every form of social alienation* and a merely political movement seeking to reorganize production in a more egalitarian form (McQuinn 2002, 2, emphasis added).

On the other hand, contemporary anarchist theory has witnessed a gradual tendency towards what I will refer to as *post-leftist anarchism*, a political imaginary that has challenged the fundamental assumption of leftist anarchists: that the anarchist political project is purely one of challenging the state. For instance, David Graeber defines anarchism as “an attitude, or perhaps one might even say a faith: the rejection of certain types of social relations, the confidence that others would be much better” (Graeber 2004, 4). Peggy Kornegger argues that “anarchists call for the dissolution (rather than the seizure) of power – of human over human, [as well as] of state over community.” (Kornegger 2002, 22) Likewise, to David Wieck,

anarchism can be understood as the generic social and political idea that expresses negation of all power, sovereignty, domination, and hierarchical division, and a will to their dissolution; and expresses rejection of all dichotomizing concepts that on the grounds of nature, reason, history, God, divide people into those dominant and those justly subordinated. Anarchism is therefore more than anti-statism. (Wieck 1979, 139)

Post-leftist anarchists are drawing on these definitions when they argue that anarchism is “a self-organizing movement seeking to abolish every form of social alienation.” (McQuinn 2002, 2)

Thus, post-leftist anarchists seek to replace the fundamentally anti-statist discourse of leftist anarchists – ultimately based in Marxian philosophy – with a political discourse in which

relations of hierarchy and authority are rejected in a more total and encompassing sense. In contemporary anarchist discourse, critiques of a particular manifestation of power or oppression – colonialism, or racism, or even ‘logocentrism’ or ‘modernity’ – are only fully radical if they abandon the reductionism of leftist social movements, and acknowledge the fundamental interconnection and inseparability of all forms of oppression, and the impossibility of challenging one such manifestation of power in isolation from all others. As Wieck puts it, “anarchism can be understood as the... negation of *all power*” (Ibid, 139, emphasis added).

However, Foucault’s theory of power would appear to contradict this contemporary anarchist ideological principle. In a Spinozist reading of Nietzsche that has strongly influenced contemporary philosophy, Foucault interprets Nietzsche’s concept of the ‘will to power’ not as a philosophical argument, but rather as a description of the ontological condition of the world. “The world viewed from inside, the world defined and determined according to its ‘intelligible character’ – it would be ‘will to power’ and nothing else.” (Nietzsche 2000, 238) In his reading of Nietzsche, Foucault argues the world should be understood as the constant interaction of these ‘wills to power;’ basing his arguments on this Nietzschean conception of power, Foucault asserts that

power must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization... Power is everywhere, not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere. (Foucault 1978, 92-3)

Foucault’s conclusion is thus that there is no outside to power – and thus, from a Foucauldian perspective, if anarchism is framed as the unconditional rejection of power, then the anarchist political project is by definition impossible.

However, the latter critique is based on several assumptions about what exactly the anarchist project is; by problematizing these assumptions, we can more adequately theorize the distinction between leftist and post-leftist anarchism. Unlike historical, leftist anarchism, contemporary,

post-leftist anarchism is both *anti-teleological* and *anti-totalizing*, as we will see, post-leftist anarchists critique and attack power in its totality, but they have no interest in the totalizing, teleological, and impossible project of totally overthrowing and eliminating all social relations of power and domination.

First, rather than being teleological, contemporary, post-leftist anarchist discourse can be defined as ‘ontological.’ As David Graeber argues, contemporary anarchists “presume no inevitable course of history” (Graeber 2004, 11). Likewise, Hakim Bey rejects “all eschatology and metaphysics of removal, all bleary nostalgia and strident futurismo, in favor of a paroxysm or seizure of *presence*... [T]he goals of ontological anarchism appear in its flowering.” (Bey 2003, 23) Post-leftist anarchism can be understood as a critique of the political perspective articulated by statements such as ‘Another World Is Possible’: to post-leftist anarchists, such statements draw emphasis away from the ‘other worlds’ that are always-already being created, contested, and re-formed, in a constant “multiplicity of points of resistance” (Foucault 1978, 95). Thus,

‘Revolution’ is not understood as a singular point in time, at which an entire society will be completely transformed; rather, revolution is a *process*, and even the eradication of coercive institutions will not automatically create a liberatory society. (Ehrlich et al 1979, 15)

This post-leftist anarchist perspective is derived above all from the Situationists, who transformed Trotsky’s concept of ‘limited permanent revolution’ into an ultimatum for a “generalized permanent revolution.” (Knabb 1981, 65) Emphasizing the ontological aspects of their revolutionary project, the Situationists famously argued that “people who talk about revolution and class struggle without referring explicitly to everyday life, without understanding what is subversive about love and what is positive in the refusal of constraints – such people have corpses in their mouths.” (Vaneigem 2003, 26) Deliberately echoing the Situationists, Hakim Bey asks:

Must we wait until the entire world is freed of political control before even one of us can claim to know freedom? Logic and emotion unite to condemn such a supposition. Reason demands that one cannot struggle for what one does not know (Bey 2003, 96).

While historical, leftist anarchists (especially activists of the Spanish CNT) emphasize the teleological project of planning out the politico-economic structure of post-revolutionary society, post-leftist anarchists work at *creating* anarchist ‘autonomous zones’ (infoshops, squat networks, activist convergences, etc.) that are living experiments in horizontal, anti-authoritarian social relations.

Second, contemporary, post-leftist anarchists reject totalizing conceptions of resistance – unlike leftist anarchists, who (like most Marxists) are fundamentally politically oriented towards a revolutionary project of creating all-encompassing and inescapable socioeconomic transformation, and of dehumanizing all opponents to this project by framing them as ‘bourgeois,’ ‘counter-revolutionary,’ or members of the ‘class enemy.’ This anti-totalizing conception of resistance bears strong similarities to Foucault’s argument that

resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power... [P]oints of resistance are present everywhere in the power network. Hence there is no single locus of great Refusal, no soul of revolt, source of all rebellions, or pure law of the revolutionary. Instead there is a plurality of resistances, each of them a special case. (Foucault 1978, 95-6).

It is important to point out that there did exist non-totalizing countercurrents within earlier anarchist movements, especially in the writings of feminist anarchists such as Emma Goldman and Voltairine de Cleyre, as well as in the theoretical statements of the Spanish anarcha-feminist group *Mujeres Libres*. Thus, to Goldman, “the methods of anarchism do not comprise an iron-clad program to be carried out under all circumstances... Anarchism does not stand for military drill and uniformity; it does, however, stand for the spirit of revolt, in whatever form” (Goldman 1998, 74). Likewise, Errico Malatesta cautions that

one may prefer communism, or individualism, or collectivism, or any other kind of system imaginable, and work by propaganda and example for the triumph of one’s ideas, but it is necessary to beware, on pain of inevitable disaster, of affirming that one’s own

system is the only one, the infallible one, good for all men, in all places, and at all times, and that it should be made to triumph by other means than by persuasion. (Malatesta, quoted in: Bolloten 1991, 77)

However, such arguments were assigned a subaltern position within the historical anarchist movement (as was the anarcha-feminist movement more generally); anarchist political institutions, such as the CNT, were fundamentally organized around precisely that totalizing conception of anarchism that Goldman and Malatesta are arguing against.

Critiquing these political practices of leftist social movements, post-leftist anarchist theorists argue that totalizing discourses of revolution have frequently been used to support and justify totalitarian institutions. Hakim Bey illustrates this shift from a totalizing to a non-totalizing anarchist discourse when he rhetorically asks: “What of the anarchist dream, the Stateless state, the Commune, the autonomous zone with *duration*, a free society, a free *culture*?” To which he responds that

revolution has never yet resulted in achieving this dream. The vision comes to life in the moment of uprising – but as soon as ‘the Revolution’ triumphs and the State returns, the dream [is] already betrayed... Realism demands not only that we give up *waiting* for ‘the Revolution’ but also that we give up *wanting* it. (Bey 2003, 98-9)

Likewise, Raoul Vaneigem argues (in highly Nietzschean terms) that

what binds me to others must grow out of what binds me to the most exuberant and demanding part of my will to live – not the other way around... A community which is not built on individual demands and their dialectic can only reinforce the oppressive violence of power. (Vaneigem 2003, 49)

Such arguments illustrate the claim of many historical anarchists that contemporary anarchist discourse has shifted in important ways closer to the individualist anarchism of Max Stirner and Federica Montseny, and away from the ‘social anarchism’ of anarcho-syndicalists and anarcho-communists. This discursive shift corresponds to a transformation in contemporary anarchist political practice: while continuing (almost alone in the countries of the global North) to advocate and practice violent anti-state resistance, contemporary anarchists tend to devote their resources more towards building revolutionary communities in the margins of capitalist society.

However, this increased emphasis on projects of autonomy (Wolford & Wilson 2006) – largely absent from earlier anarchist discourses, including that of the CNT – has often been denounced by an older generation of anarchists. In a highly polemical article on contemporary “lifestyle anarchists,” Murray Bookchin argues that their

preoccupations with the ego and its uniqueness and its polymorphous concepts of resistance are steadily eroding the socialistic character of the libertarian tradition... [M]any lifestyle anarchists articulate Michel Foucault's approach of ‘personal insurrection’ rather than social revolution, premised as it is on an ambiguous and cosmic critique of power as such rather than on a demand for the institutionalized empowerment of the oppressed in popular assemblies, councils, and/or confederations. (Bookchin 1995, 10)

Bookchin’s tone aside, it would be difficult to characterize this non-totalizing aspect of contemporary anarchism better than he has done: post-leftist anarchists reject the problematic project of “institutionalized empowerment” – a project which found tragic expression in the history of the Spanish anarchist movement (as I will describe in section three). As McQuinn puts it,

[o]ne of the most fundamental principles of anarchism is that social organization must serve free individuals and free groups, not vice versa. Anarchy cannot exist when individuals or social groups are dominated – whether that domination is facilitated and enforced by outside forces, or by their own organization. (McQuinn 2002, 4)

In addition, post-leftist anarchism is *anti-ideological*. McQuinn defines ideology as forms of “consciousness in which people no longer see themselves directly as subjects in their relation to the world.” (McQuinn 2002, 7) Through ideology, leftist political movements – like the increasingly institutional capitalist political systems which they often come to resemble – create a politics of mediation that allows revolutionary politics to be institutionalized, and robbed of all self-emancipatory aspects.

This critique of ideology also draws strongly on Situationist and structuralist theory. To Vaneigem,

[w]ords serve Power... more faithfully than most men do, and more scrupulously than other mediations... For all transcendence depends on language and is developed

through a system of signs and symbols... [L]anguage swoops down on living experience, ties it hand and foot, robs it of its substance, *abstracts* it. It always has categories ready to condemn anything which [Power] cannot contain, to summon into existence-for-Power that which slumbers in nothingness because it has not place as yet in the system of Order. The repetition of familiar signs is the basis of ideology. (Vaneigem 2003, 101)

This understanding of language – as a central point of mediation between power and the subject – clearly bears strong similarities to many theories that have emerged out of French structuralism, especially those of Foucault and Claude Lévi-Strauss. Foucault, however, does not speak of “Power” in the singular terms in which Vaneigem defines it, but rather considers the role of “the ‘ideological’ status of the author” in preventing the free construction and circulation of meaning:

The author allows a limitation of the cancerous and dangerous proliferation of significations within a world where one is thrifty not only with one’s resources and riches, but also with one’s discourses and their significations... [The author] is a certain functional principle by which, in our culture, one limits, excludes, and chooses; in short, by which one impedes the free circulation, the free manipulation, the free composition, decomposition, and recomposition of fiction... The author is therefore the ideological figure by which one marks the manner in which we fear the proliferation of meaning. (Foucault 1984, 118-19)

Leftist social movements – whether organized into Communist political parties or anarcho-sindicalist labor unions – rely fundamentally on the systematic centralization, categorization, and control of meaning through systems of ideology. The structural function of the ‘author,’ or theorist – whether Mao or Durruti – supplants the free construction of meaning.

Whether the abstraction is God, the State, the Party, the Organization, Technology, the Family, Humanity, Peace, Ecology, Nature, Work, Love, or even Freedom; if it is conceived and presented as if it is an active subject with a being of its own which makes demands of us, then it is the center of an ideology... Leftism, as the reification and mediation of social rebellion, is always ideological because it always demands that people conceive of themselves first of all in terms of their roles within and relationships to leftist organizations (McQuinn 2002, 7-8)

However, post-leftists reject the mediation of the signification of social struggle: “Post-left anarchists reject all ideologies in favor of the individual and communal construction of self-

theory.” (Ibid, 8) Here, McQuinn references “communal” construction of self-theory in order to emphasize that anarchists do not reject the collective construction of meaning; rather, McQuinn emphasizes group decision-making as a process by which both the group and the individuals that compose it are acknowledged as subjects – and, indeed, that the subjectivity of the group and the subjectivity of the individual are mutually constitutive. (This latter argument can be used to deconstruct the dualism – made frequently throughout the history of the anarchist movement – between individualism and collectivism; as a friend of mine puts it, “No individualism without the collective; no collectivism without the individual.”)

In this thesis, I employ post-leftist anarchist discourse not only as an object of study, but also as an epistemological framework, which – together with Foucauldian theory – allows me to challenge the leftist (i.e., totalizing, teleological, and ideological) terms in which the political projects of social movements are often described. Specifically, I argue that the anti-totalizing aspect of post-leftist anarchism can be used to deconstruct the leftist ideological separation between ‘power’ and ‘resistance’ that characterizes the work of many social movements researchers. Contemporary post-leftist anarchism is a social movement that adopts a perspective of skepticism and critique towards its own political practice; thus, contemporary anarchist discourse often emphasizes the ways in which apparatuses of oppression (racism, sexism, etc.) function within the anarchist movement. (Once again, post-leftist anarchists differs in this respect from leftist anarchists, who (like historical Marxists) discursively constructs the anarchist movement as a transcendental position of pure exteriority and radicalism; thus, even many historical anarcha-feminists, such as Emma Goldman and Voltairine de Cleyre, fail to apply their feminist critiques to the anarchist movement itself.)

Thus, we could argue that this post-leftist anarchist critique of ideology demands that we reject the possibility of assigning a singular, abstract identity to the multitude of anarchist movements. Likewise, if anarchism is defined ontologically, this would seem to preclude any possibility of an *a priori*, epistemological definition of anarchism. (In a very similar, more general argument, Maribel Casas-Cortés et al emphasize “the continuous generation, circulation, and networked nature of heterogeneous knowledges” through social movements’ “knowledge-practices” (Casas-Cortés et al 2006, 21).) From this perspective there is no singular, theoretically-defined ‘anarchism,’ but rather that there are only people who, identifying themselves as anarchists, continually (re)create anarchist theory through their discourses and practices of resistance. (We saw this in the introduction: to the residents of La Base, anarchism is not primarily a set of beliefs about the nature of social action, or about the distinction between totalizing and non-totalizing political discourse; rather, it is a particular set of ways of living in the world.)

In this paper, I follow Welford (2003) in arguing that we cannot simply try to understand ‘anarchism’ by reading movement ideology; rather, we should construct our understandings of a particular anarchist movement based on a situated examination of the historical and geographical context in which that movement arose. In the next section of this paper, I will situate the historical Spanish anarchist movement by examining the historical context of 16th-19th century Spanish history.

Section Two: Anarchism, Governmentality, and the Coloniality of Power

If the genealogist refuses to extend his [sic] faith in metaphysics, if he [sic] listens to history, he [sic] finds that there is 'something altogether different' behind things: not a timeless and essential secret, but the secret that they have no essence or that their essence was fabricated in a piecemeal fashion from alien forms.

- Michel Foucault

Nietzsche, Genealogy, History (1977)

In the previous section, I theorized the distinction between leftist and post-leftist anarchism; now, through an analysis of the history of the Spanish state, I will outline the historical conditions of the historical, leftist Spanish anarchist movement. Doing so will enable me to undermine the ideological and totalizing discourse which the historical Spanish anarchist movement uses to frame itself, through a historical examination of the powerful division within the movement, between the dominant anarcho-syndicalist ideology of the urban working class and rural petit bourgeoisie, and the subaltern anarcho-communist ideology of rural landless workers. This discussion will frame the following section, in which I will consider the impact of this division between rural and urban anarchism on the agrarian anarchist collectivization movement during the Spanish Civil War.

As Walther Bernecker points out (Bernecker 1982, 94-7), the existing literature on the history of Spanish anarchism largely falls into three categories: anarchist historians, Marxist 'millenarianists,' and new social historians. The first two of these three schools of historiography construct anarchism based on a leftist/Marxist understanding of social movements: both frame

‘resistance’ as a transcendental position, and both theorize resistance movements in naturalizing terms. The social history school avoids essentializing anarchism in these Marxian terms by radically contextualizing and situating the movement, and by critically unpacking the ideological terms in which the movement has framed itself; however, their relatively contemporary focus prevents social historians from undertaking a deeper exploration of the historical context within which the Spanish anarchist movement emerged.

The first school of Spanish anarchist historiography consists of anarchist researchers and activists who, during the Spanish Civil War, studied the CNT from within the organization. In this category fall researchers such as Gaston Leval, Augustin Souchy, and José Peirats, all of whom wrote extensive accounts of agrarian collectivization; furthermore, one should add writers such as Sam Dolgoff, Murray Bookchin, or Robert Alexander, who – while writing long after the war, primarily in the 1960’s and 70’s – were highly sympathetic to the CNT, and who largely base their histories of the CNT collectives on the first-hand accounts of these earlier anarchist writers such as Leval and Peirats. Their descriptions of the collectivization process are invaluable for the wealth of information that they provide, and any research on anarchist collectivization will necessarily rely heavily on them.

However, these sources are predictably biased, especially when describing more problematic aspects of agrarian CNT collectivization. Indeed, this (leftist) school of historiography has discursively created a particular kind of story about the agrarian collectives – an ideological myth in which anarchist peasants are described as heroic subalterns, collectivization is portrayed as a totally grassroots-based and non-coercive process, and the existence of any power imbalances within the collectives (and between rural landless workers and the working-class-based CNT leadership) is ignored. Furthermore, in the works of these anarchist historians, the movement itself is naturalized: the rise of the Spanish anarchist movement is explained rather facilely as a

‘natural’ reaction to the oppression of rural elites. (This argument fails to explain why a specifically *anarchist* movement arose in response to this oppression.) This naturalization is part of these historical, leftist anarchists’ totalizing project of constructing anarchism as a metaphysically transcendental position of natural opposition to socioeconomic oppression – for instance, by referring to “the enormous antiquity of anarchistic visions, their irrepressibility and continual reemergence in history” (Bookchin 1977, 17).

A second school of historiography, derived from the writings of Bernaldo de Quirós and Díaz del Moral, naturalizes anarchism in a somewhat different way. These historians explain agrarian anarchist politics as an expression of the particular “temperament” of the Spanish peasant, arguing that “anarchism as a dynamic mass movement with a social-revolutionary thrust had come together in Spain with the emotions underlying a traditional attitude to life, which it had only needed to stimulate.” (Bernecker 1982, 94) Decades later, this argument was adapted into a Marxist framework by Gerald Brenan and Eric Hobsbawm, who argued that rural Spanish anarchism was an “archaic” social movement, and that rural anarchists were attempting to reinstate the “agrarian collectivism” that had been lost when the feudal system of land tenure was dismantled in the 19th century. Furthermore, they argue that rural Spanish anarchism was “millenarian” – that the “epidemic” manner in which anarchist uprisings spread is evidence of the anarchist movement’s cultural derivation from Christian millenarianism (Hobsbawm 1959, 89-90). From these arguments, Hobsbawm draws the conclusion that

classical anarchism is... a form of peasant movement almost incapable of effective adaptation to modern conditions, though it is their outcome. Had a different ideology penetrated the Andalucian countryside in the 1870’s, it might have transformed the spontaneous and unstable rebelliousness of the peasants into something far more formidable [and] more disciplined (Ibid, 92).

It is possible to critique this school of Spanish anarchist historiography on several different fronts. First, Temma Kaplan undermines Brenan and Hobsbawm's understanding of rural Spanish anarchists as a 'primitive' movement of impoverished peasants, by describing the complex class politics on which the rural anarchist movement was in actuality based; above all, the agrarian anarchist movement was rooted in a class of landless, semi-proletarian agricultural workers, not in the traditional, landed peasantry that Hobsbawm and Brenan evoke (Kaplan 1975, 1977). Second – drawing on the discussion of totalizing political discourses in the previous section – I would also point out that Hobsbawm's definition of revolutionary 'success' in the above passage is based on a highly leftist conception of social revolution as a total transformation of a particular society; certainly, there are other ways in which social movement participants could define themselves as being successful.

Finally, drawing on the anti-essentialist perspectives of social movement researchers such as Ortner and Wolford, we can critique both the anarchist and the 'millenarian' schools of Spanish anarchist historiography for basing their arguments on essentialized, reified understandings of resistance. In different ways, researchers from both these schools, in framing resistance as a 'natural', 'organic' reaction to oppression and domination, are constructing resistance as a transcendental term. (For instance, Hobsbawm repeatedly refers to rebellions as "epidemics" (Hobsbawm 1959, 79).) Furthermore, both sets of researchers limit their conception of resistance to participation in traditionally leftist, anti-capitalist labor movements – thus failing to consider the multitude of ways in which landless peasant anarchists practiced resistance against landed elites and agents of state power.

Beginning with Temma Kaplan's *Orígenes sociales del anarquismo en Andalucía* (1977), a third school of social historians have applied much more theoretically nuanced perspectives to the

study of Spanish anarchism. While drawing on the works of earlier historians such as Hobsbawm and Brenan, Kaplan breaks with their work by interpreting anarchist strikes not as manifestations of millenarian irrationality, but rather as expressions of the rational strategies of anarchist peasants (Kaplan 1977). Kaplan unpacks the assumption that Andalusian peasant anarchists were invariably poor and landless, and draws on sophisticated archival research to demonstrate that the class composition of the anarchist movement in Andalucía was much more complex than prior researchers had realized. (To Kaplan, while the rank-and-file of the peasant anarchist movement was largely comprised of rural landless laborers, the movement leadership consisted predominantly of middle landowners and skilled laborers.) (Kaplan 1975) The effect of Kaplan's work, combined with the effect of the fall of the Franco dictatorship, has opened Spanish anarchist historiography up to a new generation of historians, who have brought more theoretically sophisticated perspectives to this area of study (Bosch 1983; Casanova 1985, 1992; Esenwein 1989; Radcliff 1996; Uría 2005). Throughout this thesis, I draw heavily on the work of these social historians, who profoundly challenge prior understandings of Spanish anarchism in a wide variety of important ways.

However, Kaplan's perspective is problematic in two key ways. First, in arguing that the resistance practices of Spanish anarchists – rather than being “disorganized,” or expressions of “pre-anarchist forms of protest” – were expressions of “their rational belief in themselves and their cause,” (Kaplan 1975, 70), Kaplan is discursively framing these anarchist agrarian landless workers using particular concepts, such as ‘rationality’ and ‘organization,’ that are themselves based on what Wendy Wolford calls the “hypothetical ideal of rational, well-informed actors” that characterizes liberal social movements research (Wolford 2003, 204). Thus, in contrasting “rational” agrarian anarchism with the disorganized “pre-anarchist forms of protest,” Kaplan is echoing Hobsbawm's devaluation of these ‘disorganized’ and ‘pre-modern’ resistance practices.

Both theorists are thus implicitly positioning modern, leftist social movements as the foundational articulations of true, meaningful resistance; these two theorists only disagree over whether or not the anarchist movement of these 19th-century landless farmworkers should be understood as corresponding to that category.

Second (and more centrally to my argument), an important focus of the first two schools of historiography – the question of exactly how it came about that the social struggles of specific groups in Spanish society were expressed in specifically *anarchist* terms – cannot adequately be answered using studies conducted by Kaplan and other social historians. For example, when Kaplan argues that the economic depression in Jerez in 1863 led to the subsistence crises that drove petty producers and skilled workers into labor syndicates that later evolved into the anarchist FRE (Kaplan 1975, 56-8), she is merely pushing the ‘black box’ of the emergence of the anarchist movement back to 1863; she fails to consider why that depression caused Andalusian petty producers and skilled workers to choose particularly *anarchist* repertoires of resistance, rather than any other repertoires available to them at the time. In the remainder of this section, I will approach this question by examining the historical conditions that made it possible for ‘anarchism’ to occupy the particular structural position that it did in the agrarian politics of late-19th and early-20th century Spain.

In the remainder of this section, I will examine the historical conditions of Spanish anarchism, by illustrating the interconnections between the history of the agrarian anarchist movement and the history of the late-19th-century Spanish state. I will do so by examining the impact of the colonial encounter of 1492 on these two histories. Examining the history of the Spanish state will allow me to decenter the Spanish anarchist movement, by demonstrating that the conflict that characterized the late-19th and early-20th century Spanish anarchist movement,

rather than being an ideological dispute internal to the anarchist movement, was itself interconnected with the uniquely complex and heterogeneous historical development of Spanish state technologies of power. In doing so, I will methodologically combine Michel Foucault's theory of governmentality (2007) with the concept of the 'coloniality of power' articulated by the Modernity/Coloniality school of Latin American historiography, especially Anibal Quijano (1993, 2000), Enrique Dussel (2000), and Carmen Medeiros (2005).

First, I base my argument on the central thesis of the Modernity/Coloniality school of historiography: that "coloniality," or "the persistence of colonial relations of oppression and domination in the process of nation-state building" in Latin America (Medeiros 27), is an inseparable yet underacknowledged component of European modernity (these researchers express this inseparability by combining the words 'modernity' and 'coloniality' into a single term, Modernity/Coloniality). To Quijano, the Modernity/Coloniality framework allows researchers to unpack and make sense of Latin Americans' fundamentally ambiguous relationship to 'modernity' – a term which, on the one hand, signifies a European intellectual project that has thoroughly colonized Latin American philosophy and thought, and, on the other hand, signifies the brutal, racialized exclusion of millions of Latin Americans from the modern European/American system of political, economic, and cultural power (Quijano 1993, 140-5).

However, I argue that we should apply the Modernity/Coloniality theoretical framework not only to Latin American history, but to European history as well. In doing so, we can decenter and de-essentialize our understandings of Europe, by focusing attention on the processes of brutal and violent exclusion – erased from European historiography and philosophy – that are inseparable components of modern European history, and especially of the history of the modern European state. While Modernity/Coloniality researchers have largely neglected to

systemically apply their framework to European history, both Quijano and Dussel have briefly outlined the influence of coloniality on the history of the Spanish state. To Quijano,

after the expulsion of the Muslims and Jews, Spain... became a conveyor belt for moving the resources of America to the emergent centers of financial and commercial capital. At the same time, after the violent and successful attack against the autonomy of the rural communities and cities and villages, it remained trapped in a feudal-like seigneurial [*sic*] structure of power under the authority of a repressive and corrupt monarchy and church... All of the fights to force the controllers of power to allow or negotiate some democratization of society and the state were defeated, notably the liberal revolution of 1810-12. In this way the combined internal colonization and aristocratic patterns of political and social power proved to be fatal for the nationalization of Spanish society and state (Quijano 2000, 559).

Thus, the Modernity/Coloniality framework makes it possible to theorize the modern Spanish nation-state, and the anarchist movement that developed dialectically alongside that state, in terms of the fundamentally colonial history of Spanish state power – a coloniality which was developed as a means of subjugating indigenous Americans, but soon became used against subaltern Spanish peasants as well.

In this section, I will combine this Modernity/Coloniality theoretical perspective with Foucault's theory of the state in *Security, Territory, Population* (2007). In this lecture series, Foucault outlines an anti-essentialist theory of the state, in which he describes “governmentality” as the modern modality of power, distinct from the “disciplinary” forms of power that he describes in *Discipline and Punish* (1977a). Thus, Foucault defines three distinct “economies of power”:

first, the state of justice [or sovereignty], born in a feudal type of territoriality and broadly corresponding to a society of customary and written law, with a whole interplay of commitments and litigations; second, the administrative [or disciplinary] state that corresponds to a society of regulations and disciplines; and finally, a state of government [or governmentality] that is no longer essentially defined by its territoriality, by the surface occupied, but by a mass: the mass of its population... This [third] state of government... essentially bears on the population and calls upon and employs economic knowledge as an instrument (Foucault 2007, 110).

Foucault explicitly points out that ‘sovereignty,’ ‘discipline,’ and ‘governmentality’ should not be understood as mutually exclusive, historically successive periods of state power; instead, he

characterizes these three as “technologies of power,” and argues that all three coexist in the modern state. Still, he does argue that one of these three technologies of power will predominate in a particular society, at a particular point in history; thus, *Security, Territory, Population* is a genealogical study of the historical processes by which the medieval French “state of justice” was gradually “governmentalized,” as mechanisms of governmentality gradually assumed the pre-eminent position amongst French state technologies of power. Foucault’s fundamental message in this book is that the state should not be essentialized, but rather that the concrete technologies of state power should be critically distinguished and analyzed, and their circulation into other social realms examined.

Foucault’s anti-essentialist theory of the state is clearly highly relevant to the study of anarchism: both historical and contemporary anarchists overwhelmingly essentialize the state, and anarchist discourse is typically based on the assumption that all power and oppression radiates outward from ‘the state’ (a perspective which contradicts the Nietzschean/Foucauldian understanding of power as fundamentally productive, rather than repressive). Arguing against overvaluations of the importance and coherence of the state, Foucault states that

we know the fascination that the love or horror of the state exercises today; we know our attachment to the birth of the state, to its history, advance, power, and abuses... [T]his reductive view of the relative importance of the state in comparison with something else nonetheless makes the state absolutely essential as the target to be attacked... But the state, doubtless no more today than in the past, does not have this unity, individuality, and rigorous functionality, nor, I would go so far as to say, this importance. (Ibid, 109)

In this section, drawing on Foucault’s theory of governmentality, I argue that the specificity of the Spanish state – a specificity which is powerfully interconnected with the fundamental coloniality of 19th-century Spanish society – is characterized in part by, first, the failure of the Spanish state to develop political technologies of governmentality until far later than other Western European states, and, second, the geographically uneven ways in which governmental

political technologies were deployed in late-19th century Spain. This historical analysis of the Spanish state allows me to decenter historical, leftist anarchist ideology, by demonstrating that the emergence of the Spanish anarchist movement was inseparably interconnected with the history of the very institution that it discursively constructed itself in opposition to. The specific thesis of this section is that the profound division within the late-19th century CNT – between, on the one hand, the anarcho-syndicalism of the working classes of Barcelona, and, on the other hand, the anarcho-communism of the landless farmworkers of Andalucía – is inseparable from the historical development of governmentality as a political technology of the Spanish state.

During the 16th century, the Spanish state constructed a vast apparatus of colonial domination and extraction, and the functioning of this apparatus would fundamentally transform political, economic, and social institutions on both sides of the Atlantic. Between 1540 and 1700, the Spanish colonial apparatus oversaw the extraction of 50,000 tons of silver from the Spanish New World; this massive amount of bullion doubled existing European silver reserves (Kamen 2003, 286). The large-scale extraction of silver bullion from Bolivia and Mexico began in the mid-16th century, and American silver comprised roughly 35% of Spanish state revenues by the early 1550's; by the 1590's, American bullion comprised roughly 5% of the Spanish economy. This vast influx of silver inevitably drove up prices, initiating a period of inflation that was far more rapid than at any previous point in Spanish history. This historically unprecedented period of inflation revolutionized Spanish society, enriching the Crown and domestic and foreign merchants at the expense of the general population. The consequent immiseration of the peasantry caused the emigration of a quarter million peasants to America during the 16th century (Casey 1999, 25-6, 68; Kamen 2005, 95-102).

However – lacking the institutional framework (or the incentive) to build apparatuses of power aimed towards constructing a modern, capitalist socioeconomic system – the Spanish state instead spent huge sums constructing a massive European and colonial military apparatus. Continuing to pursue the “claim of universal monarchy” that had fundamentally characterized the medieval European sovereign state system, the Spanish state had massively increased military expenditures since the early 17th century, spending its vast American silver income on imperial projects of European domination (Kamen 2005, 228). This unprecedented, silver-fuelled growth in military spending left the Spanish state enormously indebted, with interest payments sucking up a rapidly growing proportion of its vast colonial silver remittances.⁴

Consequently, towards the end of the 16th century, the balance of power in Spain shifted away from the increasingly indebted state, and towards the ascendant Spanish social classes of merchants and financiers. Eventually spreading to England and Holland as well, this merchant class was the primary agent of economic change in early modern Europe – using the influx of American bullion to construct the economic foundations of a modern, global capitalist economy, increasingly based on manufacturing and trade of American agricultural commodities and natural resources. Large numbers of American silver mines fell into private ownership, and, after the introduction of a royal silver levy in the 1590’s, the illegal trade in silver expanded dramatically. Within Spain, the merchant class used its silver-fueled wealth to undermine the socially rigid *Reconquista* feudal system; this enabled merchants to modernize and centralize agricultural production, which further undermined both feudal productive relations and food security. After the enforcement of traditional Christian anti-usury laws was relaxed in the late 16th century, a newly powerful financial elite assumed unprecedented power over the Spanish economy (Kamen 2005, 105-17; Casey 70-74).

⁴ This structural position of 17th-century Spain thus bears interesting similarities to that of the 21st-century United States.

However, the Spanish state also lacked the means to constrain these flows of capital within the Spanish borders. Beginning in the early 17th century, English, French, and Dutch financiers began intervening directly into the Spanish-American trading network, and the Spanish economy gradually became dominated by foreign finance, and subservient to the developing capitalist world-system (Kamen 2005, 181; Kamen 2003, 294-5). Seville, once the economic center of Europe, declined in economic importance, while financiers and traders in London and Amsterdam grew increasingly powerful – and, increasingly, this silver-funded transnational network of provincial elites and traders became the true foundation of the Spanish imperial regime, and the Crown gradually came to rely on international bankers to fund most of its imperial operations (Kamen 2003, 287-8). Thus, this ‘privatization’ should not be understood as distinct from the Spanish state; rather, foreign and Spanish financiers increasingly formed an inseparable part of the structure of the Spanish state apparatus.

Thus, at a time when, as Foucault points out, other European states were developing political apparatuses of ‘governmentality’ (political apparatuses of economic development and demographic management, aimed at constructing and managing a modern, capitalist economy), the fundamentally colonial Spanish state continued to rely on hyper-militarized political technologies of ‘sovereignty’ (political apparatuses of military domination and economic extraction, aimed at maximizing the immediate political power of the state). As James Casey points out, the Spanish state’s overwhelming emphasis on protecting imperial trade – together with the inability of the inefficient, corrupt royal bureaucracy to establish any kind of national tax collection infrastructure, and the unwillingness of the nobility to cede privileges of direct taxation to the vastly bloated, highly corrupt colonial state – led to the establishment in the early 17th century of a highly inefficient, corrupt, and decentralized system of indirect taxation. Casey refers to this system as a “bastard feudalism”: the Crown – by significantly devolving authority

to a variety of smaller-scale polities, and ultimately retaining little more than military powers – created a system which “generated perpetual tensions between center and periphery, and left both the society and its culture very fragmented” (Casey 1999, 82-7; Kamen 2003, 157-9, 174). State indebtedness also led to the political consolidation of the nobility and the expansion of the seigneurial system, in contrast with the prevailing historical trend in England and Holland: in order to raise revenues, Philip II allowed the creation of new titles, the sale of Church lands, and the enclosure of Crown commons, which often resulted in entire villages becoming depopulated. These enclosed lands were frequently consolidated into the *latifundia* – many of which were owned by newly created nobles – that remained the predominant form of agriculture in southern Spain until the mid-20th century, and that profoundly shaped the social conditions that would lead to the emergence of the southern Spanish anarchist movement amongst landless agrarian laborers several centuries later (Casey 1999, 49-53; Kamen 2005, 164-6).

In the early 18th century, in an attempt to achieve fiscal solvency, Spain began abandoning its European imperialist claims in order to focus on defending its commercial sea-lanes to its American colonies; however, as the century progressed, the Spanish state became increasingly unable to collect enough revenue to perform even the most basic state functions, and fell under French political hegemony.

The area where the Crown exercised direct jurisdiction... included about half the population... The clergy and the nobility enjoyed exemptions [from taxation] while in some regions taxes could not be raised without the consent of the regional assembly (Shubert 2003, 169).

Under intense British military pressure, the Spanish Crown introduced a policy of free trade in 1778 that was gradually expanded to all of Spanish America; thus, the silver monopoly of Cádiz was ended, and Spain’s financial position declined even further. By the 1820’s, when virtually all of its American colonies declared their independence, the Spanish state exerted very little control over its colonies (Casey 1999, 83-4; Kamen 2003, 445-76). Pablo de Olavide, a late-18th century

civil servant, called the Spanish state “a body composed of other and smaller bodies, separated and in opposition to one another, which oppress and despise each other and are in a continuous state of war.” (Olavide, in: Carr 1982, 62)

Thus, the 19th-century Spanish state exemplified what Anibal Quijano refers to as the “coloniality of power” (Quijano 1993, 167):

As a frame for historical analysis, the concept of coloniality of power draws attention to the fact that colonialism (European colonial expansion), modernity, and capitalism... developed together. Although each one of these historical phenomena has its own internal coherence, [none] of the three... can be fully explained without taking into account their historical co-occurrence, their interrelations and entanglements. (Medeiros 2005, 27)

While Quijano and Medeiros use this concept mainly to analyze Latin American society and politics, I argue that the development of 19th-century Spanish apparatuses of state power was fundamentally shaped by these same mechanisms of coloniality. The sets of political technologies and mechanisms that characterized Spanish colonialism did not remain localized in the contexts in which they were originally deployed, but rather circulated throughout Spanish and American societies – shaping the construction of European modernity in important yet underexamined ways. Furthermore, this profound coloniality of Spanish state power was not merely developed to subjugate indigenous Americans: as numerous historians have pointed out, the political technologies and ideological frameworks that were used to subjugate indigenous Americans were developed during centuries of colonial racialization and exploitation of Muslims, Jews. The end result of these processes was the construction of a set of highly militarized apparatuses of 19th-century Spanish state power, based on a highly racialized political logic of subjugation.

Thus, a genealogical analysis of the Spanish state demonstrates that this “coloniality of power” is not an immobile mechanism that operates solely along a European/non-European

axis. Indeed, we can adapt Foucault's argument about the state in order to theorize these mechanisms of coloniality:

we cannot speak of [coloniality] as if it was a being developing on the basis of itself and imposing itself on individuals as if by a spontaneous, automatic mechanism. [Coloniality] is a practice. [It] is inseparable from the set of practices by which [it] actually became a way of governing (Foucault 2007, 276-7).

At a time when the English and French states were creating the vast apparatuses of governmentality that Foucault describes – applying technologies of power in which “it is not a matter of imposing a law on men, but... of as far as possible employing laws as tactics” (Ibid, 99) – the Spanish Crown was fundamentally structurally unable to construct such apparatuses of power. The expanded political functions of the early modern Spanish state – which, between the 16th and 18th centuries, centered on wars of European territorial control – were financed to a great extent through income from Spain's vast apparatus of colonial extraction. The powers of Spanish government were narrowly focused on domination and ‘territoriality,’ even to the extent of being forced to contract many of its administrative functions out to domestic and foreign financiers. Furthermore, the state's fundamental reliance on apparatuses of domination applied to internal politics as well:

Military commanders had the right to declare [internal] states of war. Military jurisdiction could be applied to civilians in such areas as lack of respect for military authorities. Most of this was kept on by [19th-century] Spanish liberalism (Shubert 2003, 176).

These apparatuses of sovereignty and repression were so central to the functioning of the Spanish state that early-19th-century liberal reformers were not able to seriously challenge them. In many ways, the Spanish liberal state – like the *ancien régime* that it supposedly supplanted – was characterized by “a preponderance of military institutions and juridical techniques enmeshed in administrative and governmental activity” (Ballbé 21; quoted in: Shubert 2003, 176).

However, as the 19th century progressed, the Spanish state did begin developing apparatuses of governmentality in some parts of the country – especially in Madrid, Barcelona, and the growing industrial cities of the Basque region. Many of these governmental technologies were based on the emergence of the “economy” as a field of governmental analysis and intervention (as Foucault points out, “it is... thanks to the isolation of the level of reality that we call the economy, that it was possible to think, reflect, and calculate the problem of government outside the juridical framework of sovereignty” (Foucault 2007, 104)). As Raymond Carr puts it,

since 1854 the vision of a ‘modern’ economy, growing towards prosperity, had haunted the imagination of progressive Spaniards. *The gap between Spain and Europe was no longer seen as an intellectual problem, but as an economic fact.* In the later years of the century the closing of this gap was conceived as a national necessity which would entail the destruction or modification of traditional attitudes. (Carr 1982, 389; my emphasis)

As the 19th century progressed, political technologies of economic intervention became increasingly important aspects of the political repertoire of the liberal Spanish state in industrializing cities such as Barcelona.

The 19th-century demographic explosion of Barcelona and Madrid led the federal and provincial governments to adopt new technologies for the management of population, thus leading to a profound “governmentalization” of state administrative apparatuses in these cities (to Foucault, governmentality is a form of “power that has the population as its target” (Foucault 2007, 108)). The government abolished the guild system in 1836, and gradually constructed a national property market in the early 19th century (according to Foucault, the governmentalized state has “no interest in trying to impose regulatory systems... on [economic] processes”) (Foucault 2007, 352; Shubert 2003, 57, 117). Segregated residential districts were designated for the various social classes in Madrid and Barcelona, as a means for controlling the population and decreasing class conflict (Shubert 2003, 106-7, 111). The codification of the legal system began in the 1840’s, censuses were introduced in 1857, and civil registers for births,

deaths, and marriages were created in 1870 (Ibid, 170-71). That said, though, this process of creating a governmentalized state, designed to control and manage the working classes of Barcelona and Madrid, was a highly incomplete one: for instance, no Spanish city created a professional, non-militarized police force until after the Civil War (Ibid, 178).

However, the anemic expansion of political technologies of governmentality that was taking place in Barcelona was almost completely absent from rural Andalucía; this was to a large extent a function of the overwhelming social and political power of agrarian elites in the south of the country. During the 18th century, financial insecurity had led the indebted imperial Spanish state to grant landed elites a high degree of autonomy, which – along with the vast private trade in silver – allowed agrarian nobles and bourgeois elites to consolidate overwhelming political and economic power. At the same time, silver imports continued to drive up prices, immiserating the peasantry; the combined effect of these two processes amplified the concentration of land in large parts of the country. A second wave of land concentration in the mid-19th century hit southern Spain especially hard, at about the same time that the agrarian anarchist movement emerged (Shubert 2003, 160). Thus, 19th-century agrarian Andalucía was what Alain de Janvry describes as a “disarticulated” society: a system of class relations in which there is no positive correlation between returns to capital and returns to labor. (In such disarticulated systems, as de Janvry points out, “the objective logic for regressive and repressive labor policies implies that... labor militancy will tend to be directed not toward social-democratic settlements but rather against perpetuation of the existing economic system” (de Janvry 1981, 36).)

This ‘disarticulated’ politico-economic situation in Andalucía – combined with the failure of the Spanish liberal state to expand governmental state functions to predominantly agrarian Southern Spain – resulted in the continued reliance of the rural Andalusian state on political apparatuses based on sovereignty and repression. On the one hand, the persistence of *caciquismo*

fundermined the ability of the central Spanish state to establish *any* kind of mechanisms of political power in Andalucía; in the village, the *cacique*, or village strongman, was “the true monopolizer of political life,” and typically worked together with local agrarian elites to enforce social order (Tusell; quoted in: Ibid, 188).⁵ However, there was one significant expansion of the 19th-century Spanish state in rural Andalucía: the creation of the *Guardia Civil*, an apparatus of sovereign, repressive state power *par excellence*. Granted responsibility for law and order in the countryside in 1876, the *Guardia* was increasingly used to violently break strikes in the 1880’s and 90’s, and the *Guardia*’s unambiguous social conservatism made it the most hated institution among the rural poor.

Landowners competed to have posts built in their localities and often paid for them themselves... [The limitation of the *Guardia*] was stated explicitly by General O’Donnell in a circular of 1854: ‘The distribution of the *Guardia Civil* in over 1000 detachments amounts to a fully military occupation of the entire national territory.’ There could be no more eloquent statement of the ultimate weakness of the Spanish state, which lacking any other effective unifying institution relied so heavily on what Lleixà has called the ‘domination, not the direction, of the ruled by the rulers’. (Shubert 2003, 182)

Consequently, the 19th-century Spanish state was profoundly unable to construct governmental state apparatuses in rural Andalucía, relying instead on the power of rural elites, the mediation of the *caciques*, and the brute force of the *Guardia Civil*.

Thus, in mid-19th-century Spain, there existed a fundamental discrepancy between, on the one hand, Barcelona, where governmentality had become an important if underdeveloped technology of state power; and, on the other hand, rural Andalucía, where such governmental technologies of power had largely failed to develop, and the maintenance of social order continued to be based on the power of a highly militarized, ‘sovereign’ state, working together with landed elites to maintain an explosively inegalitarian and exploitative *latifundia* system of

⁵ The word *cacique* is derived from *kassequa*, a native Haitian term for a village chief. In the late 19th century, it became widely used in Spain to describe local political leaders. Needless to say, this word is in itself a fascinating example of the coloniality of power. (OED 754)

class relations. My argument in this section is that the divergence between the anarcho-syndicalism of the working classes of Barcelona and the anarcho-communism (*comunismo libertario*) of landless workers of Andalucía that emerged in the 1880's – which I will discuss in more detail in the following section – cannot be understood separately from the divergence of political technologies of state power between these two parts of the country in the 19th century.

In the remainder of this thesis, I will use this argument to make a larger point: that viewing radical social movements according to the existing, leftist framework – as fundamentally ontologically distinct from and opposed to the institutions that they are struggling against – is undermined by the fundamental ways in which the political technologies of the Spanish state and the political technologies of anarchist movement were fundamentally similar and mutually constitutive – both in Barcelona and in rural Andalucía.

We can see examples of these divergent sets of political technologies in social historians' recent research on 19th-century Spanish anarchism. On the one hand, George Esenwein's fascinating account of the continuities between Republican federalism and Bakuninist working-class-based anarcho-syndicalism – continuities that consist both of the ideological influences of the works of Francisco Pi y Margall on early Spanish anarchist theorists, and of social connections between working-class participants in the two movements – presents a compelling example of the ways in which state liberalism and the anarcho-syndicalist movement in Barcelona were profoundly interrelated. (Esenwein 1989, 22-27, 98-106) On the other hand, Walther Bernecker's study of the history of violence in the Spanish anarchist movement demonstrates that in Andalucía – where violence, a manifestation of the prevalence of 'sovereign' apparatuses of power, was the dominant political technology of the Spanish state – the landless agrarian proletariat increasingly turned to terrorism as its primary repertoire of resistance (Bernecker 1982, 90-91).

As anarcho-communist ideology gained ground among poor peasants and landless workers in the 1880's, communists and syndicalists began to clash ideologically within the anarchist movement, especially over the issue of terrorism: while anarcho-communist ideology "provided poor peasants and agricultural workers with the opportunity to take aggressive action against the ruling class," the anarcho-syndicalist union leadership opposed terrorist tactics, on the grounds that they would provoke government repression. (Ibid, 142) For instance, Clara Lida describes the emergence of *Mano Negra* – a secretive group of Andalusian peasant anarchist terrorists – as growing out of the "disenchantment of the rural masses with the traditional leadership and organization of the Spanish IWMA" (the forerunner to the CNT). Adopting many ideological positions of the *Mano Negra*, "the Andalusian Federations reject[ed] the strike and, instead, turn[ed] towards sabotage and destruction as a mean of checkmating the economic power of the landowner." This placed agrarian anarchists in direct conflict with the working-class-based anarchist leadership, which relied on the strike as their fundamental political tool, and "regarded the Andalusian rural workers as a mass of exploited and illiterate peasants, incapable of organization." (Lida 1969, 332-37) This division within the anarchist movement cannot be understood separately from the distinction between the relatively 'governmentalized' apparatuses of state power in Barcelona, and the violent and repressive apparatuses of 'sovereign' state power in Andalucía: while in Barcelona the anarcho-syndicalist movement (which developed alongside the increasingly 'governmentalized' Spanish state) increasingly viewed its political project as one of transitioning the modern capitalist economy from an elite-governed to a worker-governed system, the Andalusian anarcho-communist movement (which developed alongside the repressive, 'sovereign' Spanish state) eschewed organized, 'workerist' forms of labor unrest, and viewed violent resistance as the only effective means of countering the violence of the state.

Of course, it is not my intention to argue in favor of a dualistic, mechanistic relationship between the political technologies of power and resistance in 19th-century Spain. Nor am I trying to argue that the development of the Spanish state predetermined the evolution of the Spanish anarchist movement. Rather, I believe that the relationship was one of mutual influence, in which these two sets of agents developed political technologies and repertoires of power/resistance over decades of mutual interaction. Governmentality is not merely a technology of state power; rather, it is a political technology that, once deployed, spreads throughout society, creating ‘governmentalized’ social movements that then interact with and shape the development of the state. This thesis is obviously not intended to do justice to the complexity of this process of coevolution in 19th-century Spain (which would necessitate a much more detailed, archival study); rather, it is intended to outline some of the ways in which these two sets of agents were mutually constitutive, and to theorize those interactions in terms of governmentality.

Thus, I argue that the profound division that emerged with the Spanish anarchist movement— a division that is exemplified in this distinction between the anarcho-syndicalist movements of the working classes of Barcelona, and the anarcho-communist movements of the landless laborers of Andalucía – cannot be fully understood separately from the historical development of the Spanish state (and vice versa); specifically, the evolution of the anarchist movement cannot be adequately theorized without considering the conditions under which governmentality belatedly and differentially emerged as a political technology in mid-19th century Spain. I am using this point to argue that it is more theoretically productive to view social movements in Foucauldian rather than Marxian terms: to understand state institutions and anti-

state movements as mutually productive and complexly interrelated, rather than diametrically opposed and ontologically distinct.

I will now contextualize my examination of this division within the anarchist movement through a case study of the agrarian anarchist collectivization movements in Andalucía and Aragón during the Spanish Civil War.

Section Three: Anarchist Agrarian Collectivization During the Spanish Civil War

It had been necessary [for the CNT] to declare good intentions, to... recognize the authority of a government whose activities were moving in the direction of the reconstruction of the traditional state which had collapsed in July 1936. Astonishingly, all this was accepted and indeed carried out by anarchist leaders. In terms of the pure anarchist line of the early days of the Second Republic, to propound popular support for any government body would have been seen as an aberration. ...Yet in 1936, not only was this apparatus of regional administration created, but the orthodox anarchists of 1931 were to be found defending participation in the central government.

- Julián Casanova (1987)

In the previous section, I argued that the distinction between the working-class-based anarcho-syndicalist movement of Barcelona and the landless-laborer-based anarcho-communist movement of agrarian Andalucía is profoundly interrelated with the historical development of the Spanish state – specifically, with the rise of Spanish political technologies of governmentality in the mid-19th century. In this section, I will examine the distinctions between these Spanish anarchisms through a case study of the agrarian anarchist collectivization movement in Andalucía and Aragón during the Spanish Civil War. Drawing on new social historical research on the history of these collectives, I will attempt to decenter and de-essentialize the traditional, ultimately Marxian understanding of Spanish anarchists as diametrically opposed to the state, and examine the ways in which the dominant, working-class-based factions of the Spanish anarchist movement functioned according to a political and ideological framework that was in many ways strikingly similar to that of the increasingly-governmentalized state institutions with which the working classes of Barcelona and Madrid were confronted (illustrated by the above

quote from Julián Casanova). This case study also allows me to undermine the idea that Spanish anarchism was a singular and ideologically coherent entity, by describing the profound struggles over meaning and power that took place within the early-20th century Spanish anarchist movement.

In much of southern Spain – a region of dry steppes and highly fertile land, and of strongly Islamic-influenced culture – the bulk of agricultural production in the 1930's took place under the *latifundia* plantation system, an example of what de Janvry refers to as “disarticulated accumulation”: a politico-economic system in which the growth of the capitalist economy is rooted in rising profits and rents, rather than in rising wages. With no positive economic connection existing between wages and economic growth, elites in a disarticulated society have every incentive to maintain a system of productive relations that is as exploitative and repressive as possible, and “labor militancy will tend to be directed not toward social-democratic settlements but rather against perpetuation of the existing economic system.” (de Janvry 1981, 34-36).

In the 1930's, the *latifundia*, a mere 0.1% of agricultural landholdings in southern Spain, covered 33.2% of the land; the 96% of land parcels owned by smallholders comprised 29.6% of the arable land in the south of the country. Massive landed estates were worked by a mass of landless waged laborers, who comprised 75% of the southern agrarian population. The *latifundia* system of productive relations found its purest expression in Andalucía, where the socioeconomic gap between the landed and landless classes in the early twentieth century was unsustainably vast; in the *latifundia* system – an example of what regulation theorists refer to as an ‘incomplete mode of regulation’ – elites were increasingly unable to “ensure that the distortions created by the accumulation of capital [were] kept within limits which [were]

compatible with social cohesion.” (Aglietta 1998, 44) Southern Aragón, while not strictly speaking a *latifundia* economy, nonetheless bore strongly similar socioeconomic and climatic characteristics to Andalucía, with the addition of a sizeable minority of smallholding peasants and tenant farmers. It was in these two highly inegalitarian southern provinces that the rural anarchist collectivization movement would be most influential.

The relations of production that prevailed in early-20th century Andalusian and Aragonese agriculture contrasted with agrarian productive relations in other parts of the country. In the south of Castilla, *latifundia* agriculture also predominated; however, the tendency there was towards middle-sized estates, and social unrest was not historically as widespread as in Andalucía or Aragón. (Alexander 1998, 354-55) In Catalunya and Levante, tenant farming and sharecropping were the predominant forms of agricultural production, with large landholdings playing a lesser role; small landowners controlled 51.3% of land in the Levantine province of Valencia, for example. (Ibid, 335-36, 390-92) A more egalitarian peasant- and tenant-based smallholding system prevailed in northern Spain; while, as Jorge Uría shows, this region did have a complex history of agrarian unrest, this unrest took an entirely different form than it did in the south. (Uría 2005)

Most historians of Spanish anarchism describe agrarian anarchist movements of Andalucía and Aragón as a rebellion of landless farmworkers against the *latifundia* system – and, indeed, this argument clearly holds a great deal of explanatory power. However, to portray agrarian anarchist movements as a simple reaction of economically desperate landless laborers against wealthy landowners would be an oversimplification: in a series of highly influential studies, Temma Kaplan decenters the late-19th-century Andalusian anarchist movement by demonstrating that the social base of the anarchist movement was much more complex, with small landowners and skilled workers playing an important role in constructing and controlling the local institutions of

Andalucían anarchism, especially in the late 19th century (Kaplan 1975, 52). However, the landless laborers of southern Spain certainly did comprise the most radical elements of the Spanish anarchist movement; furthermore, these landless anarchists – or *Desheredados*, as they were popularly known – were in a subaltern position within the anarchist movement as a whole.

Spanish Anarchism and the CNT

In 1868, Giuseppe Fanelli, an Italian disciple of Mikhail Bakunin, traveled to Madrid and founded a small cell of anarchist activists, affiliated with the First International; rapidly, this incipient anarchist group expanded to Barcelona. The working-class-based, Bakuninist anarcho-syndicalist movement this initial group of Spanish anarchists created in these two cities in the 1870's and 80's – in the context of the emergence of governmentality as a political technology of the Spanish state, as we saw in the previous section – emphasized the role of revolutionary labor unions, which were to replace capitalist factory ownership through management by revolutionary syndicates. In many ways, anarcho-syndicalism was thus similar to the other working-class labor movements that emerged out of the First International: anarcho-syndicalists aimed to cut the capitalist head off of the emerging modern, industrialized economic system, and replace it with institutions of working-class management that would ensure continued industrialization and economic 'development' (Bookchin 1977, 12-15). Thus, in many ways, its political logic was similar to that of the governmentalized state that it sought to replace, aiming to shift the function of economic governance from state institutions to syndicalist organizations.

In the 1870's, the anarchist movement gained influence in rural Andalucía and Levante; there, anarchism was articulated very differently than in the Spanish cities. (Ibid, 89-91). Beginning in the 1880's, the rural landless workers of Andalucía adopted anarcho-communist ideology: anarcho-communists aim to completely and radically restructure the capitalist

economic system, with the goal of creating socioeconomic autarchic and self-determining individual communities; needless to say, such a system would necessitate a radical de-industrialization and decentralization of the existing economic and political system.

Agrarian Andalusian anarchist ideology critiqued not only the inequality and material exploitation inherent in capitalist relations of production, but also the ethical and spiritual impoverishment inflicted by the capitalist socioeconomic system as a whole (Bolloten 1991, 66-68; Bernecker 1978, 104-5). As an illustration of this more systemic, utopian critique of capitalist society, the anarcho-communism of these landless farmworkers was not merely a social movement, but a cultural movement as well: many rural anarchists did not drink or smoke, most were profoundly anti-religious and disavowed marriage, and many practiced naturopathy, polyamory, nudism, vegetarianism, or raw-foodism (Bookchin 1977, 56-59; Cleminson 2003, 2004). Needless to say, these were quite revolutionary cultural practices in late-19th-century agrarian Spain.

In 1910, the *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* (CNT) was founded, as a means of unifying the Spanish anarchist movement. The CNT grew rapidly in the 1930's, and by 1936 it represented 1.5 million workers; in a country with a labor force of 8.5 million, the CNT was thus by far the largest political force at the beginning of the Civil War (Bernecker 1978, 56; Thomas 1961, 40). The CNT was organized according to anarcho-syndicalist principles, espousing ideological commitments to decentralization and direct action:

The national organization [of the CNT] was in effect a loose collection of regional confederations which were broken down into *comarcal* (local and district) confederations, and finally into *sindicatos*, or individual unions. These *sindicatos*... were established on a vocational basis... To coordinate this structure, the annual congresses of the CNT elected a National Committee... The purpose of the CNT... was to keep alive the spirit of revolt, not to quench it with piecemeal reforms and long, attritive strikes. (Bookchin 1977, 160-62)

However, most leadership positions within the CNT were occupied by anarcho-syndicalist workers and intellectuals from Barcelona and Madrid, and the agrarian anarcho-communist organizations of southern Spain were consigned to subaltern positions within the organization. (Casanova 1987, 425-8) For instance, Temma Kaplan argues that in 19th century agrarian Andalucía, the *Federación Regional de España* (FRE) – a precursor to the CNT – was dominated politically by anarcho-syndicalist small landowners, who used the FRE (and anarcho-syndicalist ideology) as a means of pacifying their predominantly anarcho-communist farmworkers. Consequently, to Kaplan, the FRE “only moved the class struggle between these two groups into the anarchist organization itself.” (Kaplan 1975, 69) Thus, there existed a powerful gulf between these two different articulations of Spanish anarchist ideology, representing groups with very different socioeconomic positions and political projects; furthermore, within the CNT, the worker-based syndicalists dominated the organizational hierarchy.

Over the three years of the Spanish Civil War, the CNT became less decentralized and more hierarchical, and several reformist CNT officials joined the Republican government as ministers in November 1936. To Walther Bernecker, “entry of the anarchists to the government... led not only to a ‘politicization’ and restructuring of organized anarchism, but also to abandonment of fundamental positions of classical anarchism and atrophy of the democratic formation of opinion and decision-making process in the CNT.” (Bernecker 1978, 365) This increasingly hierarchical nature of the CNT is best exemplified by the Council of Aragón, an anarchist governing council that increasingly came to function within Aragón essentially as a dictatorship of the proletariat (Casanova 1987, 435-41; Bernecker 1978, 222). Thus, in many ways, the syndicalist-dominated CNT came to resemble the very state institutions that it ostensibly opposed.

In February 1936, the governing right-wing coalition lost national parliamentary elections to the Popular Front, a coalition of liberals, Socialists, and Communists. During the spring of 1936, the parties of the right felt increasingly politically threatened, not so much by the piecemeal reforms enacted by the new Popular Front government as by the land occupations and general strikes called by the CNT and the radical-socialist *Unión General de Trabajadores* (UGT). (Bolloten 1991, 3-20) On July 18, 1936, Francisco Franco, the leader of a faction of fascist and monarchist army officers, broadcast a radio appeal to the Spanish officer corps, urging them to support a *coup d'état* against the government. (Ibid, 34-45) Battles for control between Republican- and Nationalist-controlled military factions resulted in a rapid partitioning of the country: the southeast (including Madrid and Barcelona) and the northern coast were controlled by the Republicans, while the northwest (excluding the coast), western Andalucía, and Spanish Morocco were occupied by the Nationalists. (Thomas 1961, 139-64) The Republican strongholds – Catalunya, Aragón, southeastern Castile, Levante, and eastern Andalucía – all stayed in Republican hands through early 1938, and it was in precisely these regions (especially Catalunya, Aragón, and Andalucía) that the anarchist movement was strongest.

Consistently with Theda Skocpol's argument that social revolutions "become possible only through the administrative-military breakdown of preexisting states," the extent to which the outbreak of the civil war was followed by agrarian social revolution was largely a consequence of the locally differentiated extent to which state capacity was undermined in the weeks following the *coup d'état*. (Skocpol 1979, 287) In Castile and Catalunya, where the Republican state managed to maintain or quickly re-establish control of key political institutions, there were usually far fewer changes in rural relations of production. On the other hand, in Aragón and Andalucía, where central state power was based solely on the violence of the *Guardia Civil*, the *coup d'état* was

followed by profound and wide-ranging reconfigurations of agrarian relations of production, in which landless workers expropriated landholders on a vast scale. To a large extent, these revolutions did not proceed according to any predetermined CNT plan; rather, large numbers of communities were completely outside of CNT control, and the CNT endorsed the widespread dispossession of large landowners after the fact (Bernecker 1978, 104). However, as Julián Casanova points out, one should not overlook the role that urban CNT militias played in imposing agrarian collectivization, especially in Aragón (Seidman 2000, 211):

Only detailed local studies can indicate the extent to which either the CNT [peasant] unions were the principal protagonists of the revolutionary experiences in whose areas where they were will established, or to which it was the terror spread by armed groups which imposed the communal exploitation of the land. (Casanova 1987, 432)

Whether instigated and dominated by local CNT unions or urban militias, this rural social revolution was often highly violent: landowners and rightist political functionaries were frequently assassinated, priests and nuns were murdered, churches were burned, and – most famously and gruesomely – the bodies of Catholic clergy were disinterred and publicly displayed (Casanova 2005, 93-5). As we saw in the previous section, historians such as Brennan and Hobsbawm have often interpreted this violence as a spontaneous reaction of violent, ‘millenarian’ peasants against the local elites that had hitherto oppressed them with total impunity. However, contemporary social historians have de-essentialized Hobsbawm’s interpretation of rural anarchist violence, arguing that it should be interpreted as an extension of the political repertoire of anti-systemic violence that had characterized the Spanish anarchist movement since the 1880’s (Bernecker 1982; Casanova 2005). This political repertoire of violence was very similar to that of the central state in souther Spain – which, again, had no real presence in the Andalucía apart from the terror of the *Guardia Civil*.

In the months following July 1936, a significant proportion of anarchist landless farmworkers and smallholders in Aragón and Andalucía expropriated large landholdings, and created small-scale agricultural collectives to control and manage the land in their communities. (In other parts of Republican Spain, land reform, rather than collectivization, was usually the consequence of rural social revolution, with many ‘collectives’ being essentially federations of small farmers.) Agrarian anarcho-communist ideology consistently rejected agrarian reform in favor of “collective labor and the elimination of the very idea of landowning;” in accordance with this ideological position, the land surrounding many anarchist-dominated communities was collectivized in its entirety, and socio-economic life in these communities was restructured according to anarcho-communist ideological principles. (1936 Andalusian CNT Conference, in: Casanova 1987, 426; Bernecker 1978, 95-99) (In this process of ‘total collectivization,’ land was often coercively expropriated from both small and large landowners – especially in Aragón, where workers’ militias from Barcelona traveled throughout the Aragonese countryside in the summer of 1936, often forcing collectivization on unwilling smallholders (Seidman 2000, 211; Casanova 1987, 433).)

In each collective, the working male population was organized into small labor groups, each of which selected a delegate who served as the labor group’s interface with the collective’s assembly and the administrative committee, reporting to these on the group’s progress, and reporting these assemblies’ decisions back to the labor group (Alexander 1998, 328; Bernecker 1978, 96).⁶ “Leadership authority was related to the accomplishment of specific tasks, and was

⁶ It is important to point out that agrarian anarchist collectivization was in many ways a masculinized communism, with men retaining most (although not all) positions of economic and political power; a variety of works have indicated the patriarchal perspectives that existed throughout the Spanish anarchist movement (Kaplan 1971; Gemie 1996; Ackelsberg 1985, 2005).

discarded as soon as the designated tasks were complete” (Breitbart 1979, 84). In accordance with agrarian anarchists’ focus on cultural as well as social transformation, many collectives devoted considerable resources towards the development of radical education and cultural institutions. The longstanding anarchist networks of *ateneos libertarios* (which still exist today) were expanded during the Civil War: local CNT activists transformed the former homes of the wealthy into cultural centers, containing libraries and artwork pilfered from the rich, as well as lecture and dance halls (Breitbart 1979, 86-7; Dolgoff 1974, 133-4).

Central to the anarcho-communist project of social revolution was the transformation of the material relationship between production and consumption. A key component of anarcho-communist ideology is the argument that, by abolishing the capitalist institution of money – what Michel Aglietta refers to as the “primordial social link in market economies” (Aglietta 1998, 46) – one can eliminate the basis for the destructive social practices that characterize capitalist productive relations (Bookchin 1977, 58-60; Bolloren 1991, 66-8). Thus, in many collectivized villages, money was burned or melted – much to the chagrin of the CNT leadership, which in many instances intervened to stop the destruction of money (Alexander 1998, 329, 348, 376; Dolgoff 1974, 114).

However, agrarian collectivization should not be understood as a uniform process: thus, for example, collectivists a wide variety of highly innovative and complex systems for distributing wages and goods. Some collectives paid workers according to family size, others according to the individual’s economic contribution (which to a certain extent preserved social inequalities); others paid workers in weekly advances (the most unequal system, especially in terms of gender) (Alexander 1998, 329; Bernecker 1978, 106-9). Some communities relied on barter or local currencies; others introduced consumption vouchers, which were only valid locally and for a limited period of time; and in some towns, all forms of payment were abolished, and collectivists

took what they needed from common stocks (Breitbart 1979, 84-85; Bernecker 1978, 110-16; Dolgoff 1974, 114-19.). However, after the formation of the Council of Aragón in October 1936 – a semi-state body dominated by urban CNT activists – wages and wage differentials were largely reintroduced in the province, as a means of facilitating inter-regional trade (and, most likely, of siphoning off money to fund the militias) (Casanova 1987, 439). Likewise, in most places in Catalunya and Levante, regional CNT congresses reintroduced the *peseta* in the months following the revolution.

Administration of the Collectives

Formally, the administration of the collectives was based on an anarcho-communist ideological model. With few exceptions, agricultural collectives were nominally governed by a general membership assembly, which would typically meet weekly, biweekly or monthly, and had ultimate sovereignty over all of the collective's decisions (Alexander 1998, 327; Dolgoff 1974, 111). "Formally, the general assembly was the most important body in the collective; it was responsible for all economic and sociopolitical issues." (Bernecker 1978, 102) Most collectives had a 'revolutionary committee' as well, which was usually elected by the assembly, and was nominally responsible for administrative decisions only. (Ibid, 99-104)

However, the actual political role of this administrative committee was highly variable; the exact role of these committees is perhaps the most controversial debate over the history of rural collectivization. Anarchist historians have generally portrayed the committees as entirely subordinate to the control of the collective's members; however, as Walther Bernecker points out, these administrative committees could in actuality play the role of "revolutionary or agricultural committee, governing commission, community or economic council, junta, [or] labor board" (Bernecker 1978, 96-101; Alexander 1998, 328). Formed largely from the ranks of local

CNT militants and union organizers, many committees stepped into the initial power vacuum left by the collapse of the Republican state, and performed the political functions of the local state as well as administering the economic functions of the collective – as well as issuing the initial decrees by which collectivization, redistribution, and abolition of trade were mandated (Bolloten 1991, 65-6; Bernecker 1978, 100).

As Julián Casanova points out, one of the most challenging unresolved questions of Spanish Civil War historiography is whether collectivization occurred more at the impetus of local CNT activists, or whether it was pushed more by urban CNT militias. However, it is clear that as time went on, the uncontrolled requisitions of the CNT militias – which often went so far as to intervene directly into collectives' administration – severely undermined the politico-economic autonomy of many collectives, especially in Aragón. Local politico-economic autonomy was undermined by workers' militias, governed by the CNT headquarters in Barcelona. (Casanova 1987, 430-34)

Furthermore, the collectives' relations with non-collectivist smallholders – often referred to as 'individualists' – has also been heavily debated amongst historians. Small and medium landowners frequently opposed collectivization, while agricultural laborers and indigent farmers (who were typically members of the CNT peasant unions) were the organizational driving force behind the formation of the collectives. Thus, even in those provinces in which collectivization was most widespread, many community members did not want to join the collectives, while collectivists had an economic interest in forcing them to join (Bolloten 1991, 62-5; Bernecker 1978, 58). A declaration of the first national congress of agricultural collectives in 1937 mandated that the autonomy of individualists “will always be respected, as long as they do not attempt to harm the interests of the collective;” all the regional Federations of Collectives formally reiterated this policy. However, there are numerous documented incidents in which

CNT activists forced individualists to join collectives (Alexander 1998, 371-3; Bernecker 1978, 98). As Julián Casanova points out, it is highly difficult to access unbiased information on this topic, since, on the one hand, anarchist historians' accounts of the collectives ignore these conflicts, and, on the other hand, later rightist historians discredit the collectives by using fascist propaganda about conflicts with individualists (Casanova 1987, 438). Thus, while collectivization was largely voluntary, there were large numbers of people who joined the collectives out of fear; it is probably impossible to come to any more precise conclusion than that (Casanova 1987, 437-39; Seidman 2000, 211-13).

Anarchism, Collectivization, and Gender

Numerous researchers have pointed out that patriarchal assumptions suffused the historical Spanish anarchist movement. Sharif Gemie argues that

the desire to assert the power, the morality and the potentially universal nature of certain communities led [Spanish] anarchists to shy away from confronting oppressive patriarchalism in their family structures and sexual moralities. (Gemie 1996, 432)

Indeed, the *Mujeres Libres*, or 'free women' – an anarcha-feminist group which broke with the CNT in 1936 – was created precisely to challenge the patriarchy of the CNT. The *Mujeres Libres* critiqued the mainstream anarchist movement for failing to acknowledge the legitimacy of women's liberation as a separate struggle, arguing that "women had to organize independently of men, both to overcome their own subordination and to struggle against male resistance to women's emancipation." (Ackelsberg 1985, 65-68; Ackelsberg 2005) To Temma Kaplan, the criticisms of the *Mujeres Libres* were largely ignored:

In spite of their awareness of the exploitation of women in capitalist society, [the Spanish anarchist movement] did not develop a program to prevent similar exploitation in revolutionary society. There is no reason to believe that the condition of Spanish women would have been fundamentally changed if the anarchists had won the war. (Kaplan 1971, 102)

We can see an excellent example of this continuity of patriarchal practices by examining the socioeconomic structures of the rural anarchist collectives in terms of the gendered division of resources. In Catalunya and Levante, collectives paid out wages (*asignaciones*) to the head of each household in the community; as Bernecker points out, in most cases “unmarried women living outside of their parents’ household were entirely ignored.” Other collectives, in which labor was remunerated according a ‘labor-card’ system, generally set wage-rates “not only according to the ‘needs’ of a collectivist, but also according to their ‘social importance’... Women received consistently lower wages.” (Bernecker 1978, 106-7) These are important shortcomings of the rural Spanish anarchist movement; that said, as Gemie points out, “this insensitivity is shot through with sudden pockets of sympathy, of solidarity and even genuinely revolutionary challenges to dominant ideals of gender roles.” (Gemie 1996, 435)

The Destruction of the Collectives

In early May 1937, a five-day street battle took place between the Communist-dominated provincial government of Catalunya and the radical workers’ militias that controlled the city; the armed workers of the CNT and UGT were ultimately defeated by the well-organized paramilitary forces of the *Partido Comunista de España* (PCE). The CNT leadership, seeking to protect its close political relationship with the Republican government, repeatedly declared that open insurrection against the Republican state was too dangerous, and appealed to the anarchist workers to lay down their arms (Bolloten 1991, 431-61; Bookchin 1994, 61-65). The CNT’s stance was widely criticized: for instance, Leon Trotsky lambasted the CNT leadership for its demonstrated willingness to make “political, economic, and doctrinal concessions... to those governments... which are negotiating with the class enemy in order to conclude the war and

liquidate the revolution” (quoted in: Guérin 1994, 2, 271). The end result of the May Days was a vast increase in Communist influence within the Republican government, to whom it was proven that Communists stood for public order and against social revolution.⁷

Several months later, having consolidated their political power, the Communists attacked the agrarian collectives in Aragón, where the CNT was at its strongest and most autonomous from the Republican state. In August 1937, the Communist general Lister occupied Zaragoza, executing prominent CNT militants, shutting down the Council of Aragón, and attacking the CNT agricultural collectives. Communist troops confiscated land, livestock and farming implements, and destroyed the collectives’ buildings; furthermore, under the protection of PCE militias, many smallholding peasants – forced into joining the collectives by revolutionary violence or CNT militias – took the opportunity to reclaim their land (and, in many cases, pilfer the collectives). Unwilling, once again, to alienate itself from the Republican government, the CNT leadership refused to deploy its militias against Lister – despite considerable outrage and unrest from rank-and-file soldiers, who had heard reports of the Communist aggression and were eager to deploy against the Communists. In the following months, roughly half of the Aragonese collectives collapsed (Bernecker 1978, 82-83; Bolloten 1991, 525-30; Bookchin 1994, 62).

Then, beginning in April 1938, many collectivized industrial enterprises were decollectivized by the Republican state and returned to their former owners; finally, at this point, the CNT leadership broke with the Republican government, only to realize that its opportunity to prevent counter-revolution had come and gone (Ibid, 633-8). In the spring of 1938 Aragón fell to the Nationalists, in February of 1939 Catalunya was overrun, and in March Madrid, and the rest of Spain, fell to Franco’s armies. The CNT was virtually annihilated in Spain, but its surviving

⁷ Prophetically, during the 1936 elections, the Socialists had satirized the PCE with the slogan: “To save Spain from Marxism, vote Communist!” (Bookchin 1977, 279)

leaders set up camp in southern France, and armed bands of anarchist militants conducted a guerrilla war against the Franco regime until the mid-1950's.

Conclusion

This case study of the rural anarchist collectivization movement allows me to argue – as I did in the preceding section – that the differential development of 19th-century Spanish state apparatuses of governmentality was profoundly interconnected with the fundamental distinction between urban and rural Spanish anarchism. This section demonstrates the distinction between the decentralized and differentiated agrarian social revolution of landless anarchist workers in Andalucía and Aragón, and the centralizing, normalizing, and de-radicalizing influence of the CNT leadership in Barcelona, rooted in the industrial working class.

In many ways, I argue that the political logic of the working class-based anarcho-syndicalist party leadership was one of governmentalization. Despite a powerful ideological commitment to decentralization and autarchy that suffused CNT discourse and propaganda, the syndicalist-dominated CNT leadership used militias of anarchist workers – mostly from Barcelona – to impose collectivization on agrarian anarchist communities in Aragón, and deployed large-scale, syndicalist organizational structures as means of ‘normalizing’ and regulating the disorganized, autarkic collectives. More importantly, as Casanova points out, the syndicalist CNT leadership – despite a commitment to anti-statism that was the *sine qua non* of anarchist ideology – ended up collaborating with, and even participating in, the Republican state, even at the expense of protecting its members from Communist aggression. Thus, in this section, my aim has been to decenter the traditional understanding of the Spanish anarchist movement as being fundamentally opposed to and ontologically distinct from the state. Rather, I argue that the Barcelona-based, anarcho-syndicalist CNT leadership – based in the working class, and having

developed in a historical process of dialectical interaction with the increasingly-governmentalized Spanish state – cannot be understood separately from the Spanish state’s incipient deployment of political technologies of governmentality, and the entire system of industrial management, democratization of the state, and institutionalization of social relations⁸ upon which governmentality as a set of political technologies was based.

Thus, this case study has allowed me to decenter the Spanish anarchist movement in several important ways. In the following section, I will apply Foucault’s theory of governmentality to the contemporary Spanish anarchist movement.

⁸ Here, it is important to draw a distinction between, on the one hand, the institutionalization of relations of power and domination, which characterizes *disciplinary* modalities of power; and, on the other hand, the general institutionalization of all social relations (education, child care, health, morality, etc.) and their configuration within a socio-political system that is configured so as to optimize the functioning of the economic system as a whole, which characterizes *governmentalized* modalities of power.

Section Four: Freedom, Governmentality, and Contemporary Anarchism

The transformation of society is our great challenge.

- CNT (Plataforma Reivindicativa)

*We're people who want to bring this society down. We're not trying to transform it.
We're trying to destroy it.*

- David, member of La Base

In the preceding two sections, I decentered the received understanding of the historical Spanish anarchist movement, by demonstrating that the distinction between the working class-based anarcho-syndicalist movement of Barcelona and the landless worker-based anarcho-communist movement of rural Andalucía corresponds to a difference in the extent of governmentalization of state technologies of power in these two parts of the country. In this section, I briefly discuss contemporary Spanish anarchism, which I outlined in the introduction and the first section. In doing so, I apply Foucault's framework of governmentality – specifically, his theorization of freedom – to the contemporary Spanish anarchist movement as well, thus decentering our understanding of contemporary, post-leftist anarchism, and allowing me to theorize the profound theoretical tension that exists between leftists and post-leftists within the contemporary anarchist movement.

As I argued in the introduction, there exists a discursive division between the anarchist political discourses of the CNT and the contemporary Spanish squat movement. I described this discursive break in section one as well, distinguishing the teleological, totalizing, and ideological

discourse of leftist anarchists from the anti-teleological, anti-totalizing, and anti-ideological discourses of post-leftist anarchists – a contrast between, on the one hand, the 1930's CNT's triumphalist and teleological discourse of revolution and class struggle, and, on the other hand, David's statement that anti-state struggle is "all a game... We are not really resisting." If state technologies of power and anarchist practices of resistance are indeed engaged in a process of dialectical interaction, then this transformation in anarchist discourse must be related to a shift in the political technologies of the modern Spanish state.

Numerous Marxian theorists describe the transformation of Western political economy over the last eighty years as a transformation towards Fordist relations of production. This concept of a Fordist regime of accumulation is based on the argument that the expansion of capitalism in the late-19th century was limited by a lack of market capacity, and that this underconsumption problem was resolved when capitalist elites created an alliance between industrial management and reformist working-class labor unions. However, Fordism, as a regime of accumulation, was much more than simply a new economic regime: it involved "mass consumption, a new system of the reproduction of labor power, a new politics of labor control and management, a new aesthetics and psychology, in short, a new kind of rationalized, modernist, and populist democratic society." (Harvey 1990, 125-6) Clearly, within the context of this transformation to a Fordist regime of accumulation, this fundamental shift in anarchist discourse makes a great deal of sense.

However, Foucault's theoretical discussion of the relationship between freedom and governmentality in *Security, Territory, Population* allows us to understand this transition in terms of a transformation in technologies of power, thus avoiding the materialist, and, specifically, economic drawbacks of Fordist theory. In one of the most crucial passages in *Security, Territory, Population*, Foucault reconsiders an argument that he made about freedom in *Discipline and Punish*:

I said somewhere [Foucault 1977a, 221-24] that we could not understand the establishment of liberal ideologies and a liberal politics in the 18th century without keeping in mind that the same 18th century, which made such a strong demand for freedoms, had all the same ballasted these freedoms with a disciplinary technique that... considerably restricted freedom.... Well, I think I was wrong.... I think something completely different is at stake. That is that this freedom, both ideology and technique of government, should in fact be understood within the mutations and transformations of technologies of power. More precisely and particularly, freedom is nothing else but the correlative of the deployment of apparatuses of [governmentality].⁹ ... [T]he idea of an administration of things that would think before all else of men's freedom, of what they want to do, of what they have an interest in doing, are all correlative elements. It is not an ideology; it is not exactly, fundamentally, or primarily an ideology. First of all and above all it is a technology of power (Foucault 2007, 48-9).

Clearly, Foucault's argument about freedom holds vast potential for analysts and theorists of the state. 'Freedom' is perhaps the single most essentialized concept in the English language – and, at the same time, it is a term that academic writers are frequently unwilling to de-essentialize. In decentering the term and situating it within the deployment of apparatuses of governmentality, Foucault's argument can be used to demonstrate how the incredible theoretical indistinction of the term 'freedom' may result in part from the fact that 'freedom' performs a variety of very different structural functions in modern politics: 'freedom' is simultaneously an anti-systemic discourse ("freedom" as a demand of essentially every contemporary social movement), a discourse of the state ("freedom" as that which George Bush is 'bringing' to the Middle East), and a political technology of modern governmentality ("freedom" as a set of institutions of representative democracy, which allow state agencies a means of profoundly governmentalizing and managing social struggles). Foucault's argument allows us to theorize the ways in which freedom – both as a discourse, and as a set of political technologies – is inseparable from the functioning of the modern governmentality.

⁹ Here, Foucault refers to "apparatuses of security" rather than governmentality. However, later in the book, he coins the term "governmentality" to refer to these processes, and argues that he would rename the course "a history of governmentality" if it were possible. Throughout the remainder of the text, he refers almost exclusively to "governmentality" rather than "security." Thus, I changed the terminology here to avoid confusion.

Here, I will use Foucault's discussion of freedom to decenter our understandings of late-19th and early-20th-century leftist (i.e., socialist and anarchist) social movements. Evolving alongside the state, these leftist movements constructed totalizing and teleological discourses of freedom that were in many ways very similar to the discourses of the modern, governmentalized state: these movements ideologically framed themselves as possessing the power to create a fundamentally new world, in which freedom will proliferate and circulate without limit. However, in the early 20th century, the totalizing discourses of resistance that had been created by these leftist movements were appropriated by Western states, and recoded into a form compatible with 'freedom' as a "technology of power." Furthermore, this continuity is organizational as well as discursive: during this period – in a process that was bitterly contested within the various incarnations of the International Workingmen's Association – social democratic and even Communist parties and unions were incorporated into the Fordist state, while more radical groups were violently repressed. Thus, these leftist social movements were an inseparable part of the construction of the modern governmental state; specifically, they were an inseparable part of constructing freedom as the primary political technology of contemporary governmentality. As Jason McQuinn puts it: "Historically, the vast majority of leftist theory and practice has functioned as a loyal opposition to capitalism." (McQuinn 2002, 3)

However, this process of appropriation should be understood in Foucauldian terms: I am not suggesting that the omniscient, omnipotent state moulds and manipulates these movements, transforming them into mere cogs in the machinery of state power. Here, as elsewhere in this paper, I argue that Foucault's framework – and specifically his comment that "the history of the governmental *ratio*, and the history of the counter-conducts opposed to it, are inseparable from each other" (Ibid, 357) – allows us to view the political logics of these two set of institutions as being fundamentally mutually constitutive and profoundly interconnected. Indeed, when

Foucault says that “resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power” (Foucault 1978, 95), we need to take this argument very seriously, and carefully think through its potential implications.

In my opinion, Foucault’s theory of freedom helps us understand and decenter the ideological discourse of the historical Spanish CNT, an organization which – as a primarily anarcho-syndicalist, urban-dominated labor union, with a discourse of politics rooted in the First International – constructed a political discourse of freedom that is decidedly leftist. In the second section, I argued that the Spanish anarchist movement – and, specifically, the urban/rural division within the movement – was itself the consequence of a long process of dialectical interaction with the modern, governmentalized Spanish state; I examined the ways in which the political technologies of state power, and the political technologies of anarchist resistance, were profoundly inseparable and mutually constitutive. Then, in the third section, I discussed the ways in which the CNT imposed its political agenda on agrarian anarchist communities, framing its political project of ‘freedom’ in terms of total subordination to the union leadership’s vision of total collectivization; I also argued that the CNT in Aragón became a highly hierarchical, statist organization; finally, I described how several members of the CNT leadership even joined the Republican state, and refused to protect the anarchist collectives against violence from the CNT’s allies within the government. Thus, there was a clear continuity – both organizational and discursive – between the Republican state and the anarcho-syndicalist movement. Clearly, if urban Spanish anarchists had constructed a discourse of ‘freedom,’ that leftist discourse was entirely compatible with ‘freedom’ as a political technology of the Republican state.

Thus, when Hakim Bey asks: “Must we wait until the entire world is freed of political control before even one of us can claim to know freedom?” (Bey 2003, 96), his statement itself is indicative of the uneasy coexistence of two different discourses of ‘freedom’ within the anarchist movement. In the first, freedom is understood in the totalizing, teleological, and metaphysical terms in which it has been articulated in leftist discourse since the mid-19th century (for instance, Bakunin argues that “the anarchist social revolution... [is an] an elemental force sweeping away all obstacles” (Bakunin 1980, 325).) However, as Hakim Bey points out, this discourse has proven to be compatible with the political technologies of the state:

as soon as ‘the Revolution’ triumphs and the State returns, the dream and the ideal are *already* betrayed. I have not given up hope or even expectation of change – but I distrust the word *Revolution*. (Ibid, 98)

Bey’s goal in this text is to construct a second, post-leftist discourse of freedom that fundamentally breaks with leftism – and is as fractured, localized, and marginal as leftist discourse was powerfully ideological and totalizing.

Thus, I argue that we should examine the ways in which contemporary Spanish anarchist discourse – as well as contemporary American anarchist discourse – is a product of the tension between these two understandings of freedom. Contemporary Spanish anarchists are attempting to wrest the discourse of freedom from the control of the state, to recode it in post-leftist terms that signify something entirely different: autonomy from any kind of social, economic, or political control; autonomy from hierarchy and power altogether.¹⁰ Thus, in contemporary Spain, the anti-authoritarian movement is divided between traditional, leftist anarchists – especially, those of the CNT – who continue to follow this first discourse of freedom and liberation, and post-leftists, who – whether calling themselves anarchists, or ‘autonomists,’ or feminists, or

¹⁰ As we saw in the first section, Foucault would argue that this autonomy can only ever exist discursively; but this discourse is no less powerful or valid because of this fact.

hackers, or squatters – seek to recode the historical anarchist discourse of freedom into something fundamentally different.

However, to argue this is not to claim that there exists any sort of simple division between leftist and post-leftist anarchism; rather, contemporary, post-leftist discourse – as we saw in Bey’s argument above, and in David’s quote in the introduction – contains a powerful tension between these two ways of talking about freedom. Thus, when David refers to the squat movement as arguing that “there is no hope, there is no future, there’s no ability to fight” – and, again, when he argues that

we’re going to participate in a violent movement, because we want to be alive, and we want to maintain the idea of resistance. But it’s only an idea that we’re maintaining. We are not really resisting –

he is articulating this tension between a leftist discursive position that constructs freedom as a product of Revolution as a singular, totalizing, and teleological project of social transformation, and a post-leftist discursive position according to which

the slogan ‘Revolution!’ has mutated from tocsin to toxin... a nightmare where no matter how we struggle we never escape... that incubus the State, one State after another (Bey 2003, 97).

However, as the tone of David’s remarks indicates, this second discursive position is highly structurally tenuous: living in a society pervaded by the modern, governmentalized state – living in a society in which political discourse is profoundly based upon the assumption that ‘freedom’ cannot exist without the state – it has become increasingly difficult to articulate a fundamentally anti-authoritarian discourse of freedom.

Conclusion

Drawing on the arguments of social movements researchers – such as Charles Tilly, Sherry Ortner, and Wendy Welford – who have de-essentialized and unpacked the analytical category of the social movement, I have argued that the central project of this thesis is a decentering of the Spanish anarchist movement, and I have done so using Foucault's framework of governmentality.

First, I have decentered anarchism by demonstrating that the historical Spanish anarchist movement and the Spanish state are profoundly mutually constitutive. Methodologically, in the second section, I demonstrated this interrelation by tracing the genealogy of the Spanish anarchist movement, combining Foucault's theory of governmentality with the arguments of the Modernity/Coloniality school of Latin American historiography. Thus, I have argued that historical Spanish anarchism cannot be understood without examining the development of state technologies of governmentality in 19th-century Spain, which in turn is inseparable from the legacy of Spanish colonialism. Furthermore, through an examination of a case study of anarchist agrarian collectivization during the Spanish Civil War, I have demonstrated that the Civil War-era CNT leadership adopted an approach to political and economic organization that was fundamentally similar to that of the state.

Second, I have decentered anarchism by showing the examining the profound ideological divisions within the anarchist movement – thus allowing me to undermine historical anarchism's ultimately Marxian representation of itself as the heroic, always-already subaltern movement of

anti-state opposition. Thus, in the first section, I used the distinction between leftist and post-leftist anarchist discourse to demonstrate that historical, leftist anarchism is fundamentally totalizing, teleological, and ideological; then, in the fourth section, I theorized this ideological character of the historical leftist anarchist movement in terms of Foucault's theorization of freedom. Furthermore, in the second section, I outlined the contrast between the anarcho-syndicalism of Barcelonan industrial workers and the anarcho-communism of Andalucían landless laborers, and demonstrated how each of these two anarchist movements was shaped by its interactions with different articulations of the Spanish state. Finally, in the third section, I examined the impact of this division between these two forms of Spanish anarchism on the rural anarchist collectivization movement during the Spanish Civil War.

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