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**IRIS Summer Fieldwork Award, 2018 – Research summary**

The IRIS Summer Fieldwork Award enabled me to travel to the International Institute of Social History (IISH) in Amsterdam during July and August 2018 to conduct research for my dissertation: *Planning Anarchy: Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalist Intellectuals and the Fate of Interwar Industrial Democracy (1918-1939)*. I investigate how a handful of intellectuals with ties to the massive anarcho-syndicalist labor union in Spain, the National Confederation of Labor (CNT), attempted to adapt anarchists' notions of stateless popular sovereignty to the economic realities of Spanish modernization during the Interwar period. Thanks to the award, I accessed the single largest archive of the CNT and analyzed sources from the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), during which the union led a revolution in eastern Spain. At the IISH, I researched a critical moment in my historical narrative, when CNT intellectuals found themselves acting as policymakers from within and outside the Spanish state. They attempted to administer the Catalan and Aragonese economies under the union's control for the war effort against General Franco while institutionalizing long-cherished notions of radical industrial democracy.

I began my project with the intention of demonstrating why anarchists' ideas of stateless popular sovereignty appealed to millions of Spaniards during the Interwar period. I was interested in showing how CNT intellectuals communicated the viability of a stateless, communist society to workers and peasants while governments in Europe and America experimented with democratization and state-led efforts to direct from above industrializing economies. Previous research conducted in Spain and the United States, reliant on anarchist periodicals, limited my focus to the appeal of the alternate regime of political representation the CNT championed.

My findings at the IISH, based on official government and union sources rather than periodicals, however, have compelled me to reformulate my project's initial question and consider, instead, a more significant problem: the efforts made by CNT intellectuals to reconcile anarchists' notions of stateless popular sovereignty, which had elided any serious engagement with political economy, with the imperatives of an industrializing national economy in need of centralized coordination. At the IISH, the National Committee of the CNT and the National Committee of the CNT—Defense Section collections contain documents from the Ministries of Industry and Commerce, occupied by CNT policymakers from November 1936 to May 1937, projects for the organization of the electric industry, correspondence between the CNT and its representatives in the national, Catalan, and Aragonese governments, and the Confederal Economic Council (CEC), created in January 1938 to coordinate the industries controlled by the union. These sources shed light on how CNT policymakers had to rethink quickly anarchists' ideas about the economy and state during the Civil War. They increasingly understood Spain's economy as an interrelated whole—whereas they had previously seen economic relations exclusively through a social lens, through the conflict between the capitalist and the worker in isolated enterprises—whose functioning constituted an ineluctable problem in which the union and state had to intervene. Whereas CNT intellectuals preferred to debate internal union structures and decision-making norms in highly moralistic terms during the 1920s and early 1930s, the war forced them to adopt, rationalize, and balance top-down planning with grassroots participation in economic decision-making.

The Regional Committee of the Confederation of Catalonia and the Regional Committee of the Confederation of Catalonia—Legalizations and Economic-Juridical-Social Conflicts Section collections contain sources such as proposed laws, projects, decrees, and other official

documents produced by the Council of the Generalitat and its subsection, the Economic Council of Catalonia. These collections house official documents regarding the legalization of collectivized businesses and farms, the distribution of foodstuffs, the organization of the Federations of Industry for textiles, farming, and utilities, and correspondence between the Catalan CNT and the CEC. Such sources shed light on the regional interactions between consolidating industries controlled by the CNT and the union's decision-making bodies. Moreover, minutes from local union plenums and congresses reveal the ongoing negotiations between CNT policymakers and their movement's grassroots militants in carving out spheres of influence within the union-planned economy.

My dissertation's new direction was made possible by IRIS. Research conducted at the IISH will enable me to place CNT intellectuals' efforts alongside other modernizing experiments such as FDR's New Deal, Mussolini and Hitler's fascist corporatism, and Stalin's Five-Year Plans. As I continue my investigations, I will contextualize anarcho-syndicalists' hopes to realize a participatory and planned industrial democracy besides other democratic experiments such as the cooperative farming movement in the U.S. during the late 1930s and the German Social Democrats' plan for a publicly-managed economic democracy during the 1920s and 1940s.