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## **Anarchist geopolitics of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939): Gonzalo de Reparaz and the “Iberian Tragedy”**

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*Abstract: This paper addresses an early case in critical and anarchist geopolitics by analysing a body of work from Spanish geographer Gonzalo de Reparaz Rodríguez-Báez (1860-1939). After reconstructing the complex and contradictory figure of Reparaz, a scholar and activist who oscillated between very different political positions in his especially long and productive career, we focus on the geostrategic writings he produced for the anarchist journals, CNT, Fragua Social and Solidaridad Obrera during the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39. Our argument is twofold: first, in the ideological wanderings of Reparaz it is possible to identify some elements of coherence around the principles of Iberism, Federalism and Africanism as produced by the Spanish culture of that time. Second, the works he produced for the anarchist press in the last part of his life can provide important insights for present-day scholarship on critical, radical and anarchist geopolitics, especially on what an “anarchist geopolitics” might look like and which ways it can contribute to the largely debated problem of exiting the “territorial trap”. The case we present contributes to these debates by showing that an anarchist engagement with “geopolitics”, a term that Reparaz used sometimes at the end of his career, might draw on challenging clashes of civilization and “pure” identities, on questioning statist and administrative frameworks of analysis and on focusing more on grassroots activism than on providing advice for state strategies.*

**Key words:** Reparaz; Spanish Africanism; Iberism; Federalism; Anarchist Geopolitics

This paper analyses the contribution that the controversial geographer Gonzalo de Reparaz Rodríguez-Báez (1860-1939) may provide for present-day critical geopolitics. Reparaz had a complex and contradictory life trajectory and produced an outstanding number of publications — approximately 30 books — and, accordingly, an enormous number of press

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articles, which has been estimated to be no less than 6,000.<sup>1</sup> His oscillations between different political milieus — from conservative to anarchist — are the object of diverging judgements, and the only point on which the most important biographical papers agree is the fact that only further study can definitively clarify these problems.<sup>2</sup> The recent dissertation on his biography by Javier Anta-Ugarte, although accurate and well-documented, focuses mainly on the period 1860-1913, dedicating only an “epilogue” to the enormous activity in which Reparaz engaged from 1913 to 1939, which was the most prolific period of his life.<sup>3</sup>

A first attempt to fill this lacuna, this work aims at investigating Reparaz’s geopolitical works, with a special focus on his writings in the 1920s and 1930s and his collaboration with the anarchist press during the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39, during which the anarchists, organised as the *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* [National Workers’ Confederation] (CNT) and the *Federación Anarquista Ibérica* [Iberian Anarchist Federation] (FAI), were the protagonists of a wide movement of collectivization inspired by anarchist geographers’ Elisée Reclus and Pyotr Kropotkin ideas on decentralisation.<sup>4</sup> Today, the term anarchism indicates a quite heterogeneous range of ideas and practices: at Reparaz’s time, Spanish anarchism was directly inspired by the Anti-authoritarian international established in Saint-Imier in 1872 in opposition to Marxist centralism in the First International<sup>5</sup>. It was overwhelmingly driven by syndicalism and characterised by a wide adhesion in popular masses, as CNT members in 1936 were esteemed in around 1.5 million people. This constitutes an exception in anarchist history, though anarcho-syndicalism also exerted a strong attraction in popular masses in countries like Italy, Germany, Ukraine and Argentina at the end of World War First.<sup>6</sup> The definition of *Comunismo Libertario* [Anarchist Communism] released by the CNT Congress held in Zaragoza in May 1936 served as a base for the collectivisation performed in the following months in several regions of Spain.<sup>7</sup> Recent studies on the collectivized public services in Barcelona from 1936 to 1939 question current commonplaces on the market as more “efficient” than public services.<sup>8</sup> These experiences provide bases for the case posited by Anthony Ince about the possibility, for anarchist geographies, “to embed within territorial practices certain organisational functions and structures that are at once effective in building spaces of struggle and developing modes of organisation that prefigure future worlds”.<sup>9</sup>

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At the same time, Spanish anarchists had to undertake an armed defence of their revolution, seeking a difficult collaboration with the other Republican and antifascist forces.<sup>10</sup> At that time, geopolitics mainly identified a field of study overwhelmingly linked with the far right and especially with the Munich Institute of Geopolitics and the German journal *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, both run by geographer Karl Haushofer (1869-1946), an early collaborator of the Nazi regime,<sup>11</sup> or with the corresponding Italian journal *Geopolitica*, which was supportive of fascism.<sup>12</sup> The word “geopolitics” was coined by Swedish Political Scientist Rudolf Kjellén in 1899, but it is worth noting that authors who were considered the forerunners of modern geopolitics, such as Halford Mackinder (1861-1947) or Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904), generally did not use this term to describe their works<sup>13</sup>. Later, “the term ‘geopolitics’ attracted opprobrium, especially in the period leading up to the Second World War and thereafter”, even if it did not disappear completely from the Academy.<sup>14</sup> Only few decades later, between the 1970s and the 1980s, the works of Yves Lacoste in French-speaking milieus and Gearoid Ó Tuathail and Simon Dalby in the Anglophone milieu paved the way for the use of geopolitical conceptual tools for more progressive or even radical research agendas. Today, “the term ‘geopolitics’ is a covering word that over the last hundred years has diffused beyond particularly modest origins to become a popular name for a variety of forms of thought and practice”.<sup>15</sup> This process of diversification was favoured by “the end of superpower rivalry, which had been the containing territorial structure of (geo)political thought for over 40 years .... It was in the context of the rethinking of power that this critique gained pace and gradually acquired the label ‘critical geopolitics’.”<sup>16</sup> The complex, polysemic and contradictory use of the term in current debates has been recently highlighted and reclaimed by geographers in different ways<sup>17</sup> while also acknowledging the difficult genealogies of critical geopolitics intended “as a vast and complex field pointing away from the historical meaning of ‘geopolitics’ and thus of interrupting the genealogy of the original term with its overtones of naturalism and exceptionalism”.<sup>18</sup>

From 1936 to 1939, Reparaz wrote a large number of articles on geopolitical issues (although he rarely used the term)<sup>19</sup>, together with a diary and other commentaries on the Spanish Civil War, for the major anarcho-syndicalist journals *CNT* (Madrid), *Solidaridad Obrera* (Barcelona) and *Fragua Social* (Valencia), in which he linked the anti-fascist struggle with

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the aforementioned process of collectivization, which Reparaz considered the “Iberian Revolution”.<sup>20</sup> For the first time, this paper analyses this part of Reparaz’s production. Our main argument is that Reparaz’s case can provide a contribution to some of the new developments of critical geopolitical studies, i.e., a geopolitical reflection independent of the state as the privileged framework of analysis, or, according to Colin Flint and Virginie Mamadouh, “the challenge of finding a voice for a critical and analytical geopolitics to counter the geopolitics of statecraft.”<sup>21</sup>

According to Klaus Dodds, Merje Kuus and Joanne Sharp, present-day critical geopolitics “directly challenge[s] the conventional demarcations of foreign and domestic, political and non-political, state and non-state ... in particular, much of critical geopolitics challenges the statist conceptions of power in the social sciences. It argues that spatiality is not confined to territoriality, either historically or today. .... This broadens the analysis beyond the state, so that the state is no longer the primary or pre-given unit of analysis”<sup>22</sup> in order to exit the “territorial trap” that critical geopoliticians have highlighted since the 1990s.<sup>23</sup> More recently, several authors debated new implications of this “trap”<sup>24</sup>, generally agreeing that the problem is not territory but simplified readings of it, e.g. the assumption “that the quintessential state of International Relations is simply and straightforwardly a territorial entity.”<sup>25</sup> In this debate, emphasis was put on the raising of normative sovereignties on territories beyond the state,<sup>26</sup> and the category which can be best matched by Reparaz’s case is that of “geopolitical anomalies”, addressed by Fiona McConnell and defined as a very heterogeneous complex of “dependencies, micro-states, internationalised and leased territories, stateless nations and de facto states”<sup>27</sup> including diasporic communities and organisations without a bounded territoriality, such as the FAI as we explain below. Furthermore, Stuart Elden argues that “one way out of the territorial trap ... is a historical investigation of how it came about”<sup>28</sup>. Reparaz and the Spanish anarchists were an example in studying (physical and ethnic) geographies beyond statist frameworks, and their activism provides insights on the necessity of challenging the territorial trap from below, i.e. working on the prefiguration of a new society.

Reparaz's case can also fit the definition of "anti-geopolitics" used by Paul Routledge as a field of study that "represents an assertion of permanent independence from the state, whoever is in power",<sup>29</sup> though it is more likely to be defined as "radical geopolitics" or "subaltern geopolitics". According to Julien Mercille, the first draws on tendencies towards "deeper engagements with politics and activism"<sup>30</sup> while the second, according to Joanne Sharp, addresses "subaltern imaginaries that offer creative alternatives to the dominant (critical) geopolitical scripts. The concept of subaltern makes a direct reference to postcolonial notions of power relations, suggesting a position that is not completely other, resistant or alternative to dominant geopolitics, but an ambiguous position of marginality"<sup>31</sup>. Studying Reparaz's geopolitical writings also helps avoid a "teleological reading of the past"<sup>32</sup> by showing the non-linear nature of the historical "evolution" of critical ideas in geopolitics. Reparaz was surely an author writing from the margins, politically and geographically. Indeed, his work stimulates reflection on the dialectics between state and non-state geopolitics, reflecting the complicated relations between the CNT-FAI and the Republican government during the Civil War, also providing a contribution to recent work on the geographies of anti-fascism<sup>33</sup> and joining the calls of several authors to avoid Anglo-American centrism and drawing on a plurality of experiences.<sup>34</sup>

Finally, we argue that, although sometimes contradictory and containing conceptual elements unacceptable to present-day critical tendencies, Reparaz's geopolitical writings can provide elements to challenge euro-centric visions of the "clash of civilisations" and views on the "Christian West"<sup>35</sup>. They also anticipate some features of present-day post-statist and anarchist geographies<sup>36</sup> by addressing people's self-organisation in a situation of international conflicts. In this sense, they can surely contribute to anarchist geopolitics and existing studies on radical and subaltern geopolitics.

Apart from this introduction and the conclusions, our paper will be divided into three parts. In the first part, we present a bio-bibliographical sketch of Reparaz and his approximation to Iberian anarchism. In the second part, we analyse Reparaz's ideas on the relationships between geography and politics, namely on Africanism, Federalism and Iberism which led him, in the 1920s and 1930s, to increasingly radical views on Islam, colonial expansion in

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Morocco and the civilizational aspects of the “Iberian tragedy”. Finally, we analyse his geopolitical writings for the anarchist press from 1936 to 1939, which allowed him to be definitively acknowledged by the anarchist movement as “one of ours”<sup>37</sup> after his death in 1939, at the beginning of the exile in Mexico he shared with other CNT militants.

### *1. Reparaz’s early thought and approximation to anarchism*

Gonzalo de Reparaz was born in Porto (Portugal) to a Spanish musician, Antonio de Reparaz-Cruz, and Rosario Rodríguez-Báez de Imaz, in 1860.<sup>38</sup> There, Gonzalo started as a journalist and was one of the founders of the Commercial Geographical Society. In 1881, he moved to Madrid, where he mainly lived until 1899, becoming a professional journalist, collaborator and even director of several periodicals. He then joined the *Institución de Libre de Enseñanza* (Free Educational Institution, henceforth ILE), one of the most influential liberal projects for educational innovation in Spain, where he worked as a geography teacher. The contact with the ILE’s intellectual circles can also explain his early familiarity with the work of Elisée Reclus, whose *New Universal Geography* was partially translated by Reparaz<sup>39</sup>. Besides, in this progressive environment, Reparaz joined the circle circuit of Spanish “Africanists”, a movement where Reparaz would attain a leading position<sup>40</sup>. Reparaz joined the Madrid Geographical Society (1882) and was one of the founders of the Spanish Society of Africanists and Colonists (1883) and the Spanish Society of Commercial Geography (1885). Meanwhile, he published his first books on colonial topics, such as *España en África* (Spain in Africa, 1891) and *La Guerra de Cuba* (The Cuba War, 1896). Nevertheless, his positions were critical: Reparaz supported the autonomy of the Cuban colony and even suggested the possibility of granting its independence. His critiques of governmental politics led him to be imprisoned for several days; he was tried but ultimately acquitted.

In 1900, Reparaz was appointed advisor of the Spanish ambassador in France, Francisco León y Castillo, and remained in this position until 1907. In this function, Reparaz worked mainly to define the numerous agreements France and Spain stipulated to delineate their respective spheres of influence in Africa. In 1901, Reparaz’s son, Gonzalo de Reparaz-Ruiz (1901-1984), also a geographer, was born in Paris. In 1907, shortly after publishing *Política de España en África* (Spanish Politics in Africa), Reparaz was appointed as Special

Commissioner of the Spanish government in the Kingdom of Morocco with the task of defining the possible areas of Spanish influence there. He lived in Tangier until 1911. In this same year, he was removed due to his political positions, which targeted a “pacific penetration” in opposition to the option of Morocco’s military invasion. Reparaz then began a voluntary exile of almost ten years, including long stays in Argentina and Brazil when, paradoxically, he collaborated with the Germanophile press during World War I. These nomadic experiences led Reparaz to define himself a “wandering geographer” in his three-volume autobiography *Aventuras de un geógrafo errante* (Adventures of a wandering geographer, 1920-22). Military expeditions in Morocco had provoked anarchist antimilitarist riots in Spain from the Second Melillan campaign (or “Melilla War”) in 1909: in 1936, these uprisings were claimed by Reparaz to show that the Spanish proletariat did not bear the responsibility of the colonial choices of its government, as we explain in the last section.

In 1921, Reparaz returned to Spain and settled in Barcelona, where he lived until 1931. There, he continued his intense journalistic and editorial activity, collaborating with numerous journals and publishing around twenty books. Some of them addressed issues of scientific geography such as *La derrota de la civilización* (The Defeat of Civilisation, 1921), *La Constitución natural de España y las de papel* (The Natural Constitution of Spain and the Paper Ones, 1928), *Geografía y política* (Geography and Politics, 1929). Others were brochures for popular education printed by a militant publisher like *Nuestra casa solariega* (Our Ancestral House, 1930). This editorial evolution accounts for Reparaz’s gradual approximation to anarchism, a process where we can mention several elements of coherence with his background. First, his early familiarity with Reclus’s writings, which were particularly appreciated in the ILE milieus. Second, the specific signification that the idea of Iberism assumed from the 1870s to the 1930s. According to M.C. Talvikki-Chanfreau, the Iberist movement was influenced by federalist authors such as Reclus and Proudhon and constituted a threat for the territorial and dynastic integrity of both Spanish and Portuguese states. This meant that “peninsular solidarity” was a challenge to conservative and clerical milieus, consistently with the fact that, in the 1920s, “it was the [anarcho]syndicalists who realised the idea of a fraternal alliance among peninsular peoples through the creation of the Iberian Anarchist Federation [FAI] and the Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth [FIJL]”.

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<sup>41</sup> This explains not only Reparaz's progressive interest in anarchism, but also the de facto alliance between anarchists and Catalan and Basque nationalists during the Civil War. Third, Reparaz was popular among anarchist milieus, traditionally attracted by intellectuals willing to publish "for the people", after the examples of Reclus and Kropotkin.

At the beginning of the Civil War Reparaz, deceived by all the other political forces and facing serious economic difficulties due to the loss of his journalistic collaborations, accepted an appointment to write for *CNT*, declaring his definitive adhesion to anarchism. If some studies suggest that long-lasting opportunism lay behind Reparaz's political choices,<sup>42</sup> the sources we analysed confirm, on the contrary, the opinion of Anta-Ugarte, who argues that "Reparaz's anarchism was not a tactician's option ... but the result of an intellectual and ideological conviction".<sup>43</sup> Anta-Ugarte has also discussed the reasons for this intellectual evolution between the 1920s and 1930s by analysing Reparaz's acquaintance with opponents of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship (1923-30) and his sharing of anarchist principles such as federalism and Iberism. Indeed, the FAI was founded in 1927 on an Iberian and not a Spanish basis and included Portuguese militants. Furthermore, the traditional anarchists' "frontal opposition to Spanish expansionism in Morocco [matched] Reparaz's opposition to militarist colonisation."<sup>44</sup> Some biographical details confirm this idea, such as Reparaz's unwillingness to keep all the money he was offered by the CNT for his newspaper articles for himself because "Reparaz proposed to dedicate a substantial part of the money the CNT gave to him for the creation a popular university"<sup>45</sup>. Last, but not least, Reparaz saw in the anarchist movement and its revolutionary ideals the only possibility of refunding Spain following his own federalist projects, once he concluded that it was not possible to accomplish them through moderate Republicanism.

## *2. Africanism, Federalism and Iberism; an Iberian geo-history*

This section presents the conceptual framework of Reparaz's politico-geographical thought. Despite his often-changing political ideas, Reparaz maintained some elements of coherence in his scholarly contents. The intellectual and political contexts of the construction of these ideas help in understanding Reparaz's later evolution toward anarchism, and can explain how

his early interest in Africa led him to become an advocate of the Moroccan cause during the Civil War.

### *2.1 An approach to a peninsular politics*

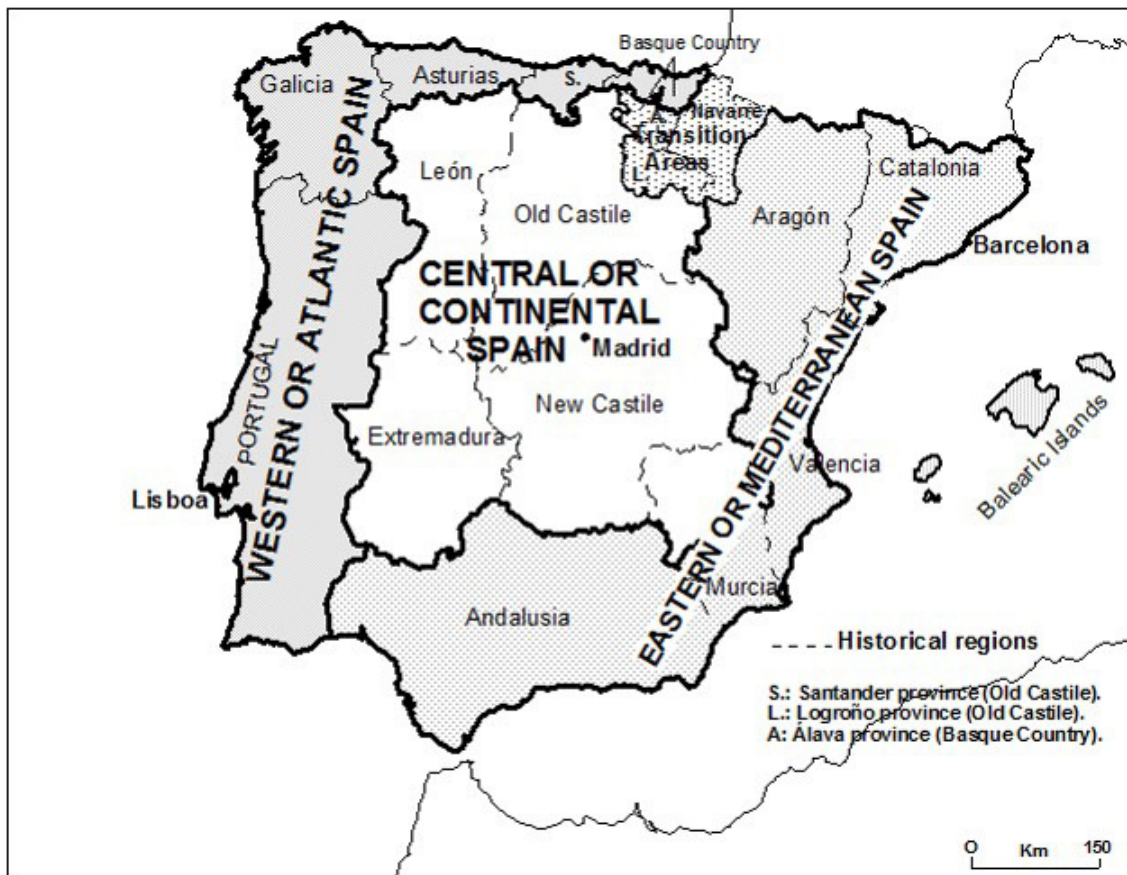
Reparaz's geographical views were inspired by classical European geographers such as Friedrich Ratzel and especially Reclus<sup>46</sup>. Since his early career, he had followed the French anarchist geographer, whom he never ceased to admire and with whom he was said to have been personally in touch. Reparaz defined geography as "the study of nature" and considered it an indispensable instrument to understand the history of nations and civilisations. According to Reparaz, these concepts are the results of the adaptations of human groups to their "sceneries" or "geographic homes". Similar to some classical environmental determinism, Reparaz argued that each nation had a "destiny" or historical mission and that its success in international politics largely depends on its capacity to correctly interpret the "path" that nature has indicated. Reparaz wrote that "in his struggle with his scenery, man [sic] is neither slave nor completely free. He is a collaborator of nature, which he can lead but not contradict. If he revolts, he succumbs"<sup>47</sup>. Drawing on these postulates, Reparaz abundantly addressed the empires and states of his day, although most of his papers analysed colonial issues in Africa.

For Reparaz, another key topic was so-called "Iberian" or "peninsular" politics. The geographer was a strong supporter of Iberism, positing that the Iberian Peninsula formed a natural unity beyond the national divisions (Spain and Portugal) and supporting the political (re)unification of the different Iberian nations<sup>48</sup>. Therefore, Reparaz often considered Portugal to be part of his federalist project. "In the Peninsula, he argued, there is nothing more than Spain, or if you prefer Spains"<sup>49</sup>. Reparaz's original contribution, we would argue, was his work on the interconnectedness of Iberism, Africanism and federalism. These three topics, though evolving constantly, constitute a nucleus of coherence in the complex and contradictory political trajectories of Reparaz, which are characterised by radical changes and oscillations between opposite positions that some critics have defined ironically as an attempt of "squaring the circle"<sup>50</sup>. Indeed, Reparaz showed some sympathy for the right-wing movement *Action française* in his 1921 book *La Derrota de la civilización* [The Defeat of

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Civilisation] a few years before joining ranks with militant anarchism and after having adhered to both progressive and moderate liberalism, including sympathies for Catalan regionalism.

In 1929, Reparaz published his book *Geografía y política* [Geography and Politics] with the significant subtitle “25 lessons in naturalistic history”. Among other topics, he discusses his theory of the three Spains: “Central or Continental Spain” (basically corresponding to the Meseta regions), “Eastern or Mediterranean Spain” and “Western or Atlantic Spain”, whose main part was Portugal<sup>51</sup> (Fig. 1). Reparaz considered Central Spain a “passive region” due to what he called “decadence”, i.e. depopulation and progressive marginalization from the international circuits of economy and diplomacy. On the contrary, the other two Spains (also called “Maritime and Peripheral Spains”) were considered as the “active regions”, i.e. more dynamic peninsular centres for economic and demographic growth. The geographer argued that the main problem of Spain was that its political and territorial organisation did not “fit” its geographical structure. Not only, he lamented, did the state adopt a centralist model that clashed with the peninsula’s natural and cultural diversity, but its politico-administrative capital was also located in the central region, which Reparaz considered less suitable for modern economic activities. “Spain’s paper constitutions”, he argues, “turned their back on its natural constitution”.<sup>52</sup> Spain’s “decadence” was thus deemed a result of castellan-centrism (or as Reparaz called it, “Tibetanism”), which was said to have characterised Spanish politics since the reign of Philip II.



**Fig. 1. The “three Spains” envisaged by Gonzalo de Reparaz (Source: own elaboration from Reparaz’s Geografía y Política, 1929; and Nuestra casa solariega, 1930)**

According to Reparaz, the Iberian Peninsula presents a number of obstacles to national development and cohesion, such as a fragmented orography, the absence of navigable rivers in the Meseta and the weakness of natural routes between the Meseta and the peripheral regions. However, what Reparaz deemed worse than natural constraints was the ineptitude of Spanish rulers who, since the sixteenth century, were unable to correctly understand the “natural” vocation of the country. According to Reparaz, these mistakes had negative consequences for the nation, such as the loss of Gibraltar (a key area for geopolitical control of the region) in 1704, the separation from Portugal in 1640 and the establishment of Madrid as the capital in 1561: “Madrid, a poor city far from all the paths through which life circulates, is unfit to lead and unwilling to be led.”<sup>53</sup> Reparaz’s proposals to rethink the

Iberian peninsula through the three interconnected notions of Africanism, Federalism and Iberism also came from this assessment.

For Reparaz, Africanism meant the purpose of a more active Spanish presence in Africa, especially in Morocco, not in military terms but as a peaceful and commercial settlement.<sup>54</sup> For that, Reparaz argued that the control of the two sides of the Strait of Gibraltar had to be the main geostrategic task for national security and for returning Spain to a major role in international politics. After the loss of its overseas empire (Philippines, Guam, Marianas, Carolinas, Puerto Rico and Cuba, having been lost in 1898-99), a presence in Morocco would have given to Spain a new “historical mission”. According to Reparaz, this “natural mission” consisted of providing a bridge between two continents (Europe and Africa), two seas (Mediterranean and Atlantic) and two civilisations (Christianity and Islam)<sup>55</sup>.

The other two elements, Iberism and Federalism, are strictly interconnected in Reparaz’s thought. Reparaz criticised both Spanish centralism and Basque and Catalan separatism, and proposed the transformation of the state in a federation of the “Iberian Peninsula’s historical-geographical districts”<sup>56</sup> or, as he said in his anarchist period, a “confederation of Iberian Socialist Republics”.<sup>57</sup> This Iberian federation was considered by Reparaz to be the best form to accommodate “the fragmented geography of the peninsula”.<sup>58</sup> As Reparaz wrote in 1928: “[Geography] made the peninsula an ensemble of different districts that are mutually complementary and that cannot fuse together nor split up. These different but inseparable districts produced historical nationalities with different characters, languages and traditions. Our ancestors fixed the problem by confederating. Let’s learn the lesson and confederate again”.<sup>59</sup> Reparaz was rather vague on the politico-territorial divisions that should frame this confederation, although he generally argued that it should be a projection of his three “geographical Spains” and their respective national nuclei, which he considered to be Castilla (for continental Spain), Catalonia (for Mediterranean Spain) and Portugal (for Atlantic Spain). He believed that the participation of Portugal and Catalonia in peninsular politics and in the Africanist project was essential to avoiding a definitive “death” of the Spanish nation, which Reparaz deemed an entity engaged in decadence and “decomposition”. Albeit Reparaz is more known for his links with Catalan nationalists, he also expressed some sympathy for

the Basque cause “claiming for his maternal Euskara origins and his relations with Euskadi”<sup>60</sup> since his early career. Still in 1936, when Santander and the Basque provinces of Biscay and Guipúzcoa were isolated from the rest of Republican Spain by Franco’s army, Reparaz discussed a project of “Cantabrian” autonomy with a correspondent from Santander.<sup>61</sup>

As Reparaz explained in his recollections, salvation for Spain was in approaching Morocco through Catalonia and Portugal to “attenuate our Castilianism ... because the concept of Spain should not be limited to any part of it, but it should result from the ensemble of them all, each one with its natural attitudes”<sup>62</sup>. His activity as a Spanish diplomat was also defined as “peninsular approximation”, a task to which Reparaz was strongly committed politically and diplomatically. In his views, the first diplomatic step should have been granting Tangier to Portugal or at least sharing its control with the Portuguese. Reparaz proposed this solution to the Spanish ambassador in Paris, Fernando León y Castillo, during the negotiations for the 1902 Franco-Spanish boundary agreement, which was ultimately not ratified by the Spanish government. In the following years, Reparaz also attempted to propose this solution to the king of Portugal, Carlos I, although the king was murdered in 1908 before having the interview he had allegedly arranged with Reparaz. The second proposal, targeting the involvement of Catalonia in peninsular politics, was to transfer (either completely or partially) the state capital to Barcelona as well as to attract productive Catalan forces to the North African project of pacific colonisation. According to Reparaz, “Catalonia, and especially Barcelona, are the necessary medium for communication between Spain and Morocco thanks to their entrepreneurial spirit and their marine”<sup>63</sup>. Although keeping elements of continuity with his background, the positions of Reparaz were spectacularly radicalised during the 1930s, as we explain in the next sections.

## 2.2 “Berberia”, “Iberia” and the 1936 Tragedy

According to Anta-Ugarte, after his conservative turn around the First World War, Reparaz was increasingly close to the milieus of the opponents to José Primo de Rivera’s dictatorship in the 1920s. In these years, his book *Geografía y Política*, later endorsed by the CNT militants,<sup>64</sup> was an opportunity for Reparaz to express general ideas on the relationships between geography and politics. Despite the influence of some environmental determinism,

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Reparaz's originality was in drawing on hybrid connexions: one of them was a comparison between Russia and the complex Maghreb (or, more precisely, the Barbary region)-Iberia: the geographer considered the former to be the connexion between Europe and Asia and the latter the connection between Europe and Africa. For different reasons, these lands developed forms of primitive communism then questioned by "the thieves",<sup>65</sup> i.e., the landlords. If it was the case of the traditional community of the *mir* in Russia, well known by revolutionaries of Western Europe, then in the Iberian-Berber case, it was the traditional Kabyle village assembly of the *yemaa*. Reparaz considered these institutions to be a part of the "Iberian primitive social constitution"<sup>66</sup> as well as a part of the "many uses of Berbers ... which should be imitated by us, the civilizers".<sup>67</sup>

Once Reparaz joined ranks with the anarchist movement, in his writings during the Civil War, he wrote frequent critiques of European and especially Spanish imperialism in North Africa. Therefore, in one of the numerous writings he published for the anarchist press, Reparaz stated that in colonial contexts, "the verbs 'to civilize' and 'to steal' are equivalent".<sup>68</sup> This sarcasm against the pretention of European civilizational supremacism was inserted in the tradition of anarchist geographers such as Reclus:<sup>69</sup> although Reparaz's positions apparently overlapped with the "berberophily" of some Spanish and French colonial milieus,<sup>70</sup> it is worth noting that Reparaz praised both Berber and Arab culture — for instance, presenting the Bedouin as the icon of the idea of a "free man".<sup>71</sup> Moreover, his idea of hybridity opposed the widespread rhetoric of European civilisation: "The books studied by the Spaniards say that Africa was barbarous, and Europe civilization — that we needed to have European civilization to civilise ourselves, and thus, we stupidly abandoned our main duty of Europe's instructors in long and glorious epochs",<sup>72</sup> i.e., the Muslim ones. Beyond some lingering Spanish chauvinism, what is striking is the assumption of contemporary decolonial arguments countering European universalism. Reparaz refused to identify Spain and Portugal with "Europe", which is deemed an adversary, because in his opinion the Iberian nations were not only colonisers but also colonised. This anticipates recent scholarship on the Portuguese "subaltern colonialism"<sup>73</sup>, which argues that the Portuguese empire was dependent in many aspects on the British. This can also match contemporary decolonial scholarship on the "geopolitics of knowledge", stressing the importance of knowledge' places

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and focusing on historical distinctions between Iberian and North-European colonialism in the Americas.<sup>74</sup> Anti-colonial categories were likewise applied by Reparaz during the Civil War of 1936-39, when the geographer declared that “Capitalism and colonialism are the same, from which one logically deduces that fascism and colonialism are also the same”.<sup>75</sup>

One of the most original points of Reparaz’s later writings was his attitude towards Morocco and the Islamic world, which followed his direct experience there before the Spanish military invasion of Morocco known as the “Rif War” (1911-1927). Although a part of the biographic literature considers him to have been a consistent “imperialist” throughout his life,<sup>76</sup> Reparaz’s writings in the 1930s show the complexity of his thinking and its evolution. Already in the 1910s, Reparaz was opposed to militarism and did efforts to prevent the Spanish armed intervention in Morocco on the occasion of the Second Melillan campaign, paying with his sacking by the Spanish government. After his 1936 “anarchist turn”, Reparaz claimed his efforts to prevent the military occupation of Morocco thirty years before. If this was clearly an attempt to claim coherence with his former positions, it is important to point out that what Reparaz called “pacific penetration”<sup>77</sup> (an ambiguous concept to contemporary scholarship) in the 1910s, was likely to inspire sympathies among anarchists and republicans in the 1930s. Indeed, the refuse of the republican governments to demilitarise Morocco was one of the factors which allowed Franco organising the military rebellion there. Therefore, anti-colonialism was an important option for anarchists: a Reparaz lecture on these topics, in a massive Barcelona meeting organised by the CNT on 17 January 1937, was endorsed by the attendants.<sup>78</sup>

Reparaz’s *La Tragedia Iberica* (The Iberian Tragedy), printed in a Barcelona collectivized workshop in 1938, was a sort of geo-history of the Iberian Peninsula expressing its author’s appraisal of the ancient melting-pot of “Iberians”, Arabs and Berbers. According to Reparaz, the terms Iberian and Berber have the same etymology: “*berber* and *iber* are synonymous”,<sup>79</sup> he argued, because they both mean “dark”.<sup>80</sup> Reparaz opposed their unity in the ancient caliphate of Cordoba to the Christian Reconquista, which the geographer condemned, arguing that “the Catholic Kings were Hitler’s forerunners”.<sup>81</sup> This comparison matched one of the most controversial concepts from Reparaz, i.e., his eulogy of a “Semitic race”, including

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(among others) Iberians, Berbers, Arabs and Jews, as opposed to “Aryan peoples” — basically, Germans, Romans and Anglo-Saxons, who were responsible for the imperialist colonisation of the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa since the Roman Empire. Thus, the “true spirit” of Iberia was believed to lie in these Semitic roots: anarchists at that time, such as the Italian intellectual and activist Luce Fabbri, criticised these views, arguing that it was dangerous to fight against fascism using similar intellectual tools such as the idea of race.<sup>82</sup> Nevertheless, Fabbri praised Reparaz’ good intentions in reversing Euro-centric visions by looking at Spain from the perspective of the Atlas mountains and not *vice versa* and arguing for the historical and human unity of Western Mediterranean, where “Europe and Africa stand in intimate contact and merge themselves”.<sup>83</sup> According to Fabbri, Reparaz’ merit was the attempt to identify “the wires that today linked Aragon communities and the Barcelona socialized economy with the deeper and most spontaneous traditions of Spain ... Not all these wires are authentic, but the basic intuition is.”<sup>84</sup>

However, when Reparaz used the word “race”, it appears to mean basically “people” and to refer to an alleged “spirit” of that people rather than to biological features, which was never evoked by the Spanish geographer to the best of our knowledge. Thus, Reparaz’ idea of race appears closer to some cultural essentialism than to any scientific racism or racialism. If this is equally unacceptable from the standpoint of present-day critical theory, it is true that Reparaz problematized these views with arguments that challenged scientific racism such as “pure races do not exist”<sup>85</sup> and acknowledging a geo-historical Mediterranean hybridity that likewise opposes fixities and classifications of “civilisation” that are discussed today by authors such as Samuel Huntington.<sup>86</sup> This sort of subaltern geo-history reread the history of Spain in anti-imperial ways considering that the true Iberian empire was not the American one, resulting in the oppression of Indios “as a new type of cattle”<sup>87</sup> while the gold and silver extracted by them “did not benefit Spain, but only a class of Spaniards”.<sup>88</sup> The true Iberian political realisation, according to Reparaz, was not the Spanish or Portuguese empires in America but the aforementioned caliphate of Cordoba, spreading science and literature at a time when “there was no European civilisation: the civilised were the Muslims”.<sup>89</sup> This statement shows strong similarities to contemporary de-colonial readings of Euro-centrism, which argue that Europe was never the unique centre of the world.<sup>90</sup> Finally, Reparaz

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considered the Reconquista to be a phenomenon inspired by the European (i.e., Aryan) people and extraneous to the Iberian traditions, which are better expressed by the persecuted (Jews and Muslims) than by the persecutors, i.e., the Catholic Kings who expelled the Jews “though [the Jews] were much more Spanish than their persecutors”.<sup>91</sup>

Pretensions of racial superiority are openly criticised in *Nuestra casa solariega* one of the short books for popular education that Reparaz published in Valencia at the beginning of the 1930s for the series *Cuadernos de Cultura* (Culture Notebooks), edited by the anarchist Marín Civera-Martínez. “The books that praise nationalist feelings and suggest to the reader that his homeland and his race are superior to all the others and that God had favoured them to be the centre of history are intellectual poison with nefarious consequences for those who assume it”.<sup>92</sup>

### 3. 1936-39: A red-and-black geopolitics

Reparaz’s ideas were considered relevant by the involved activists for the anti-fascist and revolutionary struggle that the CNT-FAI carried out during the 1936-39 war. In these years, Reparaz wrote no less than 180 papers for the anarchist press, together with the booklet *Lo que España pudo hacer en Marruecos y lo que hizo* (What Spain could do in Morocco and what it did) and the book *Diario de nuestra Guerra* (Diary of our War—where the author collects part of his *Solidaridad Obrera* articles), which were also published by the libertarian press.<sup>93</sup> In these Reparaz’s contributions, we find some topics that were recurrent in his former biography, such as the analysis of the geographical and political causes of the “national decadence” of Spain whose final act, according to Reparaz, was the Civil War. Therefore, Reparaz launched his proposals to overtake such decadence and rebuild the country: his views on the recent evolution of international geopolitics then became paramount in his political views, addressing especially the politics of the main European powers and the colonial questions. There are no major theoretical innovations in relation to the former steps of Reparaz’s thinking, though it is clear that in works such as *La tragedia ibérica* [The Iberian Tragedy], Reparaz updated his former reflections to fit them into the anarchist and revolutionary ideology which he then adopted. In this context, Reparaz defined anarchy not as the absence of government but as “the natural government”<sup>94</sup>. Starting from these

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premises, Reparaz claimed a revolution that returned to Iberia its “natural” constitution, based on Iberism and Federalism.<sup>95</sup>

However, the most important of Reparaz’s contributions in this period are dedicated to support the War, to serve the victory of the Republican faction and especially of the anarchist revolution. These contributions focus on two main tasks: a) the first, a propagandistic one, targeted the mobilisation of new supporters (external and internal ones) for the anarchist and Republican cause and for defeating the “Nationalist faction”; b) the second, a geostrategic one, consisted of providing the Republican army with suggestions and geographical advice to militarily defeat Franco and his allies. Reparaz’s main propagandist efforts were directed towards gaining the support of the Muslims, especially from Morocco, for the Republican cause. Reparaz argued that the reasons for the failure of the Spanish Second Republic and the origin of the war lay precisely in the wrong politics, which had been deployed in Morocco. This had entailed enormous economic and human losses (especially for the Rif War), a strong militarisation and the constitution of an important political lobby organised around the so-called “African Army”. In 1936, this colonial army, formed by Spanish troops and Moroccan soldiers, played a decisive role in the military uprising that provoked the civil war and allowed its continuation because most of its forces were transported from Morocco towards the peninsula using airplanes provided by the Italian and German governments. These facts turned into a tragic reality based on the forecast Reparaz had provided to the first President of the Second Republic, Niceto Alcalá-Zamora. In May 1931, in a report and a personal interview, Reparaz had suggested that “Don Niceto” demilitarise the Spanish protectorate in Morocco to “extirpate from Morocco the cancer that will kill the Republic” as it had previously “killed the Monarchy” of Alfonso XIII.<sup>96</sup> In 1934, in another unpublished report for the Spanish government, whose Prime Minister was Ricardo Samper, Reparaz concluded, according to his 1936 version, that “the only sensible policy for Spain in Africa is to prepare the Moroccans for autonomy”<sup>97</sup>.

The fact of having promoted nationalist and racist propaganda against the colonial troops of Moroccans soldiers gathered by Franco is considered today to be one of the most disastrous mistakes of the Republican faction. Nevertheless, a reading of the anarchist press of 1936-39

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shows that the anarchists were most committed to creating an internationalist alliance between European and African workers to defeat fascism. Even prior to the beginning of the war, the CNT Congress held in Zaragoza in May 1936 had requested that anarchist activists living in Morocco work for this “revolutionary alliance” and sought a dialogue with Moroccan anti-colonial nationalists.<sup>98</sup> One of the most active militants of this area, Ben Krimo (pseudonym of Léon Azerrat Cohen), a Jewish anarchist from Tangier who was also empathetic to Arab and Berber culture, was one of the collaborators of the journal *CNT*. Reparaz considered propaganda work in Morocco to be the first geopolitical challenge to win the war. The geographer witnessed the “Spanish-Moroccan Anti-Fascist Association”, led by the Palestinian Communist Mustafa Ibn Jala,<sup>99</sup> being founded in his Madrid house on September 20<sup>th</sup> 1936. He complained that, months later, the Republican government, headed by the socialist Francisco Largo-Caballero, imprisoned the members of this group.<sup>100</sup> Meanwhile, Reparaz and Krimo were the authors of a series of newspaper and radio appeals addressed to the Moroccan and Arab people in Spanish and Arabic, which was published in *CNT* on 12 and 15 September 1936. In these appeals, Reparaz talked to “all Islam, and particularly to the Muslims from Northern Morocco”, proposing an alliance to “reconstruct the Iberian-Moroccan Spain to which Europe owes its civilisation”. The common task for this proposed coalition was to “defeat these evils that enslaved you and then threw you out of your land to make you fight against your Spanish brothers”. Here, Reparaz recalled the numerous anti-colonial riots that Spanish anarchists promoted against Moroccan wars in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to show that the invasion of Morocco was done “against the will of your Spanish brothers, who rose up several times against that”.<sup>101</sup> Dozens of similar appeals followed in *CNT*, *Solidaridad Obrera* and *Fragua Social* in the coming months. These attempts were frustrated not only by the material difficulty of the task but also by the refusal to grant independence to Morocco by the more moderate sectors of the Republican government, which feared losing the alleged “sympathies” of the French and British governments, which were opposed to any anti-colonial uprising in North Africa and the Arabic world.

Against this, Reparaz claimed the necessity of linguistic and trans-cultural skills siding with the Arab and Muslim people, believing that “the Islamic question, or the resurrection of

Islam, starts from the Gibraltar Strait and spans to Southern China. Our statist never imagined the geographical dimension of the Islamic question”.<sup>102</sup> Thus, in appealing to “all Islam, and especially my friends in Morocco,”<sup>103</sup> he did not hesitate to cite the Koran, which he considered “a democratic, almost libertarian book”<sup>104</sup> and to use formulas such as “in name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful”<sup>105</sup> by writing *As-salāmu ‘alaykum* in the title of the aforementioned paper from 15 September. It is ironic and not unproblematic that anticlericals such as Reparaz and the CNT leaders used these phrases and diffused bilingual leaflets (in Arabic and Spanish) through North Africa entitled *Praise to Allah the Unique*, which were then published in the Spanish anarchist press.<sup>106</sup> What is certain is that it is wrong to state that the Spanish anarchists reproduced European stereotypes by spreading anti-Arabic racism as authors such as Martin Baxmeyer claim: indeed, these scholars only consulted a limited part of the materials produced by the CNT-FAI in those years.<sup>107</sup>

In addition to these efforts focused on propaganda, Reparaz’s contribution to the anarchist press during the Civil War consisted of offering his geographical knowledge for the military tasks of the antifascist militias and the Republican army. “A general offensive on all fronts means impotence on all fronts. For that, we should have a superiority we do not have, and if we had it, the enemy would be already defeated. Strategy means an offensive on a weak but important point, with enough force to give a decisive coup to the enemy”.<sup>108</sup> The importance of geography for anarchist politics was likewise evoked by Reparaz with references that were impossible to misunderstand. “Do not forget that geography contains the scientific basis of anarchy. For this reason, in the foreword of one of his magnificent books, Elisée Reclus notices that in the mythologies of northern peoples, Freya is simultaneously the goddess of Land and of Freedom”.<sup>109</sup> The linguistic joke with the motto *Tierra y Libertad* was clear to the Spanish reader.

It is difficult to summarise the numerous geostrategic suggestions Reparaz gave during the war because they were adapted on a daily basis to the contingent situation on the fluctuating battlefronts and the successes and defeats of both sides. Nevertheless, we can identify a coherent series of principles that Reparaz stated during the first months when the conflict appeared open and the anarchists were especially enthusiastic and confident of their victory.

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Reparaz supported assigning more importance to a maritime war and the defence of maritime regions by concentrating most effort on what he deemed the “vital points” of the Peninsula: the Strait of Gibraltar, the “main way of the world” whose control had to be assured by collaboration with Moroccan people and the Balearic Islands, which were the “defensive dyke of the eastern littoral”.<sup>110</sup> Implicitly, the geographer already considered the third “vital point” of the peninsula, namely, the region of Lisbon and the Tajo’s estuary, to be lost considering the support that Salazar’s government was giving to Franco’s army.

However, the military uprising had taken the control of most of the Balearic Islands (Mallorca, Ibiza and Formentera), and the attempts of the Republican Army to rescue them between August and September 1936 failed. Consequently, Mallorca became an important aeronaval basis for Italian and pro-Franco troops, who could bomb Barcelona from these positions. Reparaz (who agreed with most anarchists) levelled harsh criticisms against the strategic decisions of the Republican Army: “The abandonment of Maiorca, Ibiza and Formentera was the worst blunder of our Tibetanism.”<sup>111</sup> In the author’s metaphorical and complicated language, this definition identified the bad habit of overlooking the importance of maritime geopolitical scenarios. Thus, the best defence for the besieged city of Madrid was to engage in “war at sea [with] airplanes, submarines and rapid war ships”.<sup>112</sup> Here, the problem was the dramatic inferiority of the Republican Army in terms of the navy and air force, while Franco was supported by Germany and Italy, which provided all types of modern weapons because they understood that “the first is to dominate the sea”.<sup>113</sup>

As to the terrestrial war, the first principle stated by Reparaz was that “the one who manoeuvres wins”.<sup>114</sup> The geographer highlighted the strategic importance for the Republican Army to lock and control the frontier with Portugal, to cut the aid that Salazar’s government was sending to Franco’s army and to counter Franco’s advancement from Extremadura towards Madrid.<sup>115</sup> Likewise, Reparaz considered it fundamental to seize the two cities of Zaragoza and Cordoba, strategic points in the valleys of the Ebro and Guadalquivir Rivers, respectively, which he deemed “the key to the definitive triumph of the people of Spain. Let us concentrate all our efforts there”.<sup>116</sup> At the beginning of the war, Zaragoza was besieged for a long period by the most prestigious anarchist military unity, the legendary *Columna*

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*Durruti* (later 26<sup>th</sup> Division); taking this city would have allowed the fragmented Republican sector to reunify Catalonia with Asturias and the Basque country, thereby swamping the conservative strongholds of Pamplona and Burgos, whereas controlling Cordoba would have allowed recovery of the plain of Seville, cutting the fascists off from their rear-guard in Morocco.<sup>1</sup>

Although Reparaz's adhesion to anarchism occurred late in his life, in 1936, his geopolitics matched some of the ideas of the most radical anarchists. He argued that one of the worst blows that the Iberian Revolution received was "the governors' decision to not give arms to the people in July [1936]".<sup>117</sup> Consistently, Reparaz claimed for the guerrillas in the areas occupied by Franco's army and for distributing "rifles to peasants because they can help us take the land, which has to be for them".<sup>118</sup> If one considers these elements, it is possible to appreciate the anarchist features of Reparaz "geo-strategy". Between 1936 and 1937, the choice anarchists had to do between maintaining the popular militias and enrolling in the official Republican army corresponded to the dilemma between anti-fascist war and social revolution.<sup>119</sup> In 1936, Reparaz matched the more radical positions arguing that war and revolution were inseparable, suggesting not to be dupe of the "English committee for non-intervention, whose real objective is to subjugate our revolution".<sup>120</sup> Instead of seeking (in vain) international reconnaissance as the legitimate government of Spain, Reparaz suggested buying airplanes and warships in the countries which did not apply the embargo towards Spain, such as Mexico and Czechoslovakia. The money had to be provided by the gold reserves of the Bank of Spain that CNT militias were ready to seize before giving up this plan to strengthen the anti-fascist alliance with the most moderate Republican sectors. For Reparaz, the help of international proletariat would have been useful "if they do in the respective nations what we did here: the social revolution"<sup>121</sup>. Voluntarism, internationalism, popular militia and self-management were thus the anarchist aspects of his geo-strategy.

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<sup>1</sup> See map at website: <http://www.gifex.com/detail-en/2009-12-08-11359/Evolution-of-the-Spanish-Civil-War-1936-1939.html>

## *Conclusion*

This paper has shown the complex relations between knowledge and power, which characterised what might be considered early anarchist geopolitics. By this definition, we do not refer to the mere deconstruction of hegemonic discourses but the attempts to link geographical knowledge with a movement supporting social transformation that eventually included dealing with the relations between social revolution and “anti-fascist war”. Although affected by some elements that are clearly outdated and even unacceptable to present-day critical thinking, such as a certain civilizational essentialism and an ambiguous use of racialist categories, Reparaz’s attempts provide some insight for present-day critical geopolitics: first, the possibility of thinking geopolitics, and its “anomalies”, outside statist frames and territorial normativity<sup>122</sup>. If we do not find a clear theoretical elaboration on this point in Reparaz’s work and if it would be anachronistic to seek it, we nevertheless find elements of criticism towards the territorialized state, expressed mainly by mobilising the (physical, ethnic or historical) arguments of geography against state reason, or at least beyond it. Second, consistent with the tradition of anarchist geographers, Reparaz’s work provides an example of engaged scholarship that was produced outside universities, which he considered the “makers of parasites”<sup>123</sup>. This suggests the idea that academic engagement is not sufficient to practice an anarchist geopolitics, which should be substantiated by grassroots activism. Third, Reparaz’s case furnishes a hybrid geo-history of the relations between Europe, Africa and the Islamic world, which helps scholars reflect on current essentialist visions of the clash of civilisations.

Although Reparaz’s positions were clearly closer to a sort of humanitarian colonialism for most of his life, his critiques of the Spanish colonial policy, either in Morocco or in Cuba, matched some points of traditional anarchist anti-colonialism.<sup>124</sup> In fact, his “Afro-Iberianist” ideas supported a geopolitical proposal based on a cultural synthesis and a voluntarist confederation of Berber and Iberian peoples across the Mediterranean within the framework of a “libertarian, confederal and collectivist” project<sup>125</sup> rather than any territorialized strategy. This paper has shown several elements of consistency between these ideas, exposed in Reparaz’s “anarchist period”, and the Iberist roots of his thinking. Moreover, in his last years, his opposition to a “military and financial” or “Christian, proselytizing and



belligerent”<sup>126</sup> penetration evolved toward progressive anti-colonialist thought, calling for the “retreat of the [Spanish] occupation army”<sup>127</sup> from Morocco. Contemporary experiences often compared to the Spanish one, especially the Rojava case, are showing the problems and contradictions of possible anarchist and non-statist geopolitics, but also their fascinating openings for present-day debates.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Pich-Mitjana, J. Pastrana-Piñero, J. Contreras-Ruiz, ‘La cuadratura del círculo. Gonzalo de Reparaz Rodríguez-Báez (Porto, 1860-México, 1939) y su defensa del imperialismo español’, *Illes i Imperis*, 17 (2015, p. 161). The most complete inventory of Reparaz’s publications has been made by I. Soriano Jimenez, ‘El archivo de Gonzalo de Reparaz’, *Documents d’Anàlisi Geogràfica*, 34 (1999), pp. 211-227.

<sup>2</sup> J. García-Álvarez, ‘Sociedad y medio ambiente en la obra de un geógrafo iberista: Gonzalo de Reparaz Rodríguez (1860-1939)’, in M. Frolova, ed., *Relación entre la sociedad y el medio ambiente en la geografía moderna* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2016), pp.225-240; and Pich, Pastrana and Contreras, ‘La cuadratura del círculo’.

<sup>3</sup> J. Anta-Ugarte, *Gonzalo de Reparaz: Intelectual Errante* (PhD Dissertation), Universitat de Barcelona, 2016.

<sup>4</sup> M. Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain: Anarchism and the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women* (Indianapolis: Indiana University press, 1991); M.M. Breitbart, *The Theory and Practice of Anarchist Decentralism in Spain, 1936-1939* (PhD Dissertation), Worcester, Clark University, 1978; M.D. Garcia Ramon, ‘The Shaping of a Rural Anarchist Landscape: Contributions from Spanish Anarchist Theory’, *Antipode*, 10-11 (Dec. 1978), pp. 71–82.

<sup>5</sup> R. Graham, *We Do Not Fear Anarchy—We Invoke It. The First International and the Origins of the Anarchist Movement* (Oakland: AK Press, 2015).

<sup>6</sup> L. Van der Walt and M. Schmidt, *Black flame: the revolutionary class politics of anarchism and syndicalism* (Oakland: AK Press, 2009).

<sup>7</sup> CNT, *El Congreso Confederal de Zaragoza 1936* (Madrid, CNT, 1978). English translation: <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/the-confederal-concept-of-libertarian-communism>

<sup>8</sup> S. Gorostiza, H. March and D. Sauri, ‘Servicing customers in revolutionary times: the experience of the collectivized Barcelona Water Company during the Spanish Civil War’, *Antipode*, 45 (June 2012), pp. 908-925.

<sup>9</sup> A. Ince ‘In the shell of the old: anarchist geographies of territorialisation’, *Antipode*, 44 (Aug 2012), p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> J. Peirats, *The CNT in the Spanish Revolution* (Oakland: PM Press, 2011).

<sup>11</sup> T.J. Barnes, C. Abrahamsson, ‘Tangled Complicities and Moral Struggles: the Haushofers, Father and Son, and the Spaces of Nazi Geopolitics’, *Journal of Historical Geography* volume 47 (Jan 2015), pp. 64-73.

<sup>12</sup> M. Antonsich, ‘*Geopolitica*: the “Geographical and Imperial Consciousness” of Fascist Italy’, *Geopolitics*, 14/2 (May 2009) pp. 256-277

<sup>13</sup> G. Kearns, *Geopolitics and Empire, the Legacy of Halford Mackinder* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

<sup>14</sup> K. Dodds, M. Kuus, J. Sharp, ‘Introduction: geopolitics and its critics’, in K. Dodds, M. Kuus, J. Sharp (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Critical geopolitics* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p. 1

Federico Ferretti & Jacobo Garcia-Alvarez, “Anarchist geopolitics of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939): Gonzalo de Reparaz and the ‘Iberian Tragedy’”, *Geopolitics* 2018, doi 10.1080/14650045.2017.1398143 [forthcoming]

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- <sup>15</sup> G. O Tuathail, 'Foreword', in K. Dodds, M. Kuus, J. Sharp, The Ashgate Research Companion, p. xix
- <sup>16</sup> K. Dodds, M. Kuus, J. Sharp, 'Introduction', p. 6.
- <sup>17</sup> V. Mamadouh, 'Reclaiming geopolitics: geographers strike back', Geopolitics 4/1 (Jan 1999) 118-138; J.D. Sidaway, V. Mamadouh and M. Power, 'Reappraising geopolitical traditions' in K. Dodds, M. Kuus, J. Sharp, The Ashgate Research Companion, pp. 165-187
- <sup>18</sup> J. Agnew, 'The Origins of Critical Geopolitics', in K. Dodds, M. Kuus, J. Sharp, The Ashgate Research Companion, p. 27
- <sup>19</sup> It is the case with a series of six papers published in *CNT* and subtitled "The external causes of our war. Short essay if geo-politics" (*CNT*, 27-11-1937, 29-11-1937, 1-12-1937, 10-12-1937, 8-1-1938 and 1-3-1938). However, in Reparaz's works, there is no theoretical definition of the concept "geo-politics".
- <sup>20</sup> *CNT*, 8 January 1939. All quotations from texts in Spanish, Italian and French have been translated by the authors.
- <sup>21</sup> C. Flint and V. Mamadouh, 'The Multi-Disciplinary Reclamation of Geopolitics: New Opportunities and Challenges', Geopolitics, 20/1 (Feb. 2015), p. 2.
- <sup>22</sup> K. Dodds, M. Kuus, J. Sharp, 'Introduction', 7-8.
- <sup>23</sup> J. Agnew, 'The Origins of Critical Geopolitics', in K. Dodds, M. Kuus, J. Sharp, The Ashgate Research Companion, pp. 19-32.
- <sup>24</sup> S. Reid-Henry, 'The territorial trap fifteen years on', Geopolitics, 15 (Nov. 2010), pp. 752-756
- <sup>25</sup> J. Agnew, 'Still Trapped in Territory?' Geopolitics, 15 (Nov. 2010), p. 779.
- <sup>26</sup> A.B. Murphy, 'Identity and Territory', Geopolitics, 15 (Nov. 2010), pp. 769-772.
- <sup>27</sup> F. McConnell, 'The fallacy and the promise of the territorial trap: sovereign articulations of geopolitical anomalies', Geopolitics, 15 (Nov. 2010), p. 763.
- <sup>28</sup> S. Elden, 'Thinking territory historically', Geopolitics, 15 (Nov. 2010), p. 758.
- <sup>29</sup> P. Routledge, 'Anti-Geopolitics', in G. Ó Tuathail, S. Dalby and P. Routledge (eds.), The Geopolitics Reader (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 245.
- <sup>30</sup> J. Mercille, 'Radical Geopolitics', in K. Dodds, M. Kuus, J. Sharp, The Ashgate Research Companion, p. 129.
- <sup>31</sup> J. Sharp, 'Subaltern geopolitics: Introduction', Geoforum, 42/3 (Jun. 2011), p. 271.
- <sup>32</sup> M. Heffernan, 'Balancing Visions: Comments on Gearóid Ó Tuathail's Critical Geopolitics', Political Geography 19/3 (March 2000), p. 347.
- <sup>33</sup> D. Featherstone, 'Black internationalism, Anti-Fascism and the Makings of Solidarity', Soundings 55 (Dec. 2013), 95-108.
- <sup>34</sup> M. Power, D. Campbell, 'The State of Critical Geopolitics', Political Geography 29/5 (Jun 2010), pp. 243-246; Agnew, 'The Origins of Critical Geopolitics'.
- <sup>35</sup> S. Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996).
- <sup>36</sup> A. Ince and G. Barrera de la Torre, 'For post-statist geographies', Political Geography, 55 (Nov. 2016), pp. 10-19; S. Springer, The Anarchist Roots of Geography (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 2016).
- <sup>37</sup> International Institute of Social History (hereafter IISH), Ugo Fedeli Papers, folder 1017, Reparaz, Gonzalo de, 1959.
- <sup>38</sup> More details on Reparaz's biography can be found in: Soriano; Pich *et al.*, 'La cuadratura del círculo', and Anta-Ugarte, Gonzalo de Reparaz: Intelectual Errante.
- <sup>39</sup> N. Ortega Cantero and J. García-Álvarez, 'La visión de España en la obra de Elisée Reclus', Ería, 69, 2006, pp. 35-56. In 1890, Reparaz translated into Spanish the 18th volume of *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, devoted to the Andean regions (Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Chili) for El Progreso Editorial in Madrid.
- <sup>40</sup> On Reparaz's engagement with geographical societies and their 'Africanist' projects, see J. Anta-Ugarte, "Gonzalo de Reparaz: l'ascens i la caiguda d'un geògraf errant", Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia, 82, 2016, pp. 9-33.
- <sup>41</sup> M.C. Talvikki-Chanfreau, 'Territoires, identités, diasporas et ancrages: l'étranglement de l'Ibérisme entre la Première et la Seconde républiques espagnoles', Les Cahiers du MIMMOC 2007, <http://mimmoc.revues.org/254>
- <sup>42</sup> Pich Mitjana, Pastrana Piñero, Contreras Ruiz, 'La Cuadratura del Círculo'.
- <sup>43</sup> Anta Ugarte, Gonzalo de Reparaz, p. 544
- <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 536.
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* p. 539.

Federico Ferretti & Jacobo Garcia-Alvarez, "Anarchist geopolitics of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939): Gonzalo de Reparaz and the 'Iberian Tragedy'", **Geopolitics** 2018, doi 10.1080/14650045.2017.1398143 [forthcoming]

- <sup>46</sup> On Reparaz's geographical thinking, see García-Álvarez, 'Sociedad y medio ambiente'; and Anta-Ugarte, 'Gonzalo de Reparaz: l'ascens i la caiguda d'un geògraf errant'.
- <sup>47</sup> G. Reparaz, *La Tragedia ibérica* (Barcelona, Tip. Catalana, 1938), p. 9.
- <sup>48</sup> On Iberism, see J.A. Rocamora, 'Un nacionalismo fracasado: el iberismo', *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, Serie V, 2 (1989), págs. 29-56; J.A. Rodríguez-Esteban, 'Geopolitical perspectives in Spain: from the *Iberismo* of the 19th Century to the *Hispanoamericanismo* of the 20th', *Finisterra*, 65 (1998), pp. 185-193; H. Torre, 'Iberismo y relaciones peninsulares en la época contemporánea', in A. Morales *et al.* (dirs.), *Historia de la nación y del nacionalismo español* (Madrid, Galaxia Gutenberg- Círculo de Lectores – Fundación Ortega-Marañón, 2013), pp. 338-446.
- <sup>49</sup> G. Reparaz, 'Crónica hispano-americana', *La vida marítima*, no. 60, 1903, pp. 462-464.
- <sup>50</sup> Pich, Pastrana and Contreras, 'La cuadratura del círculo'.
- <sup>51</sup> G. Reparaz, *Geografía y Política. Veinticinco Lecciones de Historia Naturalista* (Barcelona: Ediciones Mentora, 1929), pp. 143-158. See also the chapter reprinted by *Geopolítica* in 2015: <https://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/GEOP/article/viewFile/51353/47652>
- <sup>52</sup> G. Reparaz, *La Constitución natural de España y las de papel* (Barcelona: Ediciones Méntora, 1928).
- <sup>53</sup> G. Reparaz, *Aventuras de un geógrafo errante, I Parte* (Berna, Ferd. Weiss, 1920), p.295.
- <sup>54</sup> On Reparaz's Africanism, see also A. Díez-Torre, 'África y el africanismo del iberista Gonzalo de Reparaz', in A. Díez-Torre (ed.), *Ciencia y memoria de África* (Madrid, Ateneo, 2002), pp. 243-276; A. Gil-Navales, 'El africanismo de Gonzalo de Reparaz', *Trienio*, 47 (2006), pp. 31-47; and G. Nerín, 'Gonzalo de Reparaz, el africanista errante', in Y. Aixela *et al.* (eds.), *Introducción a los estudios africanos* (Vic, Ceiba, 2009), pp. 15-30.
- <sup>55</sup> G. Reparaz, *Política de España en África* (Barcelona: Impr. Barcelonesa, 1907); and *La derrota de la civilización* (Barcelona, Minerva, 1921), from p. 289.
- <sup>56</sup> Reparaz, *La Constitución natural de España y las de papel*, p. 44.
- <sup>57</sup> CNT, 26 February 1937; *Fragua Social*, 11 March 1937.
- <sup>58</sup> Reparaz, *La Tragedia ibérica*, p.171.
- <sup>59</sup> Reparaz, *La Constitución natural de España y las de papel*, p. 43
- <sup>60</sup> Anta-Ugarte, *Gonzalo de Reparaz*, p. 142.
- <sup>61</sup> Salamanca, Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica, Archivo Gonzalo de Reparaz (hereafter CDMH) 121/9, Orallo Sander to Reparaz, 6 November 1936. Reparaz's archives were recently moved from Salamanca to Barcelona following his family's wishes. At the time of this article's writing, they were consultable in Salamanca in digital version.
- <sup>62</sup> G. Reparaz, *Aventuras de un geógrafo errante, II Parte, libro I* (Barcelona, Lynotype Moderna, 1921), p. 7.
- <sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 36-55.
- <sup>64</sup> IISH, Ugo Fedeli Papers, folder 1017, Reparaz, Gonzalo de, 1959.
- <sup>65</sup> Reparaz, *Geografía y Política*, p. 110.
- <sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.
- <sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118.
- <sup>68</sup> *Solidaridad Obrera*, 12 May 1937.
- <sup>69</sup> F. Ferretti, 'They have the right to throw us out, the Élisée Reclus' *Universal Geography* *Antipode*, 45/5 (Oct. 2013), pp. 1337-1355.
- <sup>70</sup> For the Spanish case, see Díez-Torre, 'África y el africanismo del iberista Gonzalo de Reparaz', and Nerin, 'Gonzalo de Reparaz, el africanista errante'; for France, P. Lorcin, *Kabyles, Arabes, Français. Identités Coloniales* (Limoges: Presses Universitaires de Limoges, 2005).
- <sup>71</sup> Reparaz, *La Tragedia Ibérica*, p. 57.
- <sup>72</sup> Reparaz, *Geografía y política*, p. 177.
- <sup>73</sup> E. Mourier-Genoud and M. Cahen, 'Portugal, Empire and Migration, Was There Ever an Autonomous Social Imperial Space?' in E. Mourier-Genoud and M. Cahen (eds), *Imperial Migrations. Colonial Communities and Diaspora in the Portuguese World* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 3
- <sup>74</sup> W. Mignolo, 'Coloniality at Large: The Western Hemisphere and the Colonial Horizon of Modernity' in A.B. Pinn, C.F. Levander and M.O. Emerson (eds) *Teaching and Studying the Americas* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 49-74.
- <sup>75</sup> *Solidaridad Obrera*, 10 November 1937.
- <sup>76</sup> Especially, Pich, Pastrana and Contreras, 'La cuadratura del círculo'.

Federico Ferretti & Jacobo Garcia-Alvarez, "Anarchist geopolitics of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939): Gonzalo de Reparaz and the 'Iberian Tragedy'", *Geopolitics* 2018, doi 10.1080/14650045.2017.1398143 [forthcoming]

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- <sup>77</sup> Early Reparaz's elaborations on the pacific penetration can be found in his book Política de España en África (Barcelona: Impr. Barcelonesa, 1907, particularly p. 434-476). See also Díez-Torre, 'África y el africanismo del iberista Gonzalo de Reparaz', p. 259-273; and Anta-Ugarte, Gonzalo de Reparaz: Intelectual Errante, p. 434-441.
- <sup>78</sup> G. Reparaz, Lo que pudo hacer España en Marruecos y lo que hizo, conferencia pronunciada en el cine Coliseum de Barcelona, el día 17 de enero de 1937 (Barcelona: Oficinas de Propaganda CNT-FAI, 1937).
- <sup>79</sup> Reparaz, La Tragedia Ibérica, p. 18.
- <sup>80</sup> CNT, 29 August 1936.
- <sup>81</sup> Reparaz, La Tragedia Ibérica, p. 9.
- <sup>82</sup> L. Fabbri, 'Gonzalo de Reparaz, la Tragedia Ibérica' Studi Sociali, 9/11 (5 August 1938).
- <sup>83</sup> Reparaz, La tragedia Ibérica, p. 12.
- <sup>84</sup> L. Fabbri, La libertad entre entre la historia y la utopía (Barcelona: Artiplan, 1998) p. 51.
- <sup>85</sup> Reparaz, La tragedia Ibérica, p. 9.
- <sup>86</sup> Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations.
- <sup>87</sup> Reparaz, La tragedia Ibérica, p. 115.
- <sup>88</sup> Ibid., p. 118.
- <sup>89</sup> Ibid., p. 60.
- <sup>90</sup> E. Dussel, 'Europe, Modernity and Euro-centrism, Nepantla. Views from South 1/3 (2000), pp. 465-478.
- <sup>91</sup> Reparaz, La tragedia Ibérica, p. 54.
- <sup>92</sup> G. Reparaz, Nuestra Casa Solariega (Valencia: Estudios, 1931) p. 15.
- <sup>93</sup> G. Reparaz, Diario de Nuestra Guerra (Barcelona: Ediciones "Tierra y Libertad", 1937).
- <sup>94</sup> See, for example, CNT, 6 March 1937.
- <sup>95</sup> CNT, 13 August 1936.
- <sup>96</sup> G. Reparaz, CNT, 7 August 1937; Lo que pudo hacer España en Marruecos y lo que hizo, p. 13; and La tragedia ibérica, p. 161.
- <sup>97</sup> CNT, 11 August 1936.
- <sup>98</sup> J. Alcolea Escribano, '¿Moro invasor o hermano revolucionario?', Cahiers de civilisation espagnole contemporaine, 1 (2012) <http://ccec.revues.org/4047>
- <sup>99</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>100</sup> Reparaz, Diario de Nuestra Guerra, p. 138.
- <sup>101</sup> CNT, 15 and 21 September 1936.
- <sup>102</sup> Reparaz, Diario de Nuestra Guerra, p. 135.
- <sup>103</sup> CNT, 15 September 1936.
- <sup>104</sup> IISH, CNT Archive Folder 81, Reparaz's lecture at the 1938 Barcelona Anarchist Book fair organised by the Juventudes Libertarias.
- <sup>105</sup> CNT, 12 September 1936.
- <sup>106</sup> Fragua Social, 1 August 1936.
- <sup>107</sup> M. Baxmeyer, 'Mother Spain We Love You. Nationalism and Racism in Anarchist Literature During the Spanish Civil War', in C. Bantman and B. Altena (eds.), Reassessing the Transnational Turn, Scale of Analysis in Syndicalist and Anarchist History (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), pp. 193-211.
- <sup>108</sup> Solidaridad Obrera, 17 June 1937.
- <sup>109</sup> CNT, 8 November 1938
- <sup>110</sup> Reparaz, Lo que pudo hacer España en Marruecos y lo que hizo, p. 3.
- <sup>111</sup> Reparaz, Diario de Nuestra Guerra, p. 13
- <sup>112</sup> Ibid., p. 13.
- <sup>113</sup> Ibid., p. 15.
- <sup>114</sup> Ibid., p. 31.
- <sup>115</sup> CNT, 8 and 18 September 1936 and 27 October 1936.
- <sup>116</sup> CNT, 7 August 1936. See also CNT 4 August 1936; 21 September 1936 and 15 October 1936.
- <sup>117</sup> Reparaz, Diario de Nuestra Guerra, p. 22
- <sup>118</sup> CNT, 15 October 1936
- <sup>119</sup> V. Richards, Lessons of the Spanish Revolution (London: Freedom Press, 1953).
- <sup>120</sup> Reparaz, Diario de Nuestra Guerra, p. 102.

Federico Ferretti & Jacobo Garcia-Alvarez, "Anarchist geopolitics of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939): Gonzalo de Reparaz and the 'Iberian Tragedy'", **Geopolitics** 2018, doi 10.1080/14650045.2017.1398143 [forthcoming]

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<sup>121</sup> Reparaz, Diario de Nuestra Guerra, p. 21.

<sup>122</sup> J. Agnew and S. Corbridge, Mastering Space: Hegemony, Territory and International Political Economy (London/New York: Routledge, 1995).

<sup>123</sup> Solidaridad Obrera, 20 August 1937.

<sup>124</sup> In 1938, Reparaz even claimed amity with the hero of Filipino independence José Rizal (1861-1896), considered by Benedict Anderson to represent anarchist “anti-colonial imagination”. Solidaridad Obrera, 17 December 1938; B. Anderson, Under three flags: anarchism and the anti-colonial imagination (London: Verso, 2007). To apparently confirm this claim, in Reparaz’s archives there is an 1890 correspondence from Manila addressed to Rizal, who was then accordingly in Spain and in touch with Reparaz (CDMH, PS Madrid, 1141/127).

<sup>125</sup> Fragua Social, 30 March 1937.

<sup>126</sup> Reparaz, Lo que pudo hacer España en Marruecos y lo que hizo, p.5.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, p.14.

<sup>128</sup> M. Knapp, A. Flach, E. Ayboga, Revolution in Rojava, democratic autonomy and women's liberation in Syrian Kurdistan (London: Pluto Press, 2016).