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Transnational anarchism against fascisms: Subaltern geopolitics and spaces of exile in Camillo Berneri's work

Federico Ferretti

UCD School of Geography

federico.ferretti@ucd.ie

This paper addresses the life and works of transnational anarchist and antifascist Camillo Berneri (1897–1937) drawing upon Berneri's writings, never translated into English with few exceptions, and on the abundant documentation available in his archives, especially the Archivio Berneri-Chessa in Reggio Emilia (mostly published in Italy now). Berneri is an author relatively well-known in Italian scholarship, and these archives were explored by many Italian historians: in this paper, I extend this literature by discussing for the first time Berneri's works and trajectories through spatial lenses, together with their possible contributions to international scholarship in the fields of critical, radical and subaltern geopolitics. An antifascist exile between Switzerland, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany and Luxembourg in 1926–1936 and then a revolutionary and antifascist fighter in Spain in 1936–1937, Berneri produced scholarly outputs which can still nourish current debates.¹

Exploratory studies have addressed the idea of 'anarchist geopolitics',² in association with the notion of subaltern geopolitics, which is considered to encompass a wide range of experiences generally associated with post-colonialism and with the rising of counter-powers and counter-hegemonies.³ An important notion to be considered addressing spaces, places and contexts of anarchist activism is exile, a condition which has been discussed in postcolonial contexts⁴ and which constitutes now a pillar of recent approaches to anarchism as an intrinsically transnational movement. According to this new scholarship, anarchism must be understood in its relational and transnational nature by analysing contexts, places, mobilities and processes of transculturation characterising the nomadic existence of its activists. Italian-speaking anarchism is considered as an exemplar case in these studies.⁵ Activists' transnationalism was often a forced condition, due to exile for political persecutions or to the economic migration of many European proletarians, but it could also be associated with

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internationalism and mobility for propaganda reasons. This means that contextual and spatial-sensitive approaches are indispensable to understand anarchism.

While authors like Davide Turcato have convincingly demonstrated the globality of the networks characterising Italian anarchism across the Atlantic in the Age of Empire,⁶ recent studies similarly address the transnational nature of Spanish anarchism, which likewise ‘benefitted from inspiration and cross-fertilization with Argentina and Cuba’⁷ and other overseas regions. Moreover, transnational approaches characterise new scholarship on broader European antifascisms demonstrating that the ‘cultural battle’ of transnational antifascism started in the 1920s, well before what was argued in former contributions.⁸ The Italian case exemplified by the figure of Berneri confirms this scholarship, showing how antifascists started their active resistance in 1920, even before that Mussolini seized the power. In addition, it underpins the notion of ‘cross-fertilization’ between different national traditions given that, while Italian anarchists brought their patrimony of ideas and practices to global antifascisms, their strategies were impacted by the places and experiences that characterised their exile.

Drawing upon the literature referred to above, I explore Berneri’s life spaces and works to make sense of his geopolitical contribution to global antifascisms. My argument is twofold. First, I challenge Italian liberal scholarship arguing that Berneri was an ‘unorthodox’ or an ‘heretic’ in the anarchist field. I do that by showing Berneri’s exemplar insertion in spaces and contexts of a generation of Italian anarchists who were especially marked by the antifascist exile following classical spatial patterns. Most of them were compelled to escape from Italy after Mussolini took the power in 1922 to seek refuge in other European countries (and to a lesser extent in North and South America). Then, in 1936–1939, they fought in Spain, and those who survived Spanish fascism and World War Second came back to Italy in 1943–45 to participate in the armed Resistance against Nazi-Fascism. Therefore, transnational antifascism is a key element for understanding this generation of Italian anarchists. Berneri was one of the most representative figures in this trajectory and a leading member of its main organisations, such as the Italian Anarchist Union (UAI) and the Italian Syndical(ist) Union (USI). Second, I argue that Berneri’s writings on the geopolitical problems that the Spanish revolution had to face from 1936, such as the defence from Franco’s troops and from Mussolini’s imperialism in the Balearic Islands, can nourish present-day debates by exposing examples of internationalist and stateless geopolitics. The prickliness of Berneri’s analyses, published in

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the journal of the Italian anarchists fighting in Spain *Guerra di Classe*, can explain why he was murdered by Stalinist agents during the Bloody May 1937 in Barcelona, just few days after delivering a radio speech where Berneri pronounced a moved tribute to another Italian antifascist, Antonio Gramsci, just died in a fascist prison in Italy. In this sense, Berneri's awareness of the globalization of revolutionary challenges that worldwide totalitarianisms entailed allows considering Berneri's works as a resource for contemporary spatial reflexions on global networks of antifascist solidarity.⁹

In the first part of this chapter, I question the idea of Berneri's 'unorthodoxy' in Italian scholarship by focusing on his positionality in spaces and contexts of his activists' generation, one which was especially marked by antifascist activities. In the second part, I discuss places, politics and scholarly implications of his exile experience in several European countries between 1926 and 1936. In the third part, I analyse anarchist and antifascist geopolitics performed by Berneri in Spain in 1936 and 1937, providing a contextual and space-sensitive reading of his contribution to Italian and global antifascisms.

1. Anarchism, antifascism and orthodoxy

Among Italian anarchists, antifascism has been the principal activity of what Ugo Fedeli (1898–1964) defined as 'thirty years of anarchist activity',¹⁰ from the First World War to 1945, whose legacy has been ceaselessly claimed by activists of the following generations until the present day.¹¹ Analysing Berneri's insertion in this generation, and in its places and trajectories, is essential to understand his idea of antifascism, while it is possible to make sense of these trajectories only understanding the centrality of activists like Berneri in their making. This included Berneri's participation in armed resistance, in Spain but even before in the little-known experience of the *Arditi del Popolo* squads, groups organised by anarchists and other antifascists who performed early barricades resistance to the street violence of early fascist squads from 1921.¹² For the anarchists, this implied discussing matters on ethics, especially on the legitimacy of violence, whose utilisation was rejected as a principle but admitted as a defensive practice in the tradition established by authors such as Errico Malatesta (1853–1932). According to another transnational anarchist antifascist, Luce Fabbri (1908–2000), Berneri's work was instrumental in refreshing this tradition and bringing it to the following activists'

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generations.¹³ More recently, authors such as Gianni Carrozza has and Claudio Strambi noticed how ‘practically all Berneri’s production from 1921 deals with antifascism’.¹⁴

In Italy, literature on Berneri’s life and works is abundant and outstandingly contentious. As discussed by Carrozza,¹⁵ Berneri’s thinking was forced to fit the most disparate agendas. Indeed, the Italian anarchist spent most of his career as an exile and a political persecuted, being finally murdered at the age of only 40. Therefore, he did not have the possibility of establishing a systematic theoretical opus, and his works and thoughts are scattered in numerous pamphlets, journal articles and fragments, including correspondence and work notes whose use is disputed. According to Carrozza, Berneri was first ‘sanctified’ as an anarchist ‘martyr’ who only had excellent ideas, to the extent that the first editors of his works and curators of his archives, Cesare Zaccaria (1897–1961), Aurelio Chessa (1913–1996) and Berneri’s wife Giovanna Caleffi (1897–1962) did not hesitate to hide to the publics some Berneri’s writings which countered their own views.¹⁶ To understand later Berneri’s interpretations, what I consider important is that activists like Chessa were far from representing the entire ‘anarchist movement’, being akin to the so-called ‘Galleanist’ tendency, inspired by the figure of Luigi Galleani (1861–1931) and internationally represented by *L’Adunata dei Refrattari*, an Italian journal published in the United States and circulated worldwide. Ironically, this corresponded to the anti-organisational tendencies (not necessarily individualistic but often akin to anarcho-individualism) of the movement. Albeit influential, anti-organisational anarchists were ostensibly a minority in relation to the organisational anarcho-communist tendencies represented by the *Unione Anarchica Italiana* (founded in 1920), later *Federazione Anarchica Italiana* (1945),¹⁷ and the anarcho-syndicalist ones represented by the *Unione Sindacale Italiana* (1912).

Indeed, the ‘anti-organisers’ were the main adversaries of Berneri in his intense publishing and debating activity within the anarchist movement, and several historians have implicitly considered them as the ‘orthodox anarchists’ (what is utterly abusive) to highlight Berneri’s allegedly ‘heretical’ positions within the movement and to argue that he was ‘an atypical liberal rather than an anarchist’.¹⁸ It was the case with some works by Nico Berti, and especially by Pietro Adamo and Carlo De Maria.¹⁹ According to Carrozza, these works are methodologically flawed by the fact that, especially in the cases of Adamo and De Maria, the authors develop their arguments by putting an overstating emphasis on some unpublished and

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often incomplete Berneri's writings, without a clear discussion on what can be the use of an unpublished note or fragment to assess an author's thinking in relation to 'what Berneri [decided to publish] when he was alive'.²⁰ Matching Carrozza's views, I would contend that reading Berneri as a liberal rather than an anarchist thinker is completely misleading and does not consider contents, contexts and places of communist, antifascist and organisational anarchism at Berneri's time.

In the following paragraphs, I discuss some of the key ideas that Berneri contributed to anarchist debates, considered in the contexts, spaces and daily practices of transnational Italian-speaking movement of his day. As a geographer, I would argue that anarchism should be understood in its places, networks and flows of ideas and activists,²¹ also to avoid anachronisms such as pretending that Berneri would have been an 'heretic'. In this vein, it is worth noting that Berneri's travels and travails from Italy to France, Germany, Switzerland, Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg, and finally to the Spanish Revolution, corresponded to the spatial patterns which characterised the mobility of the very 'mainstream' (if any) of communist and organisational anarchists trying to find a difficult way among the concurrent persecutions of Nazi-Fascism, Stalinism and liberal democracy. These life trajectories are now displayed by invaluable works like the *Dizionario Biografico degli Anarchici Italiani*²² where the biographical pathways of approximately 2,000 early activists can be accordingly compared. Therefore, while anarchism has always been a plural and heterogeneous movement and it would be odd to identify one 'anarchist orthodoxy', I would contend that, if any mainstream tendency has existed in twentieth-century Italian anarchism, this was the organisational anarcho-communism inspired by Malatesta, of which Berneri was one of the most important, and even 'orthodox' exponents.

A leitmotiv of those who deem Berneri a 'heretic' are his frequent polemics with the *Adunata*'s director Raffaele Schiavina (1894–1987), whose pen name Max Sartin (an obvious tribute to Max Stirner) should sole suffice to suggest how little this activist can be considered as the representative of any 'orthodoxy', given the unpopularity of authors such as Stirner and Nietzsche in the Italian anarcho-communist tradition.²³ Yet, Schiavina/Sartin should be praised for his open-mindedness, as he regularly published Berneri's writings which clearly countered his own views and kept always a cordial relationship with him as shown by the correspondence they exchanged.²⁴ Amazingly, Berneri was such a 'liberalist' that, in one of these polemics

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with Sartin, he was charged with being too ‘filo-Soviet’ because he claimed that the original idea of the Soviets was that of ‘a fruitful gymnasium of self-administration which can prepare the people to systems of major autonomy’,²⁵ one which matched anarchist principles and should not be confused with Bolshevik bureaucracy and Stalinist rule. In his response to Berneri, Sartin continued undauntedly to foster confusion between the original idea of Soviets and Bolshevik authoritarianism.²⁶ Considering the writings of the most prominent Italian and international anarchists in the early years of the Russian revolution²⁷ and the enthusiasm of USI activists for worker’s councils²⁸ leads again to suppose that, in this discussion, the true ‘orthodox’ in relation to the anarchist tradition was rather Berneri than Sartin.

Another point on which Berneri was defined as an ‘heretic’ is that of abstentionism. Again, the idea of ‘heresy’ is an amazing mix of misunderstanding and lack of contextualisation. Berneri fumed sarcastically at what he called ‘abstentionist cretinism’²⁹ in papers which were worthy of harsh critiques by Sartin and other anarchists. However, the target of Berneri’s polemics was not the principle of abstentionism from political elections, that he explicitly admitted³⁰ but its transformation in an immutable dogma to be applied at any cost and in any circumstance. Berneri especially ironized on some silly extensions of the abstentionist principle to occasions where voting did not entail sending a delegate to the Parliament and had the value of direct democracy, like raising one’s hand in an assembly, or participating in a local referendum for opening ‘a neighbourhood’s public library’.³¹ Crucially, Berneri advocated repeatedly the moral authority of authors such as Bakunin and Malatesta, arguing that ‘Malatesta’s [past] heresies are now principles’.³² He also received the support of respected international activists such as Luigi Bertoni (1872–1947), editor of the influential journal *Il Risveglio/Le Réveil* in Geneva, and Gigi Damiani (1873–1953), former co-editor of *Umanità Nova* with Malatesta,³³ who were not exactly peripheral figures in Italian-speaking anarchism. It is worth noting that these discussions occurred in the context of a wider antifascist debate, being referred to the choice made in February 1936 by the Spanish CNT, which gave up a strong abstentionist campaign in the occasion of the Spanish elections, allowing the victory of the Popular Front, given the anarchists’ great influence on the Spanish proletariat. This decision was motivated by material stakes because the political Left had committed to free all political prisoners including some dozens of thousands of anarchists. Although this CNT’s choice was often criticised in anarchist literature, the centrality of 1936 Spain in

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anarchist history allows appreciating how some electoral ‘possibilism’, though highly contentious, was also part of the anarchist tradition, which included plenty of ‘heretics’ like Berneri.

Adamo and De Maria also considered Berneri’s views of the state, and especially his federalism and communalism, as radically alternative to the anti-statism of the anarchist tradition. Ironically, in his discussion on federalism, Berneri was so much of an ‘heretic’ that he took as his main reference one of the most ‘classical’ anarchists, that is Peter Kropotkin and his critique of bureaucracy and centralism.³⁴ The other big inspiration of Berneri was the Risorgimento federalist Carlo Cattaneo (1801–1869), something which is likewise deemed an element of ‘anarchist unorthodoxy’ by the authors mentioned above. Yet, any scholar familiar with the relations between early anarchism and the federalist tradition of the Risorgimento should hardly find surprising the interest of an Italian anarchist in Cattaneo, or in other federalists such as Carlo Pisacane (1818–1857) and Giuseppe Ferrari (1812–1876).³⁵ This interest was shared by Malatesta, who quoted Cattaneo among the most respected names of the Risorgimento alongside Garibaldi and Mazzini,³⁶ and especially by another leading figure of Italian anarchism, Luigi Fabbri (1877–1935), in whose circuit the names of Cattaneo and Ferrari ‘have always been familiar’.³⁷ This leads again to wonder on what ‘orthodoxy’ might mean: Adamo admits that, in his late years, even Malatesta ‘gained a reputation of “revisionist”’,³⁸ which should suggest that labels such as ‘revisionist’, ‘unorthodox’, ‘heretic’ and similar should be used cautiously in anarchist contexts instead of being massively released as the author does.

Another point on which Adamo deems Berneri an ‘heretic’ is his declared humanism, allegedly opposed to ‘the leftist revolutionary vulgate ... and its strong classist vocation’.³⁹ Again, this looks misleading, first because in his text on anarchist humanism, Berneri clearly advocates the anarchist tradition, from Kropotkin’s ‘dreams of human emancipation’⁴⁰ to ‘Malatestian humanism’,⁴¹ mentioning a range of ‘noble’ figures including Louise Michel and Pietro Gori. Second, Berneri’s (and in general anarchist) humanism was never opposed to class struggle, because Berneri was one of the strongest supporters of anarcho-syndicalism, that is one of the most genuinely proletarian social movements in the twentieth century.⁴² His discussions with Luigi Fabbri, who always was Berneri’s friend and collaborator,⁴³ evoked by Adamo, concerned indeed their different assessment of the relations between syndicalism and

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‘specific’ anarchist organization, a leitmotiv of anarchist debates from the 1907 Amsterdam congress onwards.⁴⁴ However, it is worth noting that between anarcho-syndicalists and anarcho-communists there was generally operational convergence, especially in the antifascist resistance, despite some ideological differences: Berneri was concurrently part of the UAI (anarchist organization) and the USI (anarcho-syndicalist organisation) like many activists of his generation.⁴⁵ In the early years of fascist repression in Italy, he served at the same time as a connection between Malatesta and international activists like Max Nettlau, and as one of the Italian correspondents for the anarcho-syndicalist Congress of Berlin in 1922.⁴⁶ In his letters to Fabbri, Berneri identified individualism as the first target of his polemics. ‘If I criticise individualism, it is because, while the individualistic trend has little numeric importance, it managed to influence almost all the movement’.⁴⁷ There, when Berneri mentioned ‘pure anarchism’,⁴⁸ this was clearly in the context of a discussion on anarcho-communism and anarcho-syndicalism and not to support liberalism instead of anarchism.

Thus, if any ‘anarchist orthodoxy’ has ever existed in the first half of the twentieth century in Italian-speaking milieus, among his possible representatives we should count Berneri, who continued to be a self-declared anarchist all his life long and shared with most of his comrades a trajectory including activism in the UAI and in the USI after the Red Biennial (1919–1920), antifascist exile in several countries, and finally the experience of the Spanish Revolution with the CNT-FAI (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo – Federación Anarquista Ibérica), bringing decisive ideas to the entire field of anarchist antifascism as I explain in the following sections.

2. Transnational anarchism and antifascist exile

Beneri’s full insertion in the typical anarchists’ trajectories of his day is confirmed by a spatial history of his exile experiences, which exemplarily expressed the transnational nature of Italian-speaking anarchism.⁴⁹ Born in Lodi, near Milan, in 1897, Berneri started his political activities when he was an adolescent in Reggio Emilia, where he followed his mother Adalgisa Fochi, a schoolteacher and later a campaigner for knowing the truth about her son’s assassination.⁵⁰ In Reggio, Berneri was first an activist in the youth organisation of the Socialist Party, and joined then the local anarchist group, a worker’s collective where Camillo was the sole student, mentored by bookbinder Torquato Gobbi (1888-1963). ‘Gobbi was my teacher,

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in the foggy nights under the Via Emilia's arcades, resounding with my attempts to resist his placid dialectic'.⁵¹ However, as exposed above, Berneri will remain akin to the 'socialist humanism'⁵² that he learned at the school of Reggio socialist leader Camillo Prampolini (1859-1930). Despite being a key figure of moderate socialism, Prampolini had collaborated with the anarchists in his youth and was generally respected by them due to shared values of tolerance.⁵³ After being mobilised for World War First, Berneri lived in Florence, where he studied modern history supervised by socialist and future antifascist exile Gaetano Salvemini (1873-1957), and became acquainted with some socialist and liberal scholars who will be part of the libertarian components of Italian antifascism, such as Ernesto Rossi (1897-1967), Piero Gobetti (1901-1926) and the brothers Carlo (1899-1937) and Nello (1900-1937) Rosselli.⁵⁴ Later, Berneri taught in several secondary institutes in Tuscany and Marche, until fascist aggressions and political isolation compelled him to quit Italy in 1926, shortly followed by his family, composed by Giovanna Caleffi, Maria Luisa Berneri (1918-1949) and Giliana Berneri (1919-1998), all future anarchist activists and writers.⁵⁵

In France, the odyssey which led Camillo to be defined as 'the most expelled anarchist in Europe' started in the late 1920s. His exile was a harsh experience not only for the material difficulties that exile always entails, but also for the war at a distance that the fascist regime fought against its exiled opponents. Mussolini's government used to pressure the other European governments to expel antifascists and sent abroad a number of spies and agents provocateurs who rendered the exiles' milieus especially trouble and unsafe.⁵⁶ Committed to organise a sort of counterespionage service to demask these agents, Berneri played primary political and organisational roles in the exile circuits of Italian anarchists, also because many militants formally or informally recognized him as the 'successor' of the most respected leaders who were forcedly excluded by the game. In these years, elderly Malatesta was blocked in Rome under strict surveillance of the fascist police until his death in 1932,⁵⁷ while Fabbri quitted Europe in 1929 to find refuge in Uruguay, when he died of an illness in 1935.⁵⁸ For these reasons, Berneri was a main target for the provocateurs. His implication in the so-called 'Menapace affair' – a spy who managed to compromise several activists by circulating firearms and explosives to attack fascist exponents, served as pretext for the transnational police harassment which Berneri suffered, documented by his archives and recollections.

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An impressive document states Berneri's peregrinations of the period 1928–1931. Brought from France to the Belgian frontier in December 1928 and immediately re-expelled from there, Berneri obtained a provisional permit, but was arrested in December 1928 in Brussels and sentenced to 5 years of prison for 'false passport and for carrying prohibited firearms'.⁵⁹ In May 1930, he was 'expelled from Belgium; arrested in Rosendhal, Netherlands, and compelled to come back to the Belgian territory',⁶⁰ where he was sentenced to one more month of prison for breach of the expulsion decree, and then accompanied to the frontier with Luxembourg in June 1930. There, he was arrested and expelled at the French frontier, where he was arrested again, and brought to the German border in August 1930. In October, he was expelled from Germany and went to France again, where his case interested the League for Human Rights and the International Committee for Political Prisoners. Protest meetings were organised in favour of Berneri while he was jailed from October 1930 to May 1931, when he obtained a presidential grace and was accompanied to the Spanish frontier but finally allowed to remain in France. After other expulsions, all suspended by French tribunals, Berneri's situation in 1933 was the following: 'Without passport; refused by the Luxembourg Embassy, by the Berlin Consulate, by the Paris consulate ... Formally expelled from France and Belgium; informally expelled from Luxembourg; forbidden to stay in Switzerland and Netherlands; expelled from Germany'.⁶¹ Berneri's recollections *Pensieri e battaglie*, published posthumously in 1938, can be considered as a masterpiece in exile literature, talking to later contributions on scholars' and activists' exile experiences. Among others, Edward Said highlighted the dehumanising nature of twentieth-century mass exile in relation with former 'romantic' traditions. Drawing upon these postcolonial contributions, I would argue that anarchist stories can question the divide between elites and masses: anarchists were part of mass displacements in the era of totalitarianisms, but they remained a conscious minority of manual and intellectual workers. It is worth noting that anarchists did not have a bureaucratic apparatus able to secure income for 'party executives', therefore anarchist intellectuals had generally to live off their manual work while exiled, including Berneri who worked as a bricklayer when he lived in France. They did not escape from what Said called 'the crippling sorrow of estrangement',⁶² exemplified by Berneri telling that he 'remained alone, as one is alone in Paris',⁶³ which anticipated Said's remarks that: 'Paris may be a capital famous for cosmopolitan exiles, but it is also a city where unknown men and women have spent years of miserable loneliness:

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Vietnamese, Algerians, Cambodians, Lebanese, Senegalese, Peruvians'.⁶⁴ It was also the case with the anarchists, whose proclaimed internationalism, however, allowed them, in Saidian terms, to 'lend dignity to a condition legislated to deny dignity'.⁶⁵ Thanks to a certain internationalist pride, anarchist exiles embraced the cosmopolitanism characterising exiled people, generally aware of more than 'one culture, one setting, one home'.⁶⁶ While they remained sensitive to the call of home, as shown by the attempts mentioned below to come back to Italy, the mobility of the most expelled anarchists in Europe chimes with recent contributions to notions of postcolonial exile as something unsettling irenic ideas of home.⁶⁷ They likewise provided an alternative to nationalism, being their exile especially active in addressing the revolutionary challenges rising at each time in their places of residence. This will be especially the case with the Spanish events of 1936-1939.

The exile experience also reinforced internationalist and anti-statist anarchist ideas about the absurdity of political frontiers and their de-humanising nature. Berneri stressed how several of his expulsions were operated in illegal ways by the respective polices, because the neighbouring nations which tried concurrently to get rid of him lacked a formal agreement on this issue. Therefore, he did more than once 'clandestine passages'⁶⁸ from one country to another, pushed by the police of the former and trying to avoid the police of the latter to reach the closest town. This led to Kafkaian situations such as Berneri's 1930 expulsion from Luxembourg, when he reported that: 'I called their attention on the fact that I was already banished from France, Belgium, Switzerland and Netherlands'.⁶⁹ Thus, Luxembourg policemen tried to organise a discrete transfer to France, but Berneri broke this plan by screaming and opposing resistance to be arrested by the French police in the middle of a crowd: 'This way I obtained all what I could obtain: calling public attention on my case'.⁷⁰ Significantly, this did not occur in 'totalitarian' states, but in the Western European countries which pretended to represent democracy and universal rights. In matters of human rights and tolerance, an amazing anecdote concerns Berneri's discussion with a French policeman who was violently threatening him during a detention, when the Italian exile noticed the image of Voltaire on his pipe and did some commentaries on the philosopher's thought. Astonished that a stranger, whom he considered a criminal and an exponent of the worst scum, was familiar with Voltaire, the man became suddenly dialogic and kind. For Berneri: 'In this way, in 1928, Voltaire contributed to humanising a policeman. I think that this was not his smallest contribute

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to the fight for tolerance'.⁷¹ Conversely, observing the despising attitude toward a community of Gypsies shown by the residents of a Berlin neighbourhood where he stayed for a while in 1930, Berneri wrote some pessimistic remarks on conformism and xenophobia, that he defined as 'the aversion of the majority for everybody and everything which does not match the Rule'.⁷² These exile experiences had doubtlessly the effect of further internationalising the Italian movement creating a new generation of cosmopolitan and multilingual activists, but they were likewise characterised by sadness and sorrow. For the intellectuals, this was often 'the impossibility of attending conferences, registering to a library, studying or writing seriously'.⁷³ For everybody, it was the separation from their circuits and sometimes from their families.

This stresses the importance of considering authors' material lives, contexts and positionality to assess their work. In the case of Berneri and his fellows, their exile experiences were key in informing their contributions to global antifascisms. While the anarchists criticised the 'official' group of Italian antifascist political parties in France, the Antifascist Concentration (also boycotted by the Communists), Berneri was one of the most active anarchists in seeking collaboration with other groups available for antifascist unity of action. It was especially the case with the so-called 'liberal-socialist' movement *Giustizia e Libertà* (GL) led by the brothers Carlo and Nello Rosselli, and in general with the area that Berneri identified as 'the anarchists, the GL people and the republican/socialist action'.⁷⁴ This was an attempt to take initiative beyond the most moderate sectors of the Concentration and the isolationist line of the Italian Communist Party led by Palmiro Togliatti, relying on Joseph Stalin's instructions from Moscow. This situation involved multiple challenges for the anarchists, who were committed to antifascist unity but had to struggle, in Berneri's words, 'against both right/wing fascism and left/wing fascism',⁷⁵ which meant being opposed at the same time to liberal democracy and to Fascist and Stalinist totalitarianisms. About the Communists, in addition to their critiques of the Russian regime and the processes against Trotskyists and left/wing dissidents, Italian anarchists were disappointed with the so called 'Appeal to the Fascists', a document that Communist leaders sent to Italy in 1936, trying to recruit activists from the fascist ranks by claiming for the original 'social inspiration' of fascism.⁷⁶ Against this tactics that they deemed opportunistic, the anarchists preferred to support antifascist actions such as attacks against Mussolini and his men, and to prepare a possible insurrection in Italy.⁷⁷

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Beneri was aware that fascism was not only a phase in the expansion of great capital, but an ideology permeating culture and mentality in outstandingly dangerous ways. His activities as an intellectual touched several themes and disciplines, including psychoanalysis. For instance, Beneri's analysis of Mussolini's personality and his performances as a 'great actor' aimed at explaining why, in the early 1920s, one of the strongest workers' movements in Europe was defeated by people of so low political and intellectual level as the fascist leaders.⁷⁸ Some of Beneri's main scholarly contributions stood in continuity with the tradition of anarchist geographers Reclus and Kropotkin and their efforts to use science against racism and colonialism.⁷⁹ In 1935, Beneri published a pamphlet, *El delirio racista*, firstly issued in Buenos Aires, countering the pseudo-scientific bases of Nazi-fascist antisemitism and racial myths, and defining the 'racist delirium' as a 'true collective psychosis'.⁸⁰ Yet, Beneri predicted the racist turn that Italian fascists would have taken in the following years to please their German allies (Italian shameful 'Racial Laws' were established in 1938), analysing how racism 'might become necessary'⁸¹ for them. Beneri's notion of 'race' as a literary invention to justify policies like colonialism in the nineteenth century and Nazi-Fascism in the twentieth century was doubtlessly ground-breaking and can talk to contemporary critical race studies.

Beneri's transnational activities clearly spanned beyond Europe, especially through his collaborations with transnational anarchists of Italian origin in the Americas. These networks included the North-American group of *L'Adunata* and antifascist refugees in South-America such as Fedeli, Gobbi and the Fabbris, exiled in Montevideo, Uruguay, who extensively corresponded with Beneri on matters of antifascism and on the political situations in the respective countries.⁸² It was probably the Fabbris who served as intermediaries to publish *El delirio racista* in Argentina, while the journal they founded in Montevideo, *Studi Sociali*, published some of Beneri's antifascist articles⁸³ and one of the first obituaries denouncing his assassination, authored by Luce Fabbri⁸⁴ who was likewise one of the firsts who wrote to Beneri's wife and daughters to offer support and solidarity.⁸⁵ From Montevideo, Luigi Fabbri remained in touch with Beneri until his last days, while Beneri's first 'anarchism's teacher' Gobbi wrote often from Uruguay to inform Camillo of his continuing commitment to antifascism.⁸⁶

Meanwhile, in 1935, the Rossellis proposed 'an antifascist revolutionary alliance'⁸⁷ to the anarchists, who were also given heart by the hope that the Fascist regime would have

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fallen following a possible defeat in the colonial war in Ethiopia. In October of that year, Italian anarchists from all France, Belgium and Switzerland celebrated their first general conference after more than 10 years, in Sartrouville, organised by Berneri and other Paris-based activists. Despite the constraints that a clandestine meeting entailed, the most important point discussed was how to organise a return to Italy in case of a regime's crisis. First, the armed and massive return of all the exiles was deemed necessary to make the regime collapse. Then, the crucial issue of antifascist unity was addressed by supporting factual alliances with movements like GL and excluding permanent unions with political parties. As summarized by Luigi di Lembo, this meant: 'Acting in synergy with the other antifascist forces, but maintaining our political and armed independence, ready to defend ourselves at the first sight of prevarication'.⁸⁸ Among the conference reports, presented under pseudonyms for security reasons, the 'A' document, signed by the organising group and probably written by Berneri,⁸⁹ established a distinction between the 'formula of the free Soviets'⁹⁰ wished by the anarchists, and the Bolshevik-like solutions. This was clarified in the document's aims: 'Destroying the structure of the fascist state and impeding that ... under the cover of a provisional pseudo-revolutionary government, a government for democratic-social-liberal conservation or a Bolshevik dictatorship is possibly put in place'.⁹¹ In defining GL and left/wing sectors of the republican and socialist parties as the preferred antifascist partners, the anarchists acknowledged that 'we should seek help in fields akin to ours, to get rid of an enemy that we cannot defeat alone'.⁹² Importantly, this conference was the last of this genre until the Carrara Congress of 1945 because the circumstances did not allow any other similar meeting. Therefore, the principles established in Sartrouville were applied by the Italian anarchists to the antifascist struggle in Spain from 1936 to 1939 and to Italian Resistance from 1943 to 1945. This further demonstrates that the figure of Berneri was not eccentric, but very central to the Italian anarchist movement.

Crucially, the 1935 aggression of Ethiopia by Fascist Italy reinvigorated the traditional anarchist anti-colonial critiques, which were key for Berneri's works and analyses. From the 1910s, Berneri had identified anti-militarism and anti-colonialism as qualifying points for anarchism, reproaching to moderate socialists like his friend Prampolini of having been 'the responsible for the insufficient resistance to fascist squads and, formerly, to colonialism [1911 Libya War] and interventism [World War First]'.⁹³ In the early 1920s, Berneri likewise observed with special interest anti-colonial movements within the British Empire: 'In the

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Orient, we see an awakening which will overthrow John Bull's domination, and we see Ireland in ebullition'.⁹⁴ In the following decade, he denounced how 'in Libya, the fascist government started the systematic extermination of the Arabs',⁹⁵ and called for the retreat of Italy from her colonies. This included leaving 'hospitals, railways and schools built by the administration to the indigenous, as reparation'.⁹⁶ In his papers for Bertoni's *Risveglio/Réveil*, Berneri protested against the Italian aggression of Ethiopia, fuming at 'that butcher of Ethiopians and Italians named Mussolini'.⁹⁷ He argued that this war stood in continuity with early Italian imperialism in Eritrea fostered by Prime Minister Francesco Crispi and King Umberto I. Eventually, Berneri claimed for the role of anarchist Gaetano Bresci, arguing that, killing Umberto on 29 July 1900, Bresci 'gave a contribution to stopping colonial adventures for a period'.⁹⁸ Berneri highlighted the ineffectiveness of the League of Nations in hindering Mussolini's imperial ambitions and the complicity of the main colonial powers, Britain and France, denouncing an 'Anglo-French-Italian aggression to Abyssinia'.⁹⁹ Berneri concluded that 'our struggle should be directed against capitalism and against the state and not just against Italian fascism, which is only a form of worldwide fascism'.¹⁰⁰ This analysis informed the subaltern and anti-colonial geopolitics which Berneri would deploy in Spain in the last year of his life.

3. Geopolitics of the social revolution

As exposed in the introduction to this chapter, critical, anarchist and subaltern geopolitics increasingly question state and state affairs as the main framework of geopolitical studies. A case of geopolitical analyses performed on a completely different plan were Berneri's articles published in the journal of the Italian anarchists fighting fascism during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), *Guerra di Classe*, and his study on Italian imperialism in the Mediterranean Sea, *Mussolini alla conquista delle Baleari*. Berneri's analysis of fascism and his critiques of Mussolini's imperialism in Africa and in the Mediterranean underpinned his exhortation to the Spanish republican government to support the struggle of Moroccan people for independence, to cut the troops of Francisco Franco out from their rear-guard in Northern Morocco. According to anarchist critics like Berneri's son-in-law Vernon Richards,¹⁰¹ failure in listening Berneri and other anarchist intellectuals claiming for Moroccan independence like Gonzalo de Reparaz (1860–1939)¹⁰² was one of the biggest blunders of the republican front. Equally, the racist propaganda often deployed by republican leaders against the Moroccan mercenaries appointed

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by Franco raised concerns discussed by scholarship on the engagement of Afro-American volunteers in the republican front¹⁰³ and on this latter's deficiencies in 'an anticolonial understanding of fascism'.¹⁰⁴

In Spain, Berneri took a leading position among Italian anarchist volunteers and co-directed with Carlo Rosselli the Italian section of the CNT-FAI Ascaso Column, composed of anarchists and GL activists, fighting around Huesca in the Northern Aragon Front. Back to Barcelona because his comrades deemed him more useful as a writer than as a soldier,¹⁰⁵ Berneri started his journalistic activity, coupled with research works on the documents of the Italian consulate in Barcelona, whose headquarters were occupied by the Italian antifascists after the departure of the consul.¹⁰⁶ According to Berneri, these documents proved the former plans of Mussolini for Italian expansion in the Western Mediterranean to counter the British maritime power and to possibly cut the communications between France and her North African colonies. Berneri's strategic aim was to create contradictions between Italian and French-British imperialisms before it was too late for Spain to avoid the victory of Franco, and for the entire humankind to avoid a new world war. In his work, Berneri first compared the Italian intervention in Spain with Mussolini's colonial endeavours. 'As [Italy] speculated on alleged barbarity to conquer Ethiopia, so she is speculating on "red barbarity" to conquer Spain'.¹⁰⁷ While this was the ideological cover for supporting the 'Voluntary Troops', a label invented to circumvent the French-British 'non-intervention' committee, Mussolini's availability to keep troops and materials in Mallorca, from which he would have proceeded to bomb Barcelona, constituted a de facto occupation of the archipelago, meaning that 'Spain appeared to Italian fascism as a country to be colonised'.¹⁰⁸ Then, Berneri perceived how opportunistic was Mussolini's support for Franco, being the Italian dictator aware of the Balearic Islands' 'importance in the game of Mediterranean forces'.¹⁰⁹ Berneri studied meticulously those documents, denouncing an Italian colonial interest lasting from the 1920s, when Italian public opinion was entertained by press campaigns showing the touristic interest of the archipelago. 'As in colonial conquest, the explorer comes first, followed by the missionary, then by the soldier, then by the tradesman. ... Now there is the journalist. He is the one who discovers oil ... who solemnly speaks of "the rights of civilisation" and so on'.¹¹⁰ Also the documents presenting the Balearic Islands as a good place for Italian businesses and investments were read by Berneri as motivated 'by the essential strategic value of the Balearic Islands for Italian

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imperialism’,¹¹¹ considering as misleading all other reading keys. At the level of his geopolitical analysis of Italian fascism and imperialism, Berneri concluded that ‘fascist power in the Mediterranean is becoming a matter of fact; Mussolini can instigate Egypt against England and Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco against France, while he strengthens his colonial domination in Tripolitania and Ethiopia’.¹¹² As observed by Claudio Venza, Berneri was one of the most lucid analysts of the increasing globalisation of fascisms, well beyond the Spanish fronts.

At the level of geopolitical analyses for the concrete needs of antifascist struggle, Berneri started a series of papers in *Guerra di Classe* in October 1936, where he tried to exert a public role as a combatant intellectual, proclaiming that, even in the rear-guard of the antifascist front: ‘I grab my pen as I would grab a gun or a rifle’.¹¹³ Analysing the international situation around the Spanish conflict, Berneri criticised the international committee for non-intervention, that Spanish revolutionaries considered to be a measure which favoured the Fascists, hindering the arrival of weapons for the Republican front but allowing the massive intervention of expedition corps from Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. In this context, Berneri considered a serious mistake the choice of the Republican government to refuse independence to Morocco, where the bulk of Franco’s troops was safely situated, to avoid bothering French and British colonial interests by stimulating destabilising revolts in the area. Conversely, for the anarchists, an anti-colonial revolt would have been one of the winning moves for the antifascist war: ‘We must intensify the propaganda for Moroccan autonomy in the entire area of Pan-Islamic influence. We must impose to Madrid unequivocal statements for Spain abandoning her colonies in Morocco with the help of Moroccan activists’.¹¹⁴

In November 1936, one of Berneri’s key papers concerned the decision of the CNT to enter the Republican government and was significantly titled: ‘A dangerous turning point: warning!’. This raised multiple issues that the Spanish anarchists and their international fellows had to deal with. First, the dilemma ‘war or revolution’, which meant conciliate the needs of social revolution, namely, the ongoing collectivisation of Spanish fields and Barcelona industries,¹¹⁵ with the need of defeating the troops of Franco. This task implied an alliance with the liberals, the republicans, the Catalan nationalists, the socialists and the communists, political forces which were not always favourable to collectivisation and in most cases strongly opposed to social revolution. Berneri strongly supported those anarchists arguing that the

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choice between antifascist war and social revolution was a false alternative, because war and revolution would have been unescapably won or lost together. On the military side (again matching Reparaz's positions) Berneri argued that 'we should shift from a war of position to a war of movement, attacking with a general and solid plan'.¹¹⁶ Concurrently, he claimed that the war had to be won by further mobilising Spanish proletarians and extending the revolution beyond merely getting weaponry, and warned against possible militarist degenerations. 'The anarchists who now serve as generals should remember their experiences as revolutionaries'.¹¹⁷ Berneri especially countered the position of the moderate governmental sectors, supported by the Communist Party, wishing the formal 'militarisation of the militias',¹¹⁸ as a solution to the alleged lack of discipline of anarchist brigades. Yet, these militias had defeated the Fascist military insurrection in most of Spain in July 1936, also thanks to the participation of many women whom the militarisation will exclude from the front. For Berneri, war discipline (including 'self-discipline') was obviously needed, but this was not to be confused with political control of the militias, also considering the problem of the 'internal front' of the political parties possibly disposed to sacrifice the antifascist war not to make the revolution, but to avoid it. For Berneri, 'the government of Madrid is an enemy of social revolution', and for this reason it was unwilling to send weapons to Barcelona.¹¹⁹

In these months, one of the prickliest aspects of Berneri's journalistic activity was his constant and sharp denunciation of the growing hegemony that the Communist Party was gaining in the Republican Front. Communists were a small minority in Spain until 1936, but they were becoming powerful thanks to Russia's support and to their choice of defending small property, becoming 'the Foreign legion of Spanish democracy and liberalism',¹²⁰ which allowed them recruiting many members of the petty bourgeoisie scared by the collectivization. Berneri also criticized those CNT leaders who tried to please such a thorny ally, arguing for instance that, 'in exalting the USSR government, *Solidaridad Obrera* reached the peak of political naiveté'.¹²¹ But the main problem with the Communist Party was not (only) its commitment 'to defend [bourgeois] democracy and private property',¹²² against the ongoing collectivisation: it was its willingness to exert an authoritarian control over republican Spain. 'Barcelona is now surrounded between Burgos, Rome, Berlin, Madrid and Moscow. A siege ... But we can do miracles. Taken between Prussia and Versailles, the Paris Commune lighted a fire which still enlightens the world ... The Godeds¹²³ of Moscow shall be aware of this'.¹²⁴

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These articles called the attention of Russian consul Antonov-Ovshenko who relatedly met a not better identified ‘influential member of the government’¹²⁵ to make pressures for silencing Berneri.

In Berneri’s analysis, the fear for revolution was likewise blinding Western democracies on the dangers of Nazi-Fascism, an exemplar case being the leader of French *Front populaire* Léon Blum, who preferred to take the risk of having his country encircled by fascist forces rather than having a revolution close to home. Highlighting the inadequacy of liberal democracy for countering fascisms, the Italian anarchist predicted a forthcoming world war in the case that the Spanish massacres, eventually the ferocious Nazi bombing of Madrid, failed to raise public awareness. ‘Today on the sky of Madrid, tomorrow on that of Barcelona, and the day after tomorrow in Paris. The European war resumed. It is the airplanes of Mussolini’s Italy and Hitler’s Germany which massacre and disgrace Madrid. Does not this abomination shake your conscience? Therefore, it is the bombs that will awaken it’.¹²⁶

The most famous of these documents was the ‘Open letter to comrade Federica Montseny’, a CNT leader and member of the Largo Caballero government, published in April 1937, few weeks before Berneri’s assassination. In this paper, Berneri complained about the action of Stalinist forces in the rear-guard and the increasing paranoia against the so-called ‘uncontrolled’. Instead of fighting the enemy, richly armed police corps were left far from the front ‘to seize few guns and rifles to the revolutionary groups. This happens in a situation when the internal front is not eliminated ... in regions where the main front is very close, highly indented and not *mathematically* certain’.¹²⁷ Berneri reproached Montseny for her shy behaviour within the Spanish government: ‘You sit in a government which offered advantages to England and France in Morocco, while we should have officially proclaimed Moroccan independence’.¹²⁸ As a result of these choices, and of the deteriorating military situation, Berneri observed that the revolutionary war was increasingly becoming a national war of resistance for mere survival. For Berneri, the main responsible for that were the Stalinists, also favoured by: ‘The silence of [Spanish] anarchist press on the dictatorial crimes of Stalin and on the abominable process against the Trotskyist and Leninist opposition ... [including] the plan announced by the *Pravda* on 17 December 1936: “In Catalonia, the cleansing from Trotskyist and Anarcho-Syndicalist elements has started and will be carried out with the same energy as it was accomplished in the USSR”’.¹²⁹ In these weeks, Berneri was also one of those

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who stood up publicly against the Stalinist persecution of the POUM (*Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista*), denouncing its ‘unprecedented violence and pretextual nature’¹³⁰ and claiming the constructive role that the anarchists played in trying to moderate the dispute between the PSUC (*Partido Socialista Unificado de Cataluña*, the Catalan branch of the Spanish Communist Party) and the POUM in Catalonia. For Berneri, it was this dispute, and not the possible action of few *incontrolados*, which constituted ‘a breach of war discipline’.¹³¹ He noticed that, despite their ideological distance from the anarchists, the Marxists of the POUM ‘sided with the FAI and the CNT in the heroic resistance against the military/fascist putsch, and organised columns which brought 8,000 men to the fronts’.¹³² Against Stalinist repression, Berneri urged Montseny to use her prestige to call for an intensified revolutionary action, arguing that: ‘The dilemma “war of revolution” does no longer make sense. The sole dilemma is: victory on Franco through the revolutionary war or defeat’.¹³³

Beneri paid his outspokenness with his life during the tragic Barcelona ‘Bloody May’ of 1937, when several hundreds of antifascists of various belongings died in violent street clashes between the anarchists and the Catalan nationalists supported by the PSUC. In the same day of Berneri’s assassination, 5 May 1937, *Guerra di Classe* published his last paper denouncing the alliance between the PSUC, the Catalan nationalists and the ‘petty-bourgeoisie which entered the Popular Front’.¹³⁴ Berneri eventually mentioned the names of their leaders Santiago Carrillo, Juan Comorera, together with ‘*Acció Catalana*, the right/wing components of the PSUC, [socialist minister Angel] Galarza, etc. Here you are the forces of counter-revolution’.¹³⁵ Nobody knows the name of the material executors of Berneri: according to direct witnesses, he was arrested at home by anonymous agents after that he remained blocked in his building, which was behind the governmental lines in the crazy urban geography that characterised Barcelona in these days. However, the political responsibilities of this murder were publicly claimed by the journal *Grido del Popolo*, organ of the Italian Communist Party led by Togliatti, journal that wrote few days later that ‘Berneri has been executed by the democratic revolution, which was in its legitimate right of self-defence’.¹³⁶ While the political responsibility of the Stalinists (and of their occasional Catalanist allies), is largely recognized by historiography, some less convincing hypotheses have been recently made by other Italian authors. They attributed Berneri’s murder to agents of Angel Galarza, following an amazing ‘thriller story’ concerning some suitcases replete with gold, allegedly stolen by Galarza in

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Madrid and then fallen in the hands of the Italian anarchists.¹³⁷ However, these works are methodologically flawed by the fact that their authors strongly rely on the internal reports of fascist spies without doing major questionings of the obviously doubtful reliability of these documents, and by the fact that they don't provide any decisive evidence in support of their final statements.¹³⁸ Most importantly, these 'new' hypotheses don't modify the political field from which Berneri's assassination was commissioned, that is the governmental one, and namely the persons and parties that he had denounced as 'counter-revolutionaries'.

Conclusion

With reference to the anarchist historiography mentioned above, it is possible to conclude that the transnational and antifascist contexts of Berneri's work expose his central position in a political and organisational pathway shared by most of the Italian anarchists, demonstrating how Berneri, whom some liberal historians pretended to be an 'heretic' of anarchism, was paradoxically more 'orthodox' than many others (if any 'anarchist orthodoxy' has ever existed). His contribution to anarchist theories and praxes complements similar figures of activists and intellectuals such as Fabbri and Malatesta, which are still today important references for the organised anarchist movement.¹³⁹

The antifascist exile that Berneri shared with his fellows shows the specificity of anarchist transnationalism. On the one hand, exile was consistent with anarchist internationalist postulates and conferred pride and moral authority. On the other, anarchist exiles did not escape from the sense of extraneity highlighted by Said: without being nationalist, they continued to reclaim forms of rootedness and willingness to come back 'home' to accomplish their revolutionary work. This confirms recent scholarship arguing that anarchism is not incompatible with open and inclusive ideas of nation,¹⁴⁰ especially in the context of anti-colonial struggles.

Anti-colonialism was one of the key notions for Berneri's anarchist and subaltern geopolitics, seeking a dialectic between internationalism and national liberation (this latter being a rhetoric which was widely deployed in republican Spain) and performing geopolitical and geostrategic analyses questioning statist frameworks, which summarize the geopolitical specificity of anarchism. For Berneri and his anarchist fellows, struggling for political freedom and social equality meant fighting at the same time against fascism and for social revolution,

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occupying an increasingly narrow and uncomfortable political space where operational alliances were not prejudicially excluded.

Finally, it is worth stressing the relevance of the theoretical and practical example of Berneri, an exiled, imprisoned and persecuted intellectual, who had to do manual work for earning his life and to grab alternatively a rifle and a pen to do his revolutionary job. In a world which is again increasingly shaped by walls and barriers, intolerance and xenophobia, Berneri's conclusion for *Mussolini alla conquista delle Baleari* can still inspire current critical scholarship: 'I am not impartial, because I have been an exile for 11 years and I am in the middle of the battle – Impartiality is an illusion, honesty is a duty'.¹⁴¹

¹ Klaus Dodds, Merje Kuus and Jo Sharp (eds.) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Critical Geopolitics* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

² Federico Ferretti & Jacobo García-Álvarez 'Anarchist geopolitics of the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939): Gonzalo de Reparaz and the "Iberian Tragedy"', *Geopolitics* 2019. Online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14650045.2017.1398143>

³ Ruth Craggs, 'Subaltern Geopolitics and the Post-Colonial Commonwealth, 1965–1990', *Political Geography* 65 (2018) pp. 46–56.; James D. Sidaway, Virginie Mamadouh and Marcus Power, 'Reappraising geopolitical traditions', in Klaus Dodds, Merje Kuus and Jo Sharp (eds.) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Critical Geopolitics* (Farnham: Ashgate: 2013) pp. 165–87; Jo Sharp, 'Subaltern Geopolitics: Introduction', *Geoforum* Vol. 42 No. 3 (2011) pp. 271–273.

⁴ Edward Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (London: Granta Books, 2000); Andy Davies, 'Exile in the homeland? Anti-colonialism, subaltern geographies and the politics of friendship in early twentieth century Pondicherry', *Environment and Planning D, Society and space* Vol. 35, No. 3 (2017) pp. 457–474.

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