



THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
APPLICATION FOR PSC-CUNY 35 RESEARCH AWARD PROGRAM

Control Number: (For Office use only) 35-0272	Name: (last) (first) (no initials) Getman Jordi	Review Panel: (Not division)	
	Co-PI: (Attach copy of this page with CO-PI info)	History	
Rank: <input type="checkbox"/> Distinguished Professor <input type="checkbox"/> Professor <input type="checkbox"/> Associate Professor <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Assistant Professor <input type="checkbox"/> Lecturer <input type="checkbox"/> Instructor <input type="checkbox"/> Other	Tenure: <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> CCE	Type of Award: (choose only one) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> One year <input type="checkbox"/> Renewal (one consecutive year only) # _____ of previous grant <input type="checkbox"/> Out- of-Cycle (date of hire: _____) <input type="checkbox"/> Emergency (justification attached)	
Department: History	College: Bronx Community College	Subjects (where college Approval is required) <input type="checkbox"/> Human <input type="checkbox"/> Animal	Progress Report (For Renewal applicants only): <input type="checkbox"/> Attached <input type="checkbox"/> Will Follow By December 15 th
Supplementary Materials attached: <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No (Do not check off if only appendices are attached)	Home Address: 169-171 Winchester Ave # FF New Haven, CT 06511 Telephone: (H) (203) 624-7347 (W) (718) 289-5248	Email Address: jordigetman@hotmail.com	Amount requested: \$ 4,360.00 yr. 1
Title of Proposed Project: "Impromptu Revolutionaries: Anarchosyndicalists, Revolutionary Rhetoric, and the Coming of the Spanish Civil War."			

Brief Abstract:

My project aims to expand on research carried out for my doctoral dissertation in preparation of a book manuscript for publication. My dissertation, entitled "Rethinking the Revolution: Utopia and Pragmatism in Catalan Anarchosyndicalism, 1930-1936," reinterpreted the contribution of Catalan anarchosyndicalists to the destabilization of the Second Republic and to the subsequent outbreak of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). Politicians and academics alike have traditionally placed blame for the social and political breakdown that led to civil war on the anarchosyndicalist trade union, the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT). My study of the Barcelona CNT, however, has led me to conclude that in July 1936 the city's union militants were neither prepared nor willing to incite a social revolution. The Catalan region's anarchosyndicalist union leadership, so ready to provoke revolts in the past, had some months before reached a consensus to put aside spontaneous insurrectionist tactics in favor of a more constructive policy of syndical consolidation and reinforcement. Indeed, my careful examination of local CNT periodicals and syndicate meeting notes has revealed that syndicate leaders had progressively adopted similarly moderate tactics since the failure of the last revolutionary uprising three years earlier. My current project aims to determine whether these conclusions can be applied to CNT syndicates in regions of Spain outside of Catalonia. Assigning the CNT in all regions of Spain a less important role in bringing about fratricidal war would by extension increase the responsibility of other parties. The contribution of other forces of the left and extreme right to the radicalization of Spanish politics in the spring and early summer of 1936 would become even more significant than previous studies consider it to be. That would represent a radical revision to long accepted interpretations of the origins of the Spanish Civil War.

Principal Investigator: I understand that: (1) The award may be revoked in whole or in part should my relationship with the City University cease to exist provided that such revocation shall not include any amounts obligated previous to the effective date of revocation. (2) The general terms and conditions of this proposal as stated in the application form, program guidelines and elsewhere have been read and accepted. (3) Any funds granted as a result of this application are to be expended for the purpose outlined herein in accordance with University and Foundation policies, and any funds not expended for this purpose shall revert to the PSC-CUNY Research Award Program upon completion or termination of award, whichever is earlier. (4) Equipment purchases are covered under Section 4.3 of *Project Director's Guide*.

Signature:  Date: Oct. 7, 2003 *Original*
Campus Endorsement: This is to certify that the applicant is authorized to conduct the study described by the accompanying proposal of this campus, and that the undersigned satisfied that the scope of the applicant's project will not interfere with his/her professional duties. *Release time, where requested, has our approval.* Other support will be provided campus to assist this study.
 Signature:  Title: Vice President Date: 10/9/03

PSC-CUNY 35 RESEARCH AWARD PROGRAM PROPOSED BUDGET

Name: Jordi Getman			
Principal Investigator Academic Year Salary \$ _____ <i>(Only for those requesting summer salary)</i>			Requested Amount
Principal Investigator	<i>(Summer salary-maximum \$3,000)</i>		(5400)
	<i>Fringe Benefits 20%</i>		(5955)
Release Time	<i>(\$3,000)</i>		(5800)
	<i>Fringe Benefits 28%</i>		(5950)
Research Staff			(5410)
	<i>Fringe Benefits Part time 9%; Full time 33.5%</i>		(5940)
Equipment	<i>(Single item \$1,000+)</i>		(7900)
Expendable Supplies/Small Equipment	Photocopies	\$ 100.00	(6200)
Travel	<i>(Mode, destination, & estimated per diem)</i>		
Domestic			(6910)
Foreign	Airfare for travel to Barcelona, Spain	\$ 950.00	(6920)
Local	Train travel to Salamanca, Oviedo, and Gijón	\$ 210.00	(6930)
Payment to Subjects			(7020)
Manuscript Prep/ Publication			(8040)
Other	Lodging and food expenses	\$ 3,100.00	
	Total Amount Requested	\$ 4,360.00	

BUDGET JUSTIFICATION: Please list budget items in order of importance with justification but limit to space provided. Also, supply a job description for all Research Assistants.

My plans are to fly into Barcelona, Spain. Estimated cost for a plane ticket JFK-Barcelona is \$ 950. After a couple of days at the Arxiu Municipal de la Ciutat (Municipal Archive), I will leave for Salamanca by train. Cost for train trip is estimated at \$70. I plan to stay in Salamanca five to six weeks, for which I will need to cover lodging (40 days at \$ 40/day = \$1,600) and food (40 days at \$ 20/day = \$800). I will then travel north to the cities of Oviedo and Gijón, where I plan to stay about a week in each city. Train travel is estimated to cost \$45 for the trip to Oviedo and another \$25 for the trip to Gijón. Costs of lodging in both Oviedo and Gijón should be a little lower than Salamanca (14 days at \$ 30/day = \$420) but meals should cost roughly the same (14 days at \$20/day = \$280). The only additional expense would be that of photocopying documents at the different archives I visit during my stay in Spain. Based on previous trips, I calculate roughly \$100 will be needed for that (copies at Spanish archives usually cost ten cents per page). The following is an itemized list of the budget:

- Airfare for travel from New York to Barcelona, Spain	\$ 950.00
- Train travel to Salamanca, Oviedo, and Gijón	\$ 210.00
- Lodging:	
Salamanca (40 days x \$ 40/day) =	\$ 1,600.00
Oviedo and Gijón (14 days x \$30/day) =	\$ 420.00
- Food: (54 days x \$ 20/day) =	\$ 1,080.00
- Photocopies	\$ 100.00
Total:	\$ 4,360.00

BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY:NAME: Jordi Getman**EDUCATION**

INSTITUTION	DEGREE	YEAR	FIELD of STUDY
University of Arkansas-Fayetteville	B.A.	1991	History and Spanish
University of Wisconsin-Madison	M.A.	1994	Modern European History
	PhD	2001	Modern European History

RESEARCH & PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE: Summarize research and professional experience, which is pertinent to this proposal.

List in chronological order the titles and complete references to publications in the past three years and to representative earlier publications important to this application. Do not exceed this page. DO NOT ATTACH CURRICULUM VITAE.

Use an asterisk (*) to the left of publications, performances or works which resulted from PSC-CUNY funding)

This project is an extension of my doctoral dissertation, entitled "Rethinking the Revolution: Utopia and Pragmatism in Catalan Anarchosindicalism, 1930-1936," for which I began research six years ago in Barcelona, Spain. For my dissertation, I principally used archives in Barcelona and Madrid, including the Arxiu Municipal de la Ciutat and the Pabelló de la República in Barcelona, and the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. My research was funded in part by a grant from the Program for Cultural Cooperation Between Spain's Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sports and United States' Universities (1997), a Fulbright Foreign Fellowship (1998). I also received a grant from the Bradley Foundation (2000) to help with the writing once back in the United States. I have presented various papers at conferences reporting my research findings and tentative conclusions. The feedback I received from colleagues at the conferences proved an invaluable aid in the completion of the dissertation. My present research project will allow me to test whether the conclusions reached in my dissertation, which restricted itself to the region of Catalonia, are applicable to the rest of Spain. This is a critical step in preparing a book manuscript for publication.

Research Grants:

1997 – Program for Cultural Cooperation Between Spain's Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sports and United States' Universities.

1998 – Fulbright Foreign Fellowship

2000 – Bradley Foundation Research Grant

Conference Papers:

- "The CNT in the Catalan Worker Neighborhood: A Labor Mafia?" – Annual Meeting of the Society of Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies. Santa Fe. April 19-22, 2001.

- "The Constituency Crisis of the Catalan CNT Regional Confederation" – Annual Meeting of the Society of Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies. San Diego. April 15-18, 1999.

- "Formas grupales masculinas y el 'hecho diferencial catalán'" – Annual Meeting of J. William Fulbright Fellows. Universidad de Granada, Granada, Spain. April 2-5, 1997.

OTHER FUNDING:NAME Jordi Getman

TOTAL NUMBER OF PRIOR PSC-CUNY AWARDS <u>0</u>
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PSC-CUNY AWARDS (over past five years)

DATE:	TITLE	NEW or RENEWAL	AMOUNT
	none		

EXTERNAL RESEARCH GRANT/AWARD PROPOSALS

Over past five years; indicate funded/not funded and your role in project.

Place an asterisk (*) to left of awards that resulted from PSC-CUNY funding

DATE	TITLE	FUNDING SOURCE	AMOUNT
1998	Fulbright Foreign Fellowship	Fulbright Foundation	\$ 8,100
2000	Bradley Foundation Research Grant	Bradley Foundation	\$ 6,000

PROPOSALS UNDER REVIEW OR IN PREPARATION

DATE	TITLE	FUNDING SOURCE	AMOUNT
	none		

PSC-CUNY Research Proposal for Jordi W. Getman

I am applying for a PSC-CUNY research grant to fund a six-week research trip to Spain for next summer, from June to August 2004. I plan to visit archives in the cities of Salamanca, Oviedo, and Gijón. My research project is entitled "Impromptu Revolutionaries: Anarchosyndicalists, Revolutionary Rhetoric, and the Coming of the Spanish Civil War." It builds on doctoral research I carried out five years ago and its ultimate goal is to prepare my doctoral dissertation for publication. My dissertation challenges long-established interpretations that have pointed to anarchosyndicalists and the CNT as major contributors to the radicalization of Spanish politics and the eventual outbreak of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939).

The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War on 19 July 1936 marked the beginning of the most profound revolutionary experiment in worker self-management and popular power in twentieth century Europe. Traditional interpretations put the anarchosyndicalist trade union, the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Labor), or CNT, at the heart of this unprecedented process of social, political, and economic transformation. Most accounts of the civil war point to CNT syndicates as crucial to the breakdown of the Republic and as the leading instigators of the revolution, especially in Catalonia and Aragón. Rightist conspirators justified their coup against the Republican government as a preemptive strike against an imminent leftist revolutionary insurrection led by anarchosyndicalists and Socialists. Within the leftist camp, Communists accused the CNT of undermining the war effort against the rightist Nationalists by prioritizing the social revolution.

Indeed, for years the CNT's militancy had preached the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of "libertarian communism." My study of the CNT in the region of Catalonia, however, has led me to conclude that in July 1936 the region's CNT union militants were neither prepared nor willing to incite a social revolution. The region's anarchosyndicalist union leadership, so ready to incite revolts in the past, had some months before reached a consensus to put aside spontaneous insurrectionist tactics in favor of a more constructive policy of syndical consolidation

and reinforcement. As much as this tactic contradicted the revolutionary objectives of the anarchosyndicalist trade union's statutes, it came as no surprise to union members. In fact, my careful examination of Catalan CNT periodicals and syndicate meeting notes has revealed that syndicate leaders had progressively adopted similarly moderate tactics since the failure of the last revolutionary insurrection three years earlier. Therefore, my research recasts the role played by Catalan anarchosyndicalists in Barcelona in the destabilization of the Second Republic and in the subsequent civil war. When fighting broke out in July 1936, the CNT pledged its support to the Republican government and the maintainment of the status quo in the face of the armed rightist threat.

My current project aims to determine whether these conclusions can be applied to CNT syndicates in regions of Spain outside of Catalonia. Assigning the CNT in all regions of Spain a less important role in bringing about the fratricidal war would, by extension, reapportion responsibility to other parties, namely, the other forces of the left and extreme right. The contribution of these groups to the radicalization of Spanish politics in the spring and early summer of 1936 would become even more significant than previous studies consider it to be. That would represent a radical revision to long accepted interpretations of the origins of the Spanish Civil War.

I also want to examine the significant and apparently paradoxical changes in the tactical direction of the CNT during the period of the Spanish Civil War. My aim is to go beyond the institutional and ideological stereotypes of the CNT and explore the inconsistencies in the anarchosyndicalist revolutionary utopia and their subsequent effect on the movement's evolution after the breakout of hostilities in July 1936. The CNT was an organization troubled by a series of deep-seated contradictions and ambiguities, opening fissures from its ideological influences to its operational directives. These contradictions made it impossible to establish a coherent and stable identity for the syndicate. It was condemned to exist in a continual state of flux, vacillating easily between moments of strength and weakness, cohesive organization and chaos, radicalism and moderation, and, ultimately, success and failure.

Within the larger context of European social, economic, and political development, my study of the CNT can help identify general tendencies in the socio-political change experienced by Southern European latecomers such as Spain in the process of industrialization. Organizations such as the CNT emerged to fill a transitional void in which traditional economic and political power relationships were breaking down, but had not been fully replaced by the impersonal structures of the market and state. Understanding the reasons for the success, and, ultimately, failure of the CNT provides us with a window through which we can view and understand the needs, desires, and expectations of Spain's growing urban populations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.


My research this summer will begin in Barcelona, where I plan to spend two or three days reviewing documents at the Victor Alba collection at the Pavelló de la República, a collection I am somewhat familiar with for work I did on my dissertation five years ago. From there, I will travel to Salamanca, Oviedo, and finally Gijón. I have been in contact with archivists at the Archivo General de la Guerra Civil Española in Salamanca, the Archivo Histórico de Oviedo, and the Archivo Municipal de Gijón to obtain access permits for the three archives. I visited the archive in Salamanca in the spring of 1998, but my limited resources restricted my stay then to only a few days. This summer I plan to devote five or six weeks to combing the Republican government documents as well as the archives' extensive periodicals section. The Sección Político Social of the Archivo de la Guerra Civil contains over 2,100 boxes of loosely organized documents from Barcelona and Catalonia's regional government, the Generalitat, from the Republican period to the end of the Civil War. There are another 3,000 boxes with documents on the Madrid area, Aragón, Valencia, and Gijón, regions where CNT influence was strong outside of Catalonia. Of special interest to me are the roughly five hundred tapes of interviews with Republicans exiled in Mexico. I look forward to combining these oral documents with interviews that I myself carried out in Barcelona four years ago with surviving CNT militants. Lastly, the Archivo has a section dedicated to the press and war propaganda boasting numerous leaflets and

declarations. These documents and recorded interviews will serve as the groundwork for a comparative of the propaganda rhetoric used by all the social and political forces engaged in the war

I would then dedicate another two or three weeks to the archives in Oviedo and Gijón, provinces in which the CNT had a significant presence during the Republican period. I have not yet had a chance to personally research their collections, though other scholars assure me that a lot of material relevant to my project is to be found there. Both the Archivo Histórico de Oviedo and the Archivo Municipal de Gijón have regional trade union documents as well as local periodicals relevant to the October 1934 revolt (centered in the region of Asturias), the last leftist uprising prior to the rightist coup d'état in July 1936. A careful examination of these documents will provide a point of comparison from which to interpret the shifts in organizational strategy evidenced by the CNT in Asturias and, by extension, the rest of Spain.

I ask the Research Foundation to help me to complete this project which I think will make an invaluable contribution to the way we now view the origins of the Spanish Civil War. My ultimate goal is to present this research as a book manuscript for publication within a year. I hope that the Review Panel will deem this project worthy of funding. Thank you for your time and consideration of my application.

Sincerely,



Jordi W. Getman