

The Spanish Republic and Civil War

The Spanish Civil War has gone down in history for the horrific violence that it generated. The climate of euphoria and hope that greeted the overthrow of the Spanish monarchy was utterly transformed just five years later by a cruel and destructive civil war. Here, Julián Casanova, one of Spain's leading historians, offers a magisterial new account of this critical period in Spanish history. He exposes the ways in which the Republic brought into the open simmering tensions between Catholics and hardline anticlericalists, bosses and workers, Church and State, order and revolution. In 1936, these conflicts tipped over into the *sacas*, *paseos* and mass killings that are still passionately debated today. The book also explores the decisive role of the international instability of the 1930s in the duration and outcome of the conflict. Franco's victory was in the end a victory for Hitler and Mussolini, and for dictatorship over democracy.

JULIÁN CASANOVA is Professor of Contemporary History at the University of Zaragoza, Spain. He is one of the leading experts on the Second Republic and the Spanish Civil War and has published widely in Spanish and in English.



The Spanish Republic and Civil War

JULIÁN CASANOVA Translated by Martin Douch





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521737807

© Cambridge University Press 2010

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

Originally published in Spanish as Historia de España vol. VIII: República y guerra civil by Crítica 2007, © Crítica 2007

First published in English by Cambridge University Press 2010 as *The Spanish Republic and Civil War*, © Julián Casanova 2010 English Translation © Julián Casanova 2010

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data Casanova, Julián.

[República y guerra civil. English]

The Spanish Republic and Civil War / Julián Casanova ; translated by Martin Douch.

p. cm.

"Originally published in Spanish as Historia de España, vol. VIII: República y guerra civil by Crítica, 2007."

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-521-49388-8 – ISBN 978-0-521-73780-7 (pbk.)

1. Spain – History – Republic, 1931–1939. 2. Spain – Politics and government – 1931–1939. 3. Social conflict – Spain – History – 20th century. 4. Spain – History – Civil War, 1936–1939 – Causes.

5. Spain - History - Civil War, 1936-1939. I. Title.

DP254.C32713 2010

946.081-dc22 2010021901

ISBN 978-0-521-49388-8 Hardback ISBN 978-0-521-73780-7 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

List of mats

List of maps		<i>page</i> vi
Ch	ronology	vii
Int	roduction	1
Par	rt I Republic	7
1	The winds of change	9
2	The constraints of democracy	37
3	Order and religion	64
4	Reshaping the Republic	94
5	The seeds of confrontation	125
Par	rt II Civil war	151
6	From coup d'état to civil war	153
7	Order, revolution and political violence	179
8	An international war	212
9	The Republic at war	236
10	'Nationalist' Spain	275
11	Battlefields and rearguard politics	304
Epilogue: Why did the Republic lose the war?		335
Glossary		340
Appendix 1: Leading figures		342
Appendix 2: Political parties and organisations		344
Index		347

v



Maps

Map 1	Spain, 31 July 1936	page 175
Map 2	Evolution of the war, September 1937	311
Map 3	Evolution of the war, November 1938	317
Map 4	Evolution of the war, February 1939	330

vi



Chronology

1875-1923 Constitutional monarchy

1923: 13 September Pronunciamiento by Primo de Rivera.

1930

Overthrow of Primo de Rivera. 28 January 17 August Meeting of republican leaders in San

Sebastián. They agree to form a revolution-

ary committee.

10 October The Partido Socialista joins the revolution-

ary committee.

An unsuccessful uprising in Jaca. Captains 12 December

Galán and García Hernández are shot.

1931

12 April Municipal elections. Republican victory.

THE REPUBLIC

Proclamation of the Republic and exile of 14 April

the King.

7 May Pastoral letter by Cardinal Segura lauding

the Monarchy.

Burning of monasteries and convents. 10-11 May May-June Decrees on secular education, social and

employment reforms.

3 June Announcement of elections for the

Constituent Cortes.

16 June Azaña issues the first set of decrees regard-

ing the reform of the army.

28 June Elections for the Constituent Cortes.

vii



viii	Chronology
14 July	Opening of the Cortes; closure of the General Military Academy in Zaragoza. Its director was
9–14 October	Francisco Franco. Debate on Article 26 of the Constitution, regarding religious orders; resignation of Niceto Alcalá Zamora, head of the provisional government of
December 9 December	the Republic; Manuel Azaña, Prime Minister. Founding of the JONS. Passing of the Constitution, the first republican Constitution in Spain's history. Niceto Alcalá Zamora is elected President of the Republic.
31 December	Assassination of Civil Guards in Castilblanco.
1932	
January	Dissolution of the Company of Jesus; implementation of the divorce law; secularisation of cemeteries.
5 January	The Civil Guard kills eleven people during a demonstration in Arnedo (La Rioja).
20–27 January	Rising in the Llobregat coalfield; general strikes called by the CNT.
10 August	Revolt by General Sanjurjo against the Republic.
September	Statute of Catalonia and Agrarian Reform Acts.
1933	
January	Anarchist revolt in Casas Viejas (Cádiz).
1 March	Founding of <i>Renovación Española</i> , an ultra-right monarchist group.
17 May	Religious Confessions and Congregations Act.
4–5 September	Defeat of the government in elections to the Guarantees Tribunal. Alcalá Zamora dismisses Manuel Azaña.
9 October	Dissolution of the Constituent Cortes.
29 October	José Antonio Primo de Rivera founds the <i>Falange Española</i> party in Madrid.
19 November	Centre right wins the elections; Alejandro Lerroux, Prime Minister.
8–11 December	Anarchist risings in Catalonia and Aragon.



Chronology

1934

February The *Falange* merges with the JONS.

5–11 June Strike by agricultural workers in Andalusia and

Extremadura.

1 October Lerroux governs with three CEDA ministers, the

grass-roots organisation of the Catholic right.

6 October Rising in Catalonia and Asturias; state of war

declared; the Foreign Legion and Moorish troops

sent to Asturias.

1935

7 May Gil Robles, leader of the CEDA, Minister of War. 29 October Lerroux forced to resign following the *estraperlo*

corruption scandal; short-lived centrist

governments.

1936

7 January Dissolution of the Cortes.

15 January Electoral pact and platform of the *Frente*

Popular, under the leadership of republicans

and socialists.

16 February Elections won by the *Frente Popular*.

19 February Azaña government; amnesty of political prisoners.
13 March Failed Falangist attempt to assassinate Jiménez de

Asúa, one of the fathers of the Constitution.

15 March The Falange declared illegal; arrest of José

Antonio Primo de Rivera.

7 April The Cortes dismisses Alcalá Zamora as President

of the Republic.

10 May Azaña, President of the Republic.

12 May The republican Casares Quiroga becomes Prime

Minister after the post was refused by the social-

ist, Indalecio Prieto.

12 July Assassination of the Assault Guard, Castillo and,

a day later, Calvo Sotelo, leader of Renovación

Española.

17–20 July *Pronunciamiento* in Morocco and the

Peninsula.



x	Chronology
20 July	CIVIL WAR The republican José Giral forms a government; the government appeals to France; Franco sends
27 July	emissaries to Italy and Germany. Seville under control of the rebels; reinforcements flown in from Morocco.
28–30 July	Italian and German aircraft arrive in Morocco and Seville; outdated French aircraft go to Madrid.
8 August	Closing of the French border; unilateral declaration of non-intervention.
24 August	Italy, Germany and Portugal accept non- intervention 'in principle'.
4 September	The socialist Largo Caballero leads a government with republicans, socialists and Communists.
7 September	Aguirre forms the Basque government, supporting the Republic.
9 September	First meeting of the Non-Intervention Committee in London.
27 September	Government of the <i>Generalitat</i> of Catalonia, with <i>Esquerra</i> , the PSUC and the POUM; anarchist participation.
28 September	The rebels seize Toledo.
1 October	The republican Cortes passes the Basque Statute; in the other camp, Franco is designated <i>Generalísimo</i> and supreme head of the military rebels.
6 October	The Soviets declare that they will feel no more bound by non-intervention than Germany, Italy and Portugal do.
24 October	First Russian tanks in action; Russian officers arrive in Madrid; German and Italian aircraft bomb the capital.
4 November	The anarchists, in a historic move, join Largo Caballero's government.
6 November	Worried that the Nationalists will take Madrid, the republican government transfers to Valencia.
8 November	General attack against Madrid; arrival of the International Brigades.



Chronology xi

18 November Attack on Madrid suspended;

Germany and Italy recognise Franco's

government in Burgos.

20 November José Antonio Primo de Rivera, leader

of the Fascist FE JONS, is executed in

Alicante.

1937

10 February The Nationalists take Málaga.

6–15 February Battle of the Jarama. 8–18 March Battle of Guadalajara.

19 April Franco orders the merging of the

Falange and Carlists, giving rise to the single party,

FET-IONS.

26 April Bombing of Guernica.

3–8 May Barricades and political fighting,

with several hundreds of deaths, in

Barcelona.

17 May Dismissal of Largo Caballero; a new

government under the socialist Juan

Negrín.

16 June Arrest of POUM leaders, accused

of provoking the events of May in Barcelona; disappearance of its

leader, Andreu Nin.

19 June The Nationalists take Bilbao.1 July Collective letter by the Spanish

bishops supporting the civil war as a

religious crusade.

7–26 July Battle of Brunete.

24 August–15 September
26 August
The Nationalists take Santander.
19 October
The Nationalists seize Gijón.

31 October The Negrín government transfers to

Barcelona.



xii Chronology

14 December The beginning of the Teruel offensive, which the

republicans take - the only provincial capital they

were able to seize during the war.

1938

22 February The Nationalists recapture Teruel.

9 March Beginning of the Nationalist offensive

in Aragon.

5 April Reshuffle in Negrín's government; Prieto resigns as

Minister of Defence.

15 April The Nationalists arrive at the Mediterranean.

24 July Start of the Battle of the Ebro.

15 November Retreat from the Ebro; farewell parade to the

International Brigades.

23 December Nationalist offensive in Catalonia.

1939

15 January The Nationalists seize Tarragona.

26 January Occupation of Barcelona.

4 February Occupation of Gerona and mass withdrawal to the

French border; the Nationalists end their occupa-

tion of Catalonia.

13 February Nationalist Political Responsibilities Act, the

principal repressive law of Franco's dictatorship.

27 February France and the United Kingdom recognise the

Burgos government; Azaña resigns.

7–11 March Communist revolt in Madrid against Negrín's

government, which hastens the end of the Republic.

28 March The Nationalists enter Madrid.

1 April Total surrender of the republican army. Official end

of the Civil War.