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The Spanish Civil War

This book presents an original new history of the most important conflict in European affairs during the 1930s, prior to the events that produced World War II – the Spanish Civil War. It describes the complex origins of the conflict, the collapse of the Spanish Republic, and the outbreak of the only mass worker revolution in the history of Western Europe. Stanley G. Payne explains the character of the Spanish revolution and the complex web of republican politics, while also examining in detail the development of Franco's counterrevolutionary dictatorship. Payne gives attention to the multiple meanings and interpretations of war and examines why the conflict provoked such strong reactions in its own time, and long after. The book also explains the military history of the war and its place in the history of military development; the nonintervention policy of the democracies; and the role of German, Italian, and Soviet intervention, concluding with an analysis of the place of the war in European affairs and in comparative perspective of revolutionary civil wars of the twentieth century.

Stanley G. Payne has taught history at several universities, including Columbia University, UCLA, and the University of Wisconsin. He is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a corresponding member of Real Academia Española de la Historia, Madrid. He has received various awards and prizes, most recently the Marshal Shulman Book Award of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (2005) and the Gran Cruz de Isabel la Católica from the Spanish government (2009). He has been the coeditor of the *Journal of Contemporary History* since 1999. Professor Payne is the author of more than 20 books and 150 articles, as well as coauthor or coeditor of 9 books. Most recently, he is the author of *The Collapse of the Spanish Republic, 1933–1936: Origins of the Civil War*; *Franco and Hitler: Spain, Germany, and World War II*; *Spain: A Unique History*; and *Civil War in Europe, 1905–1949*.

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STANLEY G. PAYNE
University of Wisconsin, Madison



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Chronology of Major Events

1930	
January	Resignation of General Miguel Primo de Rivera, dictator since 1923
December	Republican military insurrection fails
1931	
April 12	Partial victory of the Republican-Socialist coalition in municipal elections
April 14	Second Republic proclaimed
May 11–12	“Burning of the convents” by radical anti-clericals
June 28	Sweeping victory by Republican-Socialist coalition in the first general elections
December 9	Adoption of the Republican Constitution
1932	
January 18	First revolutionary insurrection by anarchists
August 10	Abortive rightist military revolt in Madrid and Seville
1933	
January 8	Second revolutionary insurrection by anarchists
November 19	General elections won by the center and right
December 8	Third revolutionary insurrection by anarchists
1934	
June 10	General strike by Socialist agricultural workers
October 4	Revolutionary insurrection by the Worker Alliance

1936	
February 16	General elections won by the Popular Front
May 10	Inauguration of Manuel Azaña as president of the Republic
July 13	Assassination of José Calvo Sotelo
July 17–21	Military insurrection against Republican government
July 19	Attempt at compromise by abortive government of Martínez Barrio fails Republican government arms revolutionary worker syndicates, beginning the revolution Formation of new left Republican government under José Giral
July 19–September 4	Most chaotic phase of the revolution
August 3	Franco begins his drive on Madrid from the south
September 4	Formation of all-Popular Front government under Largo Caballero
September 15	Non-Intervention Committee convenes in London
September 27	Organization of new Republican People’s Army decreed
October 1	Franco assumes supreme command of Nationalists
November 4	Four anarchist ministers enter Republican government, which moves to Valencia
November–December	Battle of Madrid
November 8	First two International Brigades enter action on the Madrid front
1937	
February 11	Battle of the Jarama begins
March 8	Battle of Guadalajara begins
March 31–October 24	Franco’s conquest of the northern Republican zone
April 19	Franco creates his new state party, Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Jons (FET)
April 26	Bombing of Guernica
May 3–6	“May Days” rebellion by extreme revolutionary left in Barcelona

Chronology of Major Events xi

May 18	New Republican government under Juan Negrín
June 16	Suppression of the POUM and arrest of its top leaders
July 1	Spanish Church hierarchy releases its <i>Collective Letter</i>
July 5	Battle of Brunete begins
August 24	Republican offensive at Belchite in Aragón begins
October 29	Republican government transferred from Valencia to Barcelona
December 16	Republican offensive on Teruel front
1938	
January 6	Republicans occupy Teruel
January 30	Formation of Franco's first regular government
February 22	Franco's counteroffensive retakes Teruel
April 5	Negrín's second government formed
April 15	New Nationalist offensive in Aragón reaches the Mediterranean, cutting the Republican zone in two
July 25–November 16	Battle of the Ebro
December 23	Beginning of Franco's offensive in Catalonia
1939	
January 23	Fall of Barcelona
February	All of Catalonia occupied, Republican government flees to France, where Azaña resigns as president
March 6–12	Revolt by new Republican National Defense Council in Madrid results in serious combat between Communists and anti-Communists. Negrín and Communist leaders flee. Negotiations with Franco attempted but fail
March 27	Franco's final offensive begins almost unopposed
April 1	Franco's communiqué states: "The war is over"

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Glossary

Carlists	Traditionalist, not mainline, monarchist movement
CEDA	Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Rightists (Catholic party)
CNT	National Confederation of Labor (Anarchosyndicalist trade union confederation)
Condor Legion	German air and combined arms unit in Spain
CTV	Corps of Voluntary Troops (Italian expeditionary corps in Spain)
Esquerra Catalana	Catalan left Republican party
FAI	Iberian Anarchist Federation (core anarchist group)
Falange Española	Spanish Phalanx (fascist party)
FET	Spanish Traditionalist Phalanx (Franco’s state party)
Izquierda Republicana	Republican Left party, largest of the left Republican parties
PCE	Communist Party of Spain
PNV	Basque Nationalist Party
POUM	Worker Party of Marxist Unification (independent communist party)
PSOE	Spanish Socialist Workers Party
PSUC	Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia (Catalan communist party)

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Radical Republican Party	Centrist, anti-Socialist liberal democratic party
Renovación Española	Mainline monarchist party
Republican Union	Most moderate of the left Republican parties
UGT	General Union of Labor (Socialist trade union federation)

Preface

The Spanish Civil War was the most important conflict in Europe in the decade prior to World War II and has generated an enormous literature. Even after the passage of three generations it continues to stimulate interest. The controversies ignited by the war still find partisans, well beyond Spain, while within the country the war continues to play a dominant role both in historiography and in partisan discourse.

The first objective history, published by Hugh Thomas in 1961, was expanded into a more thorough 1,100-page work sixteen years later. Though no single volume can capture completely and definitively a conflict that was as complex as the French Revolution, the revised edition of Thomas remains unsurpassed as a single-volume narrative. The present book does not offer an exhaustive description of the war, but tries to clarify the key issues, discussing the most salient themes within an analytical and comparative framework, while incorporating the results of the most recent research. It especially seeks to respond to the injunction of José Ortega y Gasset in 1938 that the most important thing to understand about the war is the nature of its origins.