

DIDACTIC UNIT 2

Two lives of Denouncement

Collaboration

IES Tirant Lo Blanc, Elche, Spain

2014-2017

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1. INTRODUCTION

Title

Two Lives of Denouncement: Collaboration.

Grades addressed

15-16 year-olds. In Spain, the Spanish Civil war is usually taught to students of this age, but we consider that in a different country (with maybe a more shallow treatment of a foreign war), the age of the students addressed could be up to 17.

Duration

10 sessions (50 mins. each)

Sources

- **Source document 1** for the presentation of the biography of Ismael Chinchilla.
- Translation of the original **Source document 1**.
- **Document A** (translation of the report against Mr Julio M^a López Orozco on 26 October 1939), for Activity 1.3
- **Document B: Source Document 2**, of the report against Ramón Pastor Brotons on 7 June 1939.
- Translation of the original **Source Document 2**.
- **Work dossier 1:** Antonio Román Lloret's file.
- **Work dossier 2:** Asunción Junquera Mera's file.
- **General Appendix to Activity 3** (Activities from a philosophical perspective)
- **Pictures for Activity 4** (Activities from an ethical-moral perspective)
- **Work dossier 1:**

File: *Antonio Román Lloret*.

REPORT	
Name and surname of the prosecuting witness	Carlos Campos Soler
Age and job	51 years of age, married, businessman

Chronology of the events narrated in the report	He was the delegate of the union section and he knew who was to be a victim of the “walks”. Apart from having lists of the shootings, he was also in charge of the external examinations. He was giving details of some of the “walks”, for example to Vicente Antón, who was stopped and murdered when he had a puncture on the road.
Date of the report and prosecuting witness signature	24 April 1939 Carlos Campos Soler

MILITARY COURT OR WAR CRIMES PROSECUTOR’S	
Political affiliation before and after 1936	CNT (NCL) activist, police officer.
Active participation in rallies	Yes.
Active participation in the destruction of churches and holy icons	Revolutionary propaganda, public conversations, insulting the army, burning churches.

SENTENCE	
Name and surname of the president, the spokesperson and the rapporteur.	Lieutenant Colonel Hidalgo Matas Captain Clavería Iglesia Lieutenant Labrador Salaverri Captain García Rosado
Number of case.	501
Type of legal procedure.	Urgent summary execution.
Facts justifying the sentence.	CNT activitst, supervisor of the list for the “walks”, the list of executions and the external examinations, murderer of Vicente Antón, church burner, member of the rebellion.
Articles of the code of militar justice and the criminal code applied to the sentence.	Art 232 pt 2 code of militar justice. Art 172 ,Art 219, military code.
Order of 10 January 1937 and Law of Political Responsibilities of February 1939.	Yes.
Verdict and sentence.	Death penalty.

File: *Carlos Torres Soler*.

REPORT	
Name and surname of the	Manuel Santos Egidio.

prosecuting witness.	
Address.	3, Genaro Calatayud Street. Elche
Age and job.	55 years of age, married, born in Orihuela, brick-layer.
Chronology of the events narrated in the report.	At 8 pm he met Carlos Torres, who was saying that Dr Coquillat was a fascist rogue who had to be killed. He was also saying that he had been one of the murderers of Vicente Torres and Dr Coquillat. He first shot Dr Coquillat and he fell backwards with his legs raised, then he shot him again. The so-called Manuel Santos was in that conversation on 21 April 1939.

MILITARY COURT OR WAR CRIMES PROSECUTOR'S	
Political affiliation before and after 1936.	UGT (General Workers Union), 1938
Active participation in the destruction of churches and holy icons.	Yes.

SENTENCE	
Name and surname of the president, the spokesperson and the rapporteur.	Colonel Hidalgo Matas Pelleras Olcina Orbañanos Gómez Captain Clavería Iglesia Captain García Rosado
Number of case.	617
Type of legal procedure.	Urgent summary execution.
Facts justifying the sentence.	Member of the Socialist Party, destruction of the hospital's chapel as well as destruction of churches on 20 February 1936, boasting of having murdered Vicente Torres and Dr Coquillat.
Articles of the code of military justice and the criminal code applied to the sentence.	Joining the rebels, Art. 238 par. 2, code of military justice.
Verdict and sentence	Political responsibility. We sentence the accused to Death penalty due to his adhesion to rebellion, aggravated with depravity. 12 May 1939.

Work dossier 2:

File: *Asunción Junquera Mera*

REPORT	
Name and surname of the prosecuting witness.	Ramón Segarra Ibarra.
Address.	7, Jubalcoy Street.
Age and job.	52 years of age, married, farmer, from Elche.
Chronology of the events narrated in the report.	As the headman mayor of Jubalcoy, and in compliance of the orders of Town Hall and the Civil Guards, he presents some information about the national teacher. According to him, she comes from Asturias, from a right-winged family, although she is left-winged. She was in charge of the School Colony number 9 in February, March and April 1939. He claims that she behaved, she forbade the children from singing war chants. She spoke little. She did not let her beliefs leak. She avoided wasting and commit immoralities, as she gave all the food to the children. These claims can be confirmed not only by Segarra but also by all the people who lived with her up until her detention.
Date of the report and defence witness signature	1 September 1939

MILITARY COURT OR WAR CRIMES PROSECUTOR'S	
Address of the accused and personal information.	National teacher and headmistress of the School Colony number 9 in Elche. 29 years of age. Native to Burgo de Osma (Soria) and local of Elche. Single.
Political affiliation before and after 1936.	<u>Before 1936</u> : left-winged but without any political affiliation acknowledged. <u>After 1936</u> : member of the UGT (General Workers Union) and supporter of the Republican cause.
Date of the military court.	16 November 1939

SENTENCE	
Name and surname of the president, the spokesperson and the rapporteur.	Colonel Belda López Guinart Llauredó Lázaro Martí Bonnim Cereza Olivan Fernández de Arévalo
Number of case.	3302
Type of legal procedure.	Ordinary.
Facts justifying the sentence.	With a highly Marxist ideology, she voluntarily left Asturias before it was occupied by the national forces. She

	worked as a teacher in several municipalities of the Red area. During the Red Domination, she defended the cause and, after the Glorious National Movement, she passively resisted the implementation of the principles of the Syndicalist National Regime.
Articles of the code of military justice and the criminal code applied to the sentence.	Arts. 172, 173 y 240, párr. 2 of the code of military justice.
Order of 10 January 1937 and Law of Political Responsibilities of February 1939.	Both applied.
Verdict and sentence.	6 years and 1 day of long-term imprisonment due to exaltation of Rebellion. Suspensión from her public post during the imprisonment. Civil responsibility with an unfixed quantity.

▪ **GENERAL APPENDIX TO ACTIVITY 3 (Activities from a philosophical perspective):**

A. Interview to Amelia Valcárcel in:

<http://www.lne.es/siglo-xxi/2011/01/02/perdon-gran-innovacion-moral-cristianismo-triunfo-religion/1014781.html>

B. War according to Philosophy:

<http://revistas.um.es/daimon/article/view/95931/92191>

C. WEBER, MAX, *Politics As A Vocation*, Isha Books, 2012.

“A state is a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory. Note that ‘territory’ is one of the characteristics of the state. Specifically, at the present time, the right to use physical force is ascribed to other institutions or to individuals only to the extent to which the state permits it. The state is considered the sole source of the ‘right’ to use violence.”

D. Passive resistance and everyday resistance.

Western history and tradition usually show resistance to power as opposing to it, that is to say, when we are told stories of resistance, they are often presented as revolutions or massive, group or social rebellions. From this perspective, acts of resistance are only valuable if they have followers, if there are many people allowing or supporting them; only this way they gain visibility for their cause. We could say that any act of resistance carried out by an individual himself would be ineffective or even insignificant.

Let’s think of a real and close example. In July 2011, popular opposition against tax payment, one on water and another one on real estate, ordered by the Irish government with the aim of recovering the country from the crisis, as well as paying off their debts after their financial rescue. There was a campaign defending the legitimacy and the right of the civil society to disobey an unjust law. Its motto was “*we can’t pay, we won’t pay*”.

Half of the Irish population with real estate refused to pay the tax by not registering in a list established by the government so that they could pay the 100€ tax. Half of the Irish population was dissident with the power and the legal authority, as they disagreed with the austerity policies accepted by the government. Half of the Irish disobeyed a law despite the consequences, as they would be fined with up to 2500€ if they did not pay. Of course this example does not fit the parameters of a great revolution such as the French Revolution, the Carnation Revolution or the Russian Revolution. However, the act of the Irish is more typical of civil disobedience in the sense of Thoreau. Anyway, what interests most is to see that both political scenarios, the one of rebellion and the one of civil disobedience, fit in the patterns that the Western world has allowed to any acts of resistance: only if the political act is massive and is organised can be considered as an event visible for the power due to its political consequences and results. Seeing from this logic, individual and isolated acts of resistance to power are completely irrelevant, invisible. Let's think, for instance, of the political results if a single citizen refused to pay the tax as a way of personal, individual protest. As we all know, such individual act is limited in its scope and troublesome due to its solipsism, according to Habermas, but valuable in the sense of duty and Kantian moral obligation.

But we have to bear in mind that these acts of individual resistance, isolated, unplanned and not part of an organised chain of actions, do not fit in logical macro political structures¹, but are relevant and valuable from the anthropological perspective of social movements. According to social anthropology, social movements should be considered beyond the simple formulae which reduce them to a single way of action: active and direct confrontation against the established authority. That is why Gramsci's notion of passive resistance helps us understand this idea more clearly. This notion refers to a way of dissidence which does not directly confront the established power, so it is a bit more difficult to guess. Nevertheless, this does not make it a rebel and resistant way before the power, as its acts also undermine and question it. American anthropologist James Scott understands that Gramsci's notion of passive resistance is incomplete, and so he prefers the term of everyday resistance. For James Scott, everyday resistance is a way of resistance based on the everyday interaction between groups of power and the ruling class, the peasants, etc. Such relation of interaction is built daily, from both individual and group actions, which do not require a plan or any form of previous organisation.

Far-reaching major social movements are limited in history; they do not happen in every region, as they spring up under very specific spaces and conditions of power, and under the ideal circumstances for the development of these events. These organised social movements search for a face-to-face with the power, to which they plan to weaken. However, the ways of everyday resistance, as in most African countries, summarise in acts of disobedience which directly attack the symbolic base of the cultural and religious traditions. These acts of everyday resistance do not seek to directly face the power, nor to change anything through action (remember the example we have already mentioned of *Gone with the Wind*), but to act in such a way that the system damages them the least. Regardless of the consequences, the acts of everyday resistance search for a small space,

¹ Acts of personal rebellion and disobedience are invisible in a macro sense, which does not mean the power does not understand them as punishable acts. On the contrary, the power, in any of its manifestations, understands that all opposition is dangerous, even though in this isolated dimension of dissidence, since it is its contaminating strength or its seed condition what encourages the power to pursue it, to punish it, to follow it and, to hide it by reducing it.

a loophole in the power and domination system where they can act. And this implies a way of questioning the system of power and the lifestyles imposed by the ruling class. That is why the actions adopted by everyday resistance are ways of contumacy and escape that allow the peasants to question the same mechanisms of power they are bound to. Understanding these acts of passive resistance as a way to question power means the underlining of the political presence of those people who would not have it, as in the case of the girl slave in *Gone with the Wind*, unless they were anti-slavery activists.

Another example of everyday resistance is the group of Polish workers in several collective farms in the 1970s and the 1980s. Those collective farms had specific production rates to comply with the government's bureaucratic requirements, and which increased every year according to the current harvest. Polish peasants had plentiful harvests, so in the following years they were required a higher level of production than in previous years. They do not accept such measure, as they consider it unfair and excessive. That is why, instead of taking the active resistance² action of open confrontation and fight against the power, they decided to start a strategy of passive resistance consisting of not harvesting all the crops. They touched the potatoes with the spades, they pretended to be working, but they only harvested a part of the crops. The sit-down practice and not fulfilling the expectations imposed became the weapons used to defend their own interests, something typical in everyday resistance.

In Mexico³, for instance, desertion or escape are very widespread ways of resistance before the military requirement of going to war.

Secret, hidden languages and dialects are also ways of resistance to hegemonic power, whatever form it may have. Nü Shu, for example, is a system of syllable writing used by women only in the region of Jiangyong in Hunan, Southern China. In ancient Hunan, Nan Shu ("writing of men") was banned for women, so women secretly developed their own way of communicating.

Nü Shu appeared as a way out for the hard and harsh lives of Chinese women, who had to bear their male relatives and husbands' daily mistreatment. Nü Shu is the way Chinese women find to free themselves from their reality, changing them from obedient slaves of the man to free and independent people, as that secret and hidden language had been made not only to speak, but also to create poems and literary texts (burnt when the author died) where women recovered their dignity.

One last example of everyday resistance is silence. The use of silence or indifference before the chief or owner when giving orders is seen as a political position which indirectly insults the power.

- E. Themata Revista de Filosofía, nº 28. 2002. José Enriquez López Álvarez. Universidad Panamericana. México. *¿Cuándo se obedece a una autoridad civil según Berkeley? Un comentario a Passive Obedience*, 26-27. pág. 238-242.

² Passive resistance is not linked to the person's action in isolation, but it refers to the spontaneous action of a group in search for the minimum damage for themselves and, at the same time, showing their disapproval with the power, to which they disobey. They do not become an organised group of civil disobedience or a planned rebellion, though.

³ According to anthropologist John Scott, Mexico is the country with the most social movements of direct confrontations, from colonial times to present day.

- F. Henry David Thoreau, *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience*, CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2012.

“I heartily accept the motto, — ‘That government is best which governs least;’ and I should like to see it acted up to more rapidly and systematically. Carried out, it finally amounts to this, which also I believe, — ‘That government is best which governs not at all;’ and when men are prepared for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have. Government is at best but an expedient; but most governments are usually, and all governments are sometimes, inexpedient.”

“After all, the practical reason why, when the power is once in the hands of the people, a majority are permitted, and for a long period continue, to rule, is not because they are most likely to be in the right, nor because this seems fairest to the minority, but because they are physically the strongest. But a government in which the majority rule in all cases cannot be based on justice, even as far as men understand it. Can there not be a government in which majorities do not virtually decide right and wrong, but conscience? — in which majorities decide only those questions to which the rule of expediency is applicable? Must the citizen ever for a moment, or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislator? Why has every man a conscience, then? I think that we should be men first, and subjects afterward. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right. The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right. It is truly enough said that a corporation has no conscience; but a corporation of conscientious men is a corporation with a conscience. Law never made men a whit more just; and, by means of their respect for it, even the well-disposed are daily made the agents of injustice.”

“The mass of men serve the State thus, not as men mainly, but as machines, with their bodies. They are the standing army, and the militia, jailers, constables, posse comitatus, &c. In most cases there is no free exercise whatever of the judgement or of the moral sense; but they put themselves on a level with wood and earth and stones; and wooden men can perhaps be manufactured that will serve the purpose as well. Such command no more respect than men of straw or a lump of dirt. They have the same sort of worth only as horses and dogs. Yet such as these even are commonly esteemed good citizens.”

- G. Article in online newspaper *Público*: <http://www.publico.es/espana/interior-considerara-resistencia-pasiva-atentado.html>

Aims

1. To make the Spanish Civil War public through the biography of a specific character who collaborated with the Francoist regime.
2. To raise awareness and foster students' critical thinking regarding the consequences of the Spanish Civil War.
3. To raise awareness of the importance of the analysis of legal documents used by the authorities as arbitrary mechanisms which modify the historical reality.

4. To get to know the Francoist system of repression, which intends to culturally and physically eradicate the democratic freedom through a legal system with unjust laws and/or the wrong law enforcement and judges' bias.
5. To foster the critical analysis of the law.
6. To consider the necessity of the existence of the necessary collaborators with the new regime.
7. To distinguish between what is legal, illegal, ethical and moral.
8. To identify the main features of the following moral categories: the hero, the indifferent, the villain (collaborationist), the indifferent and the victim.
9. To understand the fact that Francoism and the Spanish Civil War are unfinished chapters and face this situation as a current event nowadays.

Methodology

The methodology to be used in this didactic unit is mainly active and contextualised. A methodology which tries to foster participation and the involvement of students in the learning process, as well as their assimilation of the historical events and their reflection on those events taking place these days and which are closely related to past events.

That is why most of the activities presented here will be worked mainly in small groups, since we think that in small groups students are more likely to express their ideas and reflections.

Other aspects

- Classroom arrangements: Students will be sitting in pairs and in small groups.
- Groups: Students will work individually, in pairs and in small groups.
- Equipment: Photocopies of the pictures and the texts will be required for activities in groups.

2. BIOGRAPHY RATIONALE

Collaboration during the Spanish Civil War and Francoism

This didactic unit intends to offer some didactic material to deal (from a historical, ethical and moral perspective) with the issue of collaboration during the Spanish Civil War and the subsequent period after General Francisco Franco's victory and dictatorship from 1936 to 1975.

The historical context of this unit can be looked up in the first one, where we dealt with the basic aspects and the general aspects of Francoist dictatorship as well as the preceding aspects to understand and comprehend the historical process which reached its highest point with the Spanish Civil War. For this, as we already saw, it is necessary to know how we arrived at the Second Republic; when, how and why war broke out; the international historical context and its influence on the Spanish politics and the development of war.

The collaborationism we are dealing with is framed within a period of war and the subsequent repression, and so it is important to understand it as an "exceptional" situation. Despite collaboration with the power is a universal trend, we limit it to a specific situation as we try to understand the context in which it happened.

That is exactly why our main aim is to become aware of the fact that on certain occasions it is not easy to set the dividing line, in absolute terms, between the victim, the criminal, the collaborator or the bystander. In other words, in exceptional situations such as wars, where the status quo bursts apart and society goes into survival mode, criminals are sometimes victims in turn, collaborators are legitimately afraid of losing their family and an endless list of circumstances impossible to summarise here.

We do not intend to place ourselves in a relativist positioning, but only to warn about the complexity of setting absolute models where we cannot sometimes fit the real cases.

Thus, the purpose of our work is, on the one hand, to warn about the necessity to becoming aware of a need to reflect on all the examples lived during the Spanish Civil War or World War II so that we are cautious and we make a decision assuming all its consequences.

On the other hand, collaboration is not, as we might think, an exceptional fact that only happens on exceptional situations or at war, as the ones we deal with in this unit. It appears, and this is the most important thing, everywhere and at every moment, in different degrees: from the most

evident, such as Francoist regime's informers or those who reported on Jews families so as to take their belongings, to the most subtle and even unconscious, as for example when buying a T-shirt in a developed country which has been made on the other side of the world under semi-slavery conditions.

This last issue may be the most interesting from a pedagogical point of view. Currently, it is extremely difficult, almost a great feat, to have an overall and comprehensive view of the consequences of our actions. Reality is so complex, due to modernity traits, that we hardly understand the aftermath of our deeds. As we said in the previous case, within a consumerist society, it is extremely difficult to know if we are collaborating with unjust situations when purchasing a product, since, despite living in a global world and in the era of information and communication, this is still manipulated or hidden. In order to understand all these factors, it would be necessary to deal with the characteristics of modernity, but it is not the case we are dealing with now.

The main subject matter in these units is transmitting our students and society in general, the responsibility of our actions. Every act has its consequences and, although we ignore them, or we do not want to, we are not free from the responsibility.

We present several activities about collaboration from an ethical and moral perspective. For example, up to what extent is the pilot of a war plane responsible or guilty of launching an atomic bomb when following commands? Up to what extent of is an individual responsible of collaboration with injustice and responsible of the European Union borders' closure and the subsequent death of refugees?

It is not our intention to judge, but to offer examples to help reflect on our responsibilities and freedom. To do this, History helps us, again, examine the behavior of people like us who faced similar situations to the one we face today. Historical facts provide us with the advantage of being able to know and reflect on facts, with the calm of knowing that those actions do not have immediate consequences any more, and being able to analyse the consequences that they implied.

A collaborator's photofit image during Francoism

Thanks to Professor Miguel Ors Montenegro, we have been able to analyse the Pedro Ibarra Chair archive, which has all the files about the fate of many inhabitants of Elche after SCW and that have been gathered by the professor of the University of Elche.

Once we analysed the files, and bearing in mind that in any case our conclusions cannot be raised to category, we can decide that, with the exception of the case of a person who devoted himself almost professionally to denouncement and collaboration, casuistry is so wide. Rather than a will to denounce within the witnesses used in the summary trials, we found the determined Francoist will to cling to and manipulate the slightest detail to condemn those who had already been found guilty.

We found abundant incidental charges that would cause laughter but for the fact that they ended with a life-long imprisonment at best or death at worst.

Many denouncements were produced in order to save old neighbours quarrels or in the hope of achieving some kind of favour from Francoism. The greatest collaborator in Elche, who took part in the denouncement of over 80 people, had lost a brother murdered under irregular conditions by republican militiamen who acted on the fringes of the Republican government. Was this in itself sufficient reason to justify this person's attitude? We present several activities about all these aspects.

It is meaningful that repression after the SCW focused especially on the group of primary and secondary education teachers. Spanish Second Republic focused its efforts on a pedagogical project for the literacy of rural areas and the pedagogical renovation of the country. And this will be the subject to be dealt with in our next didactic unit.

3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

3.1. INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

Before 1914, democracy, respect for the law and defence of civil rights were scarce assets. They were present in countries such as France or Great Britain but absent in most parts of Europe. Moreover, in Russia, Italy, Germany or Spain, the Parliament was considered as an instrument of political management at the service of the ruling classes. This was due to corruption, restricted suffrage and the Kings' intervention.

After 1914, the fall of autocrat empires led to a new stage of parliamentary democracies and liberal and republican constitutions. However, in spite of that apparent victory of democracy, those governments were not able to solve the political, social and economic problems of the inter-war Europe. There were difficulties in the creation of new States in central and Eastern Europe, based on the principles of nationality, but with the inherited problem of national minorities inside and outside their borders. There were difficulties because of the national, linguistic, religious, ethnic or class division which led to a system with lots of political parties but weak. There were difficulties because of the economic crisis of the 1930s, which caused an increase of unemployment, a resurgence of conflict and a threat of revolution after the Communist regime settlement in Russia, the Communist revolutions break out in Hungary and Bavaria and a wave of strikes and workers' demands between 1919 and 1920. That environment frightened the middle class and contributed to the generation of a counter-revolutionary spirit.

In the background of the economic crisis and the social upheaval, France, the United Kingdom, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Scandinavia, all of them countries with a strong Parliamentary tradition, managed to consolidate Parliamentary democracy by the integration of the growing socialism into the system (by means of big political alliances) and the isolation of the radical political parties.

In Central, West, Balkan and Mediterranean Europe, where the liberal-parliamentary system had little tradition and liberal or conservative parties were helpless against the economic crisis and the social upheaval, authoritarian regimes were established. Basing on the need to stop revolution, they defended heated and aggressive nationalism, totalitarianism and the single party:

Italy with Mussolini in 1922, Spain with General Primo de Rivera's dictatorship in 1923, Hitler's rise to power in 1933 and Franco's military uprising in 1933. That way, by 1940, over half of the European political systems (such as France, Holland or Belgium's) were authoritarian or had decommissioned democracies after being invaded by the German army.

The Spanish Civil War: Internationalisation of the conflict (1936-1939)

The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War had great international impact due to the tense situation Europe was living, mainly owing to the expansionist policies of Italian Fascism and German Nazism. In the foreign political arena, Spanish Civil War became one more link in the chain of crisis which led to the outbreak of World War II, as well as the battle field of Fascism, Communism and Democracy.

Within the conflict of those three ideologies, and the intention of not worsening such tense situation, the USA pursued a policy of isolationism, whereas England and France pursued a policy of appeasement before Germany. This country was already back on track after its rearmament policy in 1932-33, but it also accepted the annexation of the Saar in 1935, as well as the remilitarisation of Rhineland in March 1936.

That way, when the Spanish government of the Republic asked for support to France on 19 July 1936, England notified France that if they took actions in Spain, England would not support the French foreign policy in facing up the German threat, as the important thing was to avoid the spread of the Civil War all over Europe. Thus, France, seeing Hitler and Mussolini's support to Franco on 25 July 1936, moved from supporting the Republic to leading the non-intervention agreement between France and England. 27 more countries, among which we find Germany, Italy, Portugal and the USSR, signed that agreement.

Despite this agreement, Spanish Civil War was marked by a foreign intervention and non-intervention. The **Nationalist faction** received the support of Italy and Germany, which allowed the relocation of the army from Africa to the peninsula on 24 July 1936. This support was almost unconditional until the end of the war, since if the military coup succeeded in Spain, a pro-French regime would be substituted by an opposite regime, whereas if a left-wing revolution succeeded a possible France-Spain front of Popular Front, together with the USSR, would threaten the development of the German foreign policy.

Salazar's Estado novo was also at the Nationalist Front's disposal from the very beginning, providing them with far-reaching logistical support and bringing the whole weight of its diplomacy to foster the victory of the rebels.

In December 1936, the Holy See made regular contacts with Burgos, in 1938 they interchanged ambassadors and the international Catholic influence took Franco's side. Moreover, Germany and Italy provided Franco with credit and made several compensations in the form of commercial-economic mechanisms.

In the **Republican Faction**, the Soviet support was a major contribution in the defence of Madrid in November 1936, but unlike the supplies of the Axis, the Soviet supplies had several problems: the piracy of Italian submarines, the marine control of Spanish shores imposed by Franco and the more or less strict Pyrenees border controls on war materials transport. The direct Soviet intervention coincided with the beginning of the International Brigades, set up thanks to the collaboration of European communist organisations with 60,000 volunteers of over 60 nationalities. From the very first moment, the Mexican government tried to help the Republicans and understood the war as one more example of external aggression to weaker countries. Regarding the initial little French supplies and the first purchase of weapons abroad, bypassing the non-intervention agreement, they were financed thanks to the sale of a quarter of the Spanish Gold reserve to the Bank of France, as well as to the Soviet support.

By the end of 1938, Franco had consolidated his situation and the only option for the Republic was to resist, hoping that it would not take long for other democracies to respond. However, the appeasement policy and the non-intervention agreement continued even when Hitler strengthened his actions in 1938, after the annexation of Austria and the Sudetenland. This situation was confirmed after the Agreement between British and Italians, which meant that both parts would respect the Status Quo of the Mediterranean. Just the Nazi coup in Prague on 15 March 1939 eventually triggered the diplomatic revolution that the Republicans had been waiting for nearly three years, although it was too late.

Franco's dictatorship during World War II (1939-1945)

With the Republic defeated in April 1939, an international situation quite favourable to fascism contributed to the consolidation of the violent counter-revolution which had already started with

the support of this same fascism. Meanwhile, Spanish attitude towards war wavered between ambiguous neutrality and not belligerency, as the country was a debtor with Germany and Italy.

At the beginning of World War II (September 1939) Franco announced the country's neutrality “forced” by the domestic political situation and the economic crisis. In any case, that neutrality implied the French and British acceptance of the Spanish territorial integrity if the war spread, and so, some agreements were signed with France and Portugal.

In the summer of 1940 Franco saw the weakness of France and England and moved from neutrality to not belligerency in a Germanophile atmosphere which encouraged the entry into the war. For Germany and Italy it was all about Spain's geostrategic situation, both Atlantic and Mediterranean, and so they explored the possibility of Spain's entry in the conflict since the summer of 1940 through a series of interviews and bilateral meetings, such as the one in Hendaye between Franco and Hitler in 1940 or the one between Franco and Mussolini in Bordighera in 1941. Franco accepted a war pact as long as Hitler accepted several territorial claims in Gibraltar, the French Morocco, Oran, some Saharan lands and the Guinea Gulf, as well as the shipment of military supplies and provisions. Thus, a secret pact was signed, in which Spain was committed to support the Three-Power Pact (Germany, Italy and Japan) and to go to war against Great Britain on a date to be specified by the Spanish government. On the other hand, Great Britain tried to soften Spain's image as a supporter of Fascist countries and to keep Spain's neutrality through the economic agreement of April 1941, which guaranteed food and raw materials supply.

From the spring of 1941, the upward trend of the Allies made Franco move back to neutrality. The German invasion of the USSR in June 1941 triggered a more pragmatic alliance with the Axis but Franco's caution advised an indirect confrontation with the Communist regime through the “Blue Division”, consisting of Falangist volunteers from October 1941 to November 1943. In December 1941, the USA entry into the war and the country's condemnation, together with Great Britain, of the intervention in the Russian front implied a modification of the pro-Nazi momentum of the Spanish government in 1942 as well as a pro-West turn of the Regime.

In October 1943, the war started to be unfavourable to the Fascist powers, and so the British and American governments required Spain the retreat of the Blue Division and the explicit abandonment of the non-belligerency attitude. So Franco eventually defined Spain's position as

“alert neutrality” in October 1943. Facing the Allies’ threat to block oil supplies and to cut off wheat and rubber supplies unless wolfram exports to Germany were cancelled, Franco accepted the Blue Division retreat (November 1943), the cancellation of the mineral exports (1944), the dispatch of the Italian warships which were still in some Spanish ports, the dismiss of the Axis agents operating in Spain and the removal of the German consulate in Tangier.

After the German defeat in 1945, and the subsequent reorganisation of the world, the Allies started an international boycott of Franco’s government, which kept diplomatic relations with the nuncio, Portugal and Switzerland. Francoism left behind the most clearly fascist aspects of the regime and presented itself as a Catholic, conservative and anti-communist regime, bastion of the western civilization against the communist enemy.

3.2. NATIONAL CONTEXT

Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, Second Spanish Republic and the Spanish Civil War (1923-1939)

At the beginning of the 20th century, Spain was living a great political upheaval due to the crisis of 1898, which forced the turning parties, monarchical, liberal or conservative, to adopt a reformist policy that even so did not manage to modernise the political life of the country.

Despite all this, the Spanish society started an important economic development and a social modernisation featured by the higher classes, the intellectuals and the appearance of the mass print media. The impact of World War I increased the political and social problems: political unrest, social tensions and military issues in Morocco, which were an excuse for an authoritarian solution in September 1923, the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera.

Dictatorship, which lasted for seven years, established two ways of government: the Military Directory (1923-1925) and the Civil Directory (1925-1930). The first one, on an interim and reformist basis, had a strong populist part supported by King Alfonso XIII to avoid monarchic and military responsibilities in the Disaster of Annual. Dictatorship influenced by the rise of Fascism all over Europe was presented as a way of political regeneration, but without a clear

ideological programme and with a single party, Unión Patriota (Patriotic Union), able to bring together authority, military defence and Catholic orthodoxy.

During the Civil Directory, Primo de Rivera tried to make his regime official by means of a plebiscite which put to the vote his domestic and foreign policies. He carried out a nationalist policy of government dirigisme, the promotion of public works, the granting of specific monopolies and state interventionism in labour regulations which caused a State debt seven times higher in 1929 than in 1924.

According to some historians, this system did not intend to finish the outdated system of the Restoration, but to avoid the democratisation of the Spanish political system. The dictatorship was unable to find the way towards a constitutional system, and so King Alfonso XIII withdrew his trust in him in 1930. After a short period of time, known as “the Dictablanda” (a softer dictatorship), the opposition began to get organised. The Republicans, the left-wing pro-Catalan parties and PSOE (Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party) signed the Pact of San Sebastian, in which they committed to provide an alternative to monarchy, creating a Revolutionary Committee that would later become the temporary government of the future Second Republic.

In 1931, the last government of the Monarchy took the task of calling for local elections on 12 April and they became a plebiscite for or against Monarchy. The republican powers won the elections in most large cities and, before this situation, King Alfonso XIII renounced to the throne and left the country. That new regime was acclaimed by the Spanish society in the hope of creating a new framework for a democratic coexistence, of updating the new State and of carrying out a program of important economic and social reforms.

The Second Republic, which was the first democratic regime in Spain, can be divided in three distinguishing parts:

- a) The First Biennium (1931-1933)
- b) The Black Biennium (1933-1936)
- c) The victory of the Popular Front and the preparation of the military coup (February to July 1936).

The First Biennium (1931-1933). After the local elections of 1931, a temporary government had been established by the liberal republican right-wing, the left-wing republicans, the radical republicans, the pro-Catalan and the pro-Galician nationalists. The right-wing monarchists, the Basque nationalists, the communists and the anarchists were outside that coalition.

The new Republic had to face social conflicts, the unrest of industry entrepreneurs, land owners and the Catholic Church hierarchy, as well as the impact of the international crisis of 1929, although to a minor extent, due to the little importance of foreign trade in the Spanish economy.

In the summer of 1931, democratic elections were held, with a government consisting of left-wing republicans and socialists. They introduced a set of military reforms to update the army and to put an end to the top-heaviness in the official positions, which caused some kind of uneasiness among those military officials, especially the Africanists, who had the intention of ending up with the order established by means of a military coup. The country's social life was secularised in order to avoid the influence of religion and a Constitution was elaborated in order to establish the non-confessional nature of the State, religious freedom, divorce, civil marriage and secularisation of graveyards. That triggered the protest of the Catholic Church against the religious reform.

Another key aspect was the land reform: Spain, a mainly agricultural country, needed to find a solution to the situation of farmers and the poor performance of agriculture. Its main aim was the expropriation of the large estates and the settlement of farmers, which divided the conservative powers of the country and the farmers, who, disappointed by the complete ineffectiveness of the reform, moved towards more revolutionary and violent attitudes.

Other autonomy-oriented reforms were passed, such as the Catalonia case, with regional autonomy and economic, social, educational and cultural competences. The Basque Country and Galicia were preparing their autonomy reform, but it was interrupted by the outbreak of the Civil War.

The labour conditions were improved: a 40-hour working week and higher wages. The educational labour was extraordinary: 10,000 schools were built, 7,000 new teaching posts were created and the model of co-educational, secular, compulsory and free school was adopted. We

want to highlight the Pedagogical Missions, aimed at the spreading of culture in rural areas, as is the case with García Lorca, who collaborated in theatre performances nationwide.

The Black Biennium (1933-1936). All these previous reforms focused the political life, and so, the opposition of entrepreneurs, the Church, the Army and the land owners reorganised the monarchic right-wing and other authoritarian and coup-supporter organisations. On the other hand, workers fostered a wave of social conflicts encouraged by both the increase of unemployment and the harsh field-working conditions.

The country's monarchic powers moved to anti-democratic positions, some intellectual groups armed ideologically the right-wing and presented the Monarchy as the staunch defender against social revolution. Furthermore, there were some coup-oriented political parties and fascist nationalist-socialist small groups (inspired by the Italian fascism which defended direct action, fists and guns) willing to fight left-wing activists.

In 1931, new elections were held and the centre-right parties won. They dismantled all the reformist work of the previous two-year period, which caused the increasing radicalism of PSOE (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party) and of UGT (General Workers' Union). Those parties suggested not negotiating an agreement with the middle class and fostered social revolution, whereas the moderate sectors intended to stabilise the Republic and to go in-depth on the reforms introduced in the previous period.

The large amount of strikes and struggles favoured the right-wing move towards fascist positions and the entry of CEDA (Orthodox Catholic and fascist party) activists into the Black Biennium government. Henceforth, the general strikes made the government hastily declare a state of war, especially in Asturias and Catalonia.

Asturian miners fostered a social revolution in 1934, which set the stage for the Spanish civil War. The Spanish Legion had to take action and for ten days every single insurgent was defeated, killed or arrested. Such revolution caused a government crisis, worsened by corruption and misappropriation of funds scandals which forced President Alcalá Zamora to call for elections in February 1936.

Victory of the Popular Front and preparation of the military coup (February-July 1936). Two opposing groups appeared and the Spanish political life was divided into right-wing and left-wing. The latter grouped together as the Popular Front, which defended amnesty for the victims of the reprisal after the Revolution of October 1934 as well as the streamlining of the reforms already introduced during the First Biennium in 1931.

The victory of the Popular Front was not accepted by the country's reactionaries, who started a conspiracy against the Republic. Azaña was appointed President of the Republic and the new government resumed the reformist process stalled during the Black Biennium.

Some coup-plotters were removed from power and sent to different places (Franco was sent to the Canary Islands and Mola was sent to Navarra). However, some sectors of the right-wing considered the idea of the military coup d'état as the only solution for the stoppage of the democratic reforms. They tried to obtain German and Italian aids and to establish a military dictatorship without making it clear if Spain would become a Republic again or a Monarchy. The military uprising took place in Morocco, on 17 June, and the next day it spread throughout the nation.

The lack of a democratic culture, the political instability, the social conflict and the intransigence of its enemies, led the Republic towards social struggles of which the enemies of democracy took advantage in order to put an end to it.

We can consider **the Spanish Civil War** as the most important event in Spain during the 20th century. Many European, North American and Spanish historians consider the study of the Civil War from a double perspective: first, as the result of the Spanish social and political dynamics, and the tensions rising in Europe after the appearance of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany; and second, as the hard economic circumstances in the Europe and the USA of the 1930s.

Neither the conspiracy against the Republic, in July 1936, nor the Republican authorities and political parties took into account the possibility of a war. The failed military coup turned into a civil war because both the rebels and the legal republican government were supported by other countries despite the non-intervention Committee.

The uprising started in Melilla, and Mola, the director of such uprising, also rose up in Navarra. From North to South, the most important cities in Andalusia, Castile and Galicia were taken. However, Madrid and Barcelona resisted. The coup failed in the rest of the country and so the civil war broke out.

In the legal Republican area the Popular Militias appeared. As they were not supported by France or England (due to the non-intervention agreement), they asked for the USSR support and so the International Brigades were created.

In the rebel area, Franco was appointed Generalissimo and the war almost turned into a religious crusade. Hitler and Mussolini supported the nationalists with soldiers and weapons. Franco had the intention of winning the war, of getting rid of any dissidents opposing the dictatorial ideals, of re-educating and of “ideologically cleansing” the Spanish nation.

The reprisal of coup-plotters remained all through the war by means of war proclamations and trials without any legal guarantee, like the execution of the poet Federico García Lorca. The documentation referred confirm this reprisal: “...reprisal must be encouraged to spread fear and to paralyse the opponent.”

It took time for the Republican government to organise the State security forces and it was unable to avoid that several despicable people committed atrocities against right-wing and religious Spaniards. But the difference lies in the fact that the Republican government did not encourage such offensive practices, it pursued them and brought the operators to justice.

Due to the external support that the rebels had and their military superiority they won the war on 27 March 1939, imposing a dictatorial regime and appointing Franco as the Leader of Spain. Shortly before, within the Republican Party, they ended up with the Negrín government and a National Defence Council was created. It was directed by Colonel Casado, Besteiro from the Socialist Party and the anarchist Mera. They reported by radio to be in contact with Franco in order to reach an “honourable peace”, where “those who did not have blood on their hands” would have nothing to fear and should rely on “the Leader’s magnanimity”.

However, Franco did not recognize any agreement and this caused a climate of hostility based on the systematic repression and the assassination of all those Spaniards who took part in the defence of the legal order democratically established by the government of the Republic.

This active repression during the long Francoist dictatorship, the silence of the Spanish democratic Transition and the delay of the Spanish governments when passing the Historical Memory Act, requires on the academics' side the need to clarify what happened to all those people missing, assassinated or buried in over 30,000 mass graves, apart from the 120,000 people assassinated during the Civil War and Franco's Dictatorship.

The historian Francisco Espinosa claims that *"the historical memory simply represents the recollection of the history of those who lived it first-hand,"* adding: *"Historians know that nearly every single documentation in the files is the memory of the winners, we must carefully pick the memory of the defeated, of the 'nobodies', whose voice does not usually appear in the story... We must pick the living memory from the lips of those who suffered it."*

Francoism

During Francoism, especially during its first years, the type of regime established by the Nationalist Faction during the war was consolidated: power gathering, censorship, reprisal, corporatism, etc.

Its intention was to "regenerate Spain", banishing liberalism and democracy. Thus, its enemies (democrats, separatists, communists) suffered strong repression, as they were executed, sent to prison or exiled. The regime needed endorsement, task in which the Fundamental Laws of the Realm would have a key role. Some of these Fundamental Laws, such as the Law for Political Responsibilities, had been passed even during the war.

Franco Regime was a very long period, covering from the end of the war (1939) until the death of the dictator (1975). During its long existence, dictatorship was kept: although it adapted itself to the varying circumstances, the pillars of the regime stood still until the end, for instance the fierce repression against opponents.

When studying Franco Regime, most historians admit the existence of two stages: the first one, also known as Autarchy, up to 1959, and the second one, known as Developmentalism,

characterized by development policies, up to Franco's death. We will base on these categories, as they are the most widespread, as mentioned before.

Autarchy period, construction and consolidation of the Dictatorship: 1936-1959.

Political organisation of the State.

It was a dictatorial state of a totalitarian character, highly influenced by Italian and German Fascism, especially in its first years. The political and military power gathered around the person of Franco, who adopted titles such as “Caudillo” de España (“Leader” of Spain) or “Generalísimo de los Ejércitos” (“Generalissimo of the Army”). He was also the National Chief of the “FET de las JONS Party” (Traditionalist Spanish Falange of the National Unionist Offensive Body), the only legal political party after the unification of 1937.

Those considered as enemies of the system were repressed until they were completely silenced. From the power positions, they insisted on the idea of “regenerating” Spain so as to get it away from Liberalism, Democracy, Separatism or Communism. That is why political parties or trade unions were banned and all institutions, laws and organisms of the Second Republic were suppressed, including the Constitution or the Statutes of Autonomy. In this sense, we can consider Francoism a kind of involution, as from 1812, when the first Constitution was passed, there was a tendency towards a liberal and democratic system.

The structure was supported by the groups which showed affinity during the war, the ones which later made up the “National Movement”. These groups of influence were known as the “families” of the regime: the Church, the army and “la Falange” (the political party). The extent of the influence of such families depended on the evolution of the regime and the international circumstances.

As the Regime was the result of a war, its legalisation became a key task. In order to achieve that image of authenticity, the Fundamental Laws were passed:

- Fuero del trabajo. Highly influenced by the Italian Carta del Lavoro, it ruled the working relationships.
- Fuero de los españoles. It summarised the rights and duties of Spanish citizens, but with no grant of observance.

- Ley de Referéndum Nacional. According to it, the chief of the State could submit for enquiry those aspects which he considered relevant.
- Ley de Sucesión. It established monarchy as the succession to Franco Regime.
- Ley de Principios del Movimiento. It established the basic principles of the system and compelled civil servants to obey them.

As for the power institutions, we highlight: the government, chaired by Franco; the Single Party, also chaired by the dictator (this party was not subject to any type of legalisation, as there were no elections); the Courts, or house of citizen representatives, with a merely advisory character and members chosen from the power; Civil Government and General Captaincy, the institutions for territorial organisation, chosen from the power as well; Town Halls and mayors, local chiefs of the Movement chosen by a civil governor. We want to emphasize the dictatorial and centralist character of all these institutions.

We cannot talk about a clear political ideology, but about the ideological control of society, the lack of freedom became evident especially in private life. We were in an extraordinary conservative and puritan society, where the institutions and organisations, controlled by the State, classified people both politically and ideologically. Religious education was basic in the creation of the “National Spirit”. Catholic religion was the only one allowed. It became the basic ideology of the Regime and of the educational system. The role of women was totally pushed into a domestic field, where they became mothers and wives. This also involved a backward movement in relation to the years of the Second Republic, when women had had a remarkable participation in political life.

Opposition: exile, repression and resistance.

Repression’s basic aim was the negation of any type of opposition to the Regime (the enemies of Spain), achieved thanks to the Law for Political Responsibilities (1939), the celebration of military or civil trials or the general practices carried out during the war, such as the night walks. The end of the war did not imply the cessation of such practices, but a really strong repression carried out towards the defeated. This repression was controlled from the power, which allows us to speak about the Institutionalisation of Repression.

The Law for Political Responsibilities was completed with the Law for the Repression of Communism and Freemasonry in 1940. It allowed to exercise legal actions against the accused of defending ideas contrary to religion, homeland and the basic institutions. The directions were established from the power, while the army was in charge of putting them into practice. There was not an independent judiciary branch, which extended the defencelessness of the accused before the Court-martials.

Among the most usual practices, we can talk about working in roads and mines, confiscation of properties, purging of civil servants and professionals, dismissals and, of course, prison, executions and exile. Concentration camps were kept at the beginning of the post-war period, most of them improvised in headquarters, convents and even bull rings (for example, in Alicante). As for the figures, we can talk of about 50,000 people executed during the post-war era and of about 280,000 people under arrest. Many people took up exile, especially to France and Mexico, where they recovered the republican political action, with the celebration of Courts and the election of a government which remained until 1977.

Despite repression, there was a more and more minority opposition in this period, formed by groups of guerrilla fighters (maquis) who intended to conquer the peninsula from the Pyrenees. They did not get any international support and eventually gave up their activities. There were also groups of urban and rural guerrilla in several places all over the country.

Political opposition, still in secrecy, got unstructured little by little. It only remained in exile.

Economy.

War caused starvation, poverty and the dismantling of the Spanish economy. The Regime's respond was late and inadequate. The main aim was the economic self-sufficiency, or autarchy. Its central concepts were the regulation of international trade (import and export controlled by the government) and the furtherance of national industry.

This autarchic policy, together with the post-war circumstances, caused starvation and poverty until the early 50s. There was a shortage of some products, smuggling and rationing. The international isolation contributed to the lack of food. The purchasing power of Spaniards was very low, which caused a drop in the demand, reduction of production, increase of unemployment and reduction of competitiveness.

The State inspected economy through price control, the furtherance of industry, especially of capital goods, or the creation of monopolistic public enterprises, most of them loss making (Iberia, Renfe, Endesa, etc.).

The result was a deep economic stagnation, made evident in the drop of production, consumption and standard of living, as well as a clear economic stagnation in relation to Europe, which was in fact recovering from war, partially thanks to the Marshall Plan aids.

International relationships.

We can see an evolution in the international relationships, related to the European circumstances. In this sense, World War II was the turning point which would determine the alliances of the Regime.

Just as in World War I, Spain did not take part in World War II. However, the attitude was not neutral now, as there was a clear alignment towards the Axis powers. We moved from impartiality to belligerence. Due to the fact that the post-war situation did not allow any bigger participation, Spanish involvement was focused on diplomatic and economic support, as well as on the Blue Division, a body of volunteers who fought along with the German troops in the West front. After interviews with both Hitler in Hendaye and Mussolini in Bordighera, Franco claimed for economic and territorial compensations in the North of Africa.

The Axis defeat caused a change, not only in foreign politics (we come back to impartiality) but also in the Regime's own identity – Fascism lost its relevance, Falangists were set aside from the main power positions and the Regime was shown as Catholic, conservative and highly anti-communist.

Spanish alignment during the war years left the country internationally isolated from 1945 onwards. Spain was not accepted into the UNO, which also recommended its member states the recall of their ambassadors from our country. Spain was also out of the Marshall Plan and the NATO aids.

However, as cold war consolidated and the world's division in blocks becomes a reality, the country's geostrategic situation and Franco's clear anticommunism, made us attractive for the United States. During the 1950s, Franco's Spain was not internationally isolated any longer. In

1950, Spain was admitted into the UNESCO, in 1955 into the UNO, and in 1958 a new Concordat with the Holy See was signed. Also noteworthy on their own were the agreements signed by the US in 1953, in which Spain received economic aids in return for the establishment of American military bases in Spanish territory. The visit of President Eisenhower in 1959 confirmed the end of the isolation.

Economic development and social changes: 1959-1975.

It was during this period that great economic growth happened, which caused social changes. However, politics remained virtually as it had been during the first period: a dictatorship, with a complete lack of democracy and freedom; we were still apart from the rest of Europe (we were not part of the EEC); repression kept on being the only response to the demand for freedom and to opposition.

Economic changes let us call this stage “developmentalism”.

Economic growth.

Economy grew to a level never before seen, although more slowly than in other countries in Western Europe. This growth was a consequence of legal measures such as the “Plan for stabilisation” (end of Autarchy, furtherance of industry, external goods receipt and reduction of interventionism) and the “Plans for economic and social development” (four-year plans based on industrial development).

Industry was the wellspring of economic growth. Some foreign companies invested in Spain, such as car multinational corporations, attracted by low salaries and the lack of labour and union rights. The leading sectors involved in the technological progress were iron and steel, automotive, naval, textile, footwear or furniture industry, as well as chemistry. Regarding industrial areas, Biscay and Catalonia not only remained but grew; Madrid, Valencia, Alicante, Ferrol, Vigo o Valladolid became new industrial centres.

Agriculture also updated: there was an important furtherance of irrigation, mechanisation, rural migration, rise of productivity, diversification and regional specialisation. Latifundia and small farmsteads were kept, both scarcely productive, although the policy of lands concentration had good results in some areas.

We can also see a process in which the third sector (services) became more and more important, typical of a developed country. Means of transport, the communications system and foreign and domestic trade improved noticeably. In the services sector, we can highlight the development of tourism, especially sun and sand tourism, which became an important source of income for Spanish economy. There was a massive influx of tourists, mainly European, attracted by the weather, the beaches and cheaper services than in other inshore countries.

The consequences were basically the growth of GDP and of per capita income, the price decrease, the exports increase and employment. This led to greater purchasing power, which also contributed to increase demand and consequently to increase in production. However, we want to point out Spain's external dependency on capital and on technology as a negative point. The new economic activities also caused the economic disequilibrium downtown-suburbs, as, with the exception of Madrid, the most populated and developed areas and the ones with greatest economic activity were placed on the coast.

Developmentalism also fostered the modernisation of society, due to the increase of urban population, to changes in professional structures and to contact with foreign tourists. This modernisation appeared with changes in consumption and cultural habits, characteristic of a modern society: fashion changes, customs, social habits, incorporation of women to workplace, drop of the Church's role in the mindset of population, reduction of illiteracy rate, etc. It is important to explain that all these changes were more obvious in coastal and developed regions, whereas rural areas lagged behind.

Politics: persistence of the Regime.

Economic and social modernisation did not affect, however, the Regime's institutions. We can talk about "ultra conservatism", as the concentration of powers around Franco remained, as well as the lack of political pluralism, rights or freedom. There were several slight changes:

In 1967, the Organic Law of the State was passed. Franco remained as the head of the State and the figure of vice president appeared (Carrero Blanco). The Law of Religious freedom was also passed this year. It was very restrictive.

In 1969's government there were no more Falange members. The most important group was the Opus Dei Technocrats, although there was disagreement between Falangists and technocrats, for

instance the Matesa Case (corruption of some Ministers). In this same year, Juan Carlos of Borbón was appointed as Franco's successor, with the title of Prince of Spain (there was a law of 1947, according to which monarchy was the substitute for the Regime). Franco thought of him as a way to follow his Regime, and so Juan Carlos accepted and swore alliance to the principles of the movement.

Opposition.

In the last years, opposition to the Regime increased. Some crimes were considered as military rebellion and the state of emergency became a frequent resource. Detentions and police brutality also increased.

The Church (II Vatican Council) defended reformist hypothesis. Several catholic associations were used by anti-Franco youngsters (e.g. the so called JOC, Christian Working Youth), whereas other types of organisations were banned. There was an increasing toughening of Christian core communities, of youngsters and of young priests.

There was also a workers' uprising, and a subsequent atmosphere of social conflict hidden during the first decades of Francoism. In the 60s, a new type of unionism appeared. The organisations previous to dictatorship had been muzzled. Just the UGT (General Union of Workers) kept its activity in hiding. CCOO (Workers' Committees) appeared. It was an independent trade union which fostered the labour struggle, through strikes and demonstrations, as well as the political struggle.

In 1970, death penalty was decreed on ETA activists, on the so-called Burgos Trial, which caused numerous social protests and international pressure. So Franco exercised the right to pardon, but kept turning to a systematic repression against opposition.

Regarding political opposition, there was a renovation of leaders in the traditional political parties and new opposing powers appeared, both left-wing and conservative. Political parties were still in hiding, so they acted clandestinely. We can mention PCE (Communist Party of Spain), PSOE (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party), Democracia Cristiana (Christian Democracy), nationalist parties such as the PNV (Basque Nationalist Party), CDC (Catalonia's Democratic Convergence), ERC (Catalonia's Republican Left-wing). We can also mention the appearance of

terrorist groups such as ETA (Basque Country and Freedom), FRAP (Anti-fascist and Patriot Revolutionary Front) or GRAPO (First of October Anti-fascist Resistance Groups).

Regime's agony.

In 1973, Carrero Blanco was appointed President of the Government, the person in charge of granting the Regime's continuity and of ensuring the union of the several "families". This same year, he was assassinated by ETA. In 1974, Carlos Arias Navarro was named President of the Government. He intended to bring liberalising and ultraconservative positions closer, although his government clearly opted for the latter.

Opposition groups protested in the streets, with labour and students uprisings. The activism and brutality of terrorist groups also increased. Political opposition groups unified in the so-called Democratic Coordination.

Being the dictator ill, Morocco's occupation of Sahara took place. Morocco's King, Hassan II, organised a peaceful march, the Green March, consisting of the mobilisation of thousands of civilians. Facing the possibility of a military conflict in such challenging times, Spain recognised Morocco's occupation in the Madrid Accords.

A few days later, 20 November 1975, Franco died. Then the process of Democratic Transition started and ended with the passing of the current Spanish Constitution.

3.3. HISTORICAL MEMORY

When democracy started in Spain and after the Spanish Constitution was passed in 1978, a new process of revision and research on the consequences of the repression during and after the Spanish Civil War was started. However, this process was not apparent until the late 90s due to the Spanish Transition to Democracy, when the Amnesty law was passed in an attempt to forget the past. At the end of the 90s Republican victims' relatives claimed their right to know where their relatives had been buried in order to bury their mortal remains with dignity, as most of those missing during the SCW had been thrown to common graves.

During the struggle, human rights were violated systematically in both sides. The victims in the Republican side during the civil war were approximately 38.563, according to the Francoist version, carried out by Francoist Minister Eduardo Aunós Pérez as a part of a General Trial to judge the Red domination in Spain. Some Historians, as Ramón Salas Larrazábal, raise the amount of victims to 70000, but in any case, the total amount does not seem to exceed 50000 murders. Most of the victims were conservative politicians, landowners and people belonging to the Christian Church as priests, monks and nuns. This last group of religious people was about 6832, according to the research of Antonio Moreno Moreno.

Regarding the total amount of victims in the Francoist side (the side that rose up against the Legal Republican Government by supporting General Franco), it is quite difficult to calculate it, because the facts were concealed not just during the war but also during Franco's Dictatorship. The research to understand the truth has been hard and complex. First of all, many murders and disappearances were not recorded. In addition, the access to the documents and files has been not allowed for a long time. It was not until 2008, when the Spanish society started to get to know the first accurate and independent researches about the significance of the Francoist repression. In 2008, thanks to a bill of complaint lodged by the Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory of Majorca, Judge Baltasar Garzón started a research. The judge found and collected 143.353 names of missing people during and after the Spanish Civil War due to Francoist repression. According to the Spanish Association of Judges for democracy, "Spain is the second country in the world after Cambodia with most victims of enforced disappearance, whose remains have not been recovered nor identified yet." The total amount is higher than the enforced disappearances in Argentina, Chile, Peru and Guatemala all together.

In both sides there was violation of Human Rights, but there is a crucial difference between both sides. The victims from Franco's side were compensated morally and materially. Their remains were buried with dignity. By contrast, the defeated were forgotten and in many cases their remains were hidden in mass graves whose location is nowadays unknown. The disappearance of corpses and the unknown whereabouts were used as repression tools by Franco's Government to punish not only victims but also their families, who could not bury their relatives' remains with dignity and had to live with uncertainty. In addition to enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions, Franco's Government promoted the children enforced disappearance by stealing the children's identity, whose consequences the Spanish society is still suffering.

On 17 March 2006, The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe passed unanimously the condemnation of Franco's Regime and the violation of Human Rights perpetrated in Spain from 1936 to 1975. The Parliamentary Assembly urged the Spanish Government to erect monuments to commemorate all victims.

The 27 October 2008 Human Rights Committee established in a report that the Spanish State should:

a) consider repealing the 1977 amnesty law; (b) take the necessary legislative measures to guarantee recognition by the domestic courts of the non-applicability of a statute of limitations to crimes against humanity; (c) consider setting up a commission of independent experts to establish the historical truth about human rights violations committed during the civil war and dictatorship; and d) allow families to exhume and identify victims' bodies, and provide them with compensation where appropriate.

This committee considered that the 1977 Amnesty Law, which amnestied a lot of crimes committed until 15 December 1976, and which so included enforced disappearances with extrajudicial executions, was unlawful and contrary to International Treaties signed by Spain, now that those crimes are considered as crimes against humanity and they do not expire.

On 31 October 2007 the Spanish Parliament passed the Law 52/2007, promoted by the Spanish Prime Minister, Mr. José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, who belonged to the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE). It can be read "The Historical Memory Act acknowledges and broadens rights, and establishes measures, for those who suffered persecution or violence [...] during the civil war and the period of dictatorship, including the right to obtain a declaration of redress and personal acknowledgement as a form of redress for the victims of the Franco regime (including victims of torture)." This law dealt with the illegitimacy of the courts during the Spanish Civil War due to political, ideological or religious reasons, as well as the Tribunal for the Repression of Freemasonry and Communism, and the Tribunal for Political Responsibilities and Court-martials. Certain orphan's pensions and certain measures for the identification and location of the victims were established, as well as the withdrawal of the military uprising, the Civil War and the Dictatorship memorial. However it did not include the opening of mass grave.

The Popular Party, a conservative party, won the general elections in 2011. This party opposed to this law. The new Prime Minister, Mr. Mariano Rajoy, reduced the budget of the law so that it remained with no effect.

On 10 February 2012 the representative of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Navanethem Pillay, requested Spain to abolish the 1977 Amnesty Law because it was contrary to the International Law on Human Rights.

4. BIOGRAPHY

The biography of Ismael Chinchilla Martínez is presented to the students with the help of *Source Document 1* (to be found in the **Sources** section along with a translation into English).

1. Personal information:

- Single, 26-year-old in 1941. Born in 1915 (?)
- Shoe maker.
- Living in Elche, 39 San Juan Street.

2. Before the Glorious National Movement:

- Member of the Spanish Falange, Popular Action Youth and Catholic Youth.
- Labour union.
- Treasurer and Chairman of Catholic Youth.
- Representative of the Orihuela Diocese at the Catholic Youth (Madrid, 1934)
- Right-wing hypothesis: ECO newspaper together with his brother Pascual Chinchilla Martínez.
- Beaten by Pascual Brotons Pastor.

3. During Red Terror in the Civil War:

- Still a member of Spanish Falange.
- Arrested and imprisoned on 24 July 1936.
- Released from prison and forced to enrol the Elche Battalion.
- Gas defence.
- A deserter: one month in Madrid and a member of the Unified Socialist Youth.

4. During the liberation of Francoist Army:

- Agent at the Information and Investigation Service at the FET and CNSO.
- Member of the brotherhood La Caída (*The Fall*) in Elche.

5. ACTIVITIES

5.1. ACTIVITIES FROM A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE


Biography of collaborator Ismael Chinchilla Martínez

Ismael Chinchilla Martínez, a 26-year-old single man living in Elche, keen propagandist of right-wing hypothesis and the brand-new Spanish Falange; he rendered services as a secret agent of information and investigation of the Traditionalist Spanish Falange (TSF) and of the Committees for the National-Syndicalist Offensive (CNSO) from the very first days of the Francoist liberation and he also took part in almost all detentions of murderers and republican leaders of Elche.

From the reading of Source document 1, students create a biographical profile of Ismael Chinchilla Martínez, according to the following outline:

- Personal information.
- Before the Glorious National Movement.
- During Red Terror in the Spanish Civil War.
- During the liberation of the Francoist army.

Source document 1



IVIVA ESPAÑA!

Sección General de Seguridad
Inspección de Investigación y Vigilancia
ELCHE

Ilmo. Señor:

Núm. 1294

Dando cumplimiento a su respetable oficio núm. 843, de fecha 4 de los octes, por el que interesa información de conducta político-social acerca de ISMAEL CHINCHILLA MARTINEZ, de 26 años, soltero, zapatero, hijo de Juan y María, de ésta naturaleza y vecindad, calle San Juan núm. 39; tengo el honor de participar a V.S. lo siguiente:

Antes del G.M.N.S. pertenecía a F.E., J.A.P. y Juventud Católica, hallándose afiliado al Sindicato Obrero Católico, habiendo desempeñado los cargos de Tesorero y Vocal de la Juventud Católica, y asistido como Delegado de la Diócesis de Orihuela al congreso de las Juventudes Católicas, en Madrid, en el mes de diciembre de 1934. En todo momento se mostró un entusiasta propagandista de los postulados de los rechetistas y la naciente F.E., siendo elemento de confianza en tales organizaciones, y hallándose en continuo contacto con los falangistas de Alicante y otras poblaciones, para sumarse al Movimiento Salvador, lo que le valió ser perseguido y apaleado por los marxistas.

Durante el dominio rojo figuró clandestinamente afiliado a F.E.- Detenido y encarcelado por el marxismo el 24 de julio de 1936, fue sacado de la prisión en diciembre del mismo año, para obligarle incorporarse al Batallón Elche, donde se

maneció un año, pasando después a la Defensa con Gases. Siempre mostró gran entusiasmo por la Campaña Nacional, observando buen comportamiento en favor de la misma y haciendo propaganda en el citado Batallón Elche; fué repetidas veces amenazado de muerte, por lo que hubo de esconderse en Madrid, por espacio de un mes. En la Capital estuvo afiliado a las Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas.

Producida la liberación, prestó servicios desde los primeros días como Agente del Servicio de Información e Investigación de F.E.T. y de las JONS local, destacando por el entusiasmo desplegado en ésta labor, y tomando parte en casi todas las detenciones de asesinos y dirigentes rojos, con exposición de su vida en algunos casos. Su laboración en éste cargo fué de gran eficacia, especialmente por lo que se refiere a los componentes del Batallón Elche, para la depuración de asesinos e indeseables componentes del mismo.

En la actualidad es militante de F.E.T. y de las JONS. Católico. Un hermano suyo fué asesinado por los rojos.

En el aspecto moral se le ha visto en alguna ocasión embriagado, dando muestras inequívocas de que no es habitual y que al hallarse bajo los efectos del alcohol, seguramente por no saberlo controlar, comete algunas irregularidades en contradicción con su forma de ser, siendo fácil de corregir. Parece él se ha dado cuenta de lo contrario que le es el beber, y desde hace algún tiempo practica conducta digna.

Confirman tales extremos D. Bruno Rodríguez Sánchez, Fábrica de Calzado en calle Dr. Caro, y D. Gaspar Mora Pastor, Nueva de S. Antonio 22.

Dios guarde a V.S. muchos años.
Elche 12 de noviembre de 1941.
El Inspector Jefe Accetal.



Itmo. Señor Juez Militar de ésta Plaza--ELCHE.

Translation of the original Source Document 1:

GENERAL DIRECTORATE OF SECURITY.

INSPECTORATE OF INVESTIGATION AND SURVEILLANCE.

HURRAH FOR SPAIN.

ELCHE. N. 1294

In compliance with your respectable service number 843, on 4 of the current month, in which you show interest in the socio-political behaviour of ISMAEL CHINCHILLA MARTÍNEZ, 26-year-old, single, shoe maker, son of Juan and María, living in this town and neighbourhood, 39 San Juan Street; I have the honour of engaging you in the following:

Before the Glorious National-Unionist Movement, he belonged to the F.E., the J.A.P. and Catholic Youth, being also a member of the Catholic Labour Union, serving as a treasurer and chairperson of the Catholic Youth, he attended the Catholic Youth Conference as a representative of Orihuela Diocese, in Madrid, in November 1934. He was unfailingly positioning himself as a keen propagandist of right-wing hypothesis and the brand-new F.E, being a reputable element in such organisations and keeping also in touch with the falangists of Alicante and other towns, to join the Movement for Saving Spain, where he was pursued and beaten by the Marxists.

During Red Terror he registered under cover to the Spanish Falange – under arrest and imprisoned by Marxists on 24 July 1936, he was released in December of the same year to be forced to join Elche Battalion, where he stayed for a year, and was sent to Gas Defence. He always proved to be keen on the National Cause, behaving in favour of it and advertising its political ideas in the already mentioned Elche Battalion; he was death threatened several times, so he had to hide in Madrid for about a month. In the capital city, he became a member of the Unified Socialist Youth.

After the liberation he served, from the very first days, as an agent of the Information and Investigation Service of the FET and of the local CNSO, standing out for the enthusiasm shown in such task and taking part in almost all detentions of murderers and republican leaders, risking his own life in some cases. His collaboration in this service was very effective, especially regarding Elche Battalion, for the purge of murderers and troublesome members of the battalion.

Nowadays, he is a FET and CNSO activist. A catholic. One of his brothers was murdered by the Republicans.

In the realm of moral, he has been seen drunk at times, showing unambiguous signs of not being used to it, his behaviour not being compatible with his usual nature, but small flaws easy to correct. He seems to have realised of how harmful drinking is for him, so he has improved his behaviour lately.

Such extremes can be confirmed by Mr Bruno Rodríguez Sánchez, shoe factory in Dr Caro Street, and Mr Gaspar Mora Pastor, 22 Nueva de San Antonio Street. God bless you
Elche, 12 November 1941. Chief Inspector Accidental Distinguished Military Judge in this post. Elche

Elaboration of a collaborator's profile

1. *Brainstorming: discussion to elaborate a collaborator's profile in group.*
2. From the initial ideas resulting from the brainstorming, students make a list of aspects (from most to least important) common to a collaborator's profile.

The following grid is just illustrative and its use depends on the students' motivation and creativity.

Social prestige	
Fear	
Survival instinct	
Revenge	
Self defence	
Selfishness	
Dehumanisation	
...	

3. Students justify their answers.

An example of collaborator during Francoist Dictatorship.

The use of Elche's local history

Students read carefully **documents A and B** (to be found in the **Sources** section) and relate them with activity 2 profiles. They must justify their answers

Document A (translation of the report against Mr Julio M^a López Orozco on 26 October 1939), for Activity 1.3

FERNANDO CAMPOS SÁNCHEZ, 24-year-old, single, copyist, born and living in Elche, at 6 Alfredo Javaloyes Street. ISMAEL CHINCHILLA MARTÍNEZ, 24-year-old, single, sole cutter, born and living in Elche, at 39 San Juan Street. MIGUEL DÍEZ VICENTE, baker, born and living in Elche, at 1 Joaquín Santos Street.

JULIO MARÍA LÓPEZ OROZCO, 56-year-old, widower, doctor, living at Canalejas Street. This individual is completely hostile to the Glorious National-Syndicalist Movement. He is the founder and president of the so-called Republican Alliance in the elections of April 1931. President of the Radical Socialist Party, mayor of Elche in the year 1931, until he was granted the certificate as a member of the Lower House of the Parliament, representing the Radical Socialist Party. He was the president of the national board of the Republican Union. He was a member of the Water Authority of Segura river. A few days before the terrible coming of the Republic, he headed the demonstration together with Manuel Rodríguez Martínez. Such demonstration was broken up by the Public Force due to a lack of permissions from the Established Power. In the aftermath of the incident, he was imprisoned. In the year 1931, he headed the extremist candidacy, being elected Elche's councillor. JULIO MARÍA LÓPEZ OROZCO took part in different meetings as a public speaker both in premises and in the street. This individual, with his left-wing propaganda, has led the peoples little by little to the all sort outrages committed in Elche. The mentioned above Julio María López Orozco provided Albornoz, Red Minister of the Republic, with official shelter. According to the accompanying document, the already mentioned JULIO MARÍA LÓPEZ OROZCO belongs to the Freemasonic lodge Illice Constante n.7, where he is the Grand Master. During the Glorious National Uprising, he is the director of the blood hospitals set up by the International Red Aid in Elche, and it was him who organised their running. He was the chair of the Committee for the Passive Defence against Aircrafts, being very active and in charge of the health sector of such Committee. And for the record, we sign and seal in the city of Elche, on 26 October 1939, year of the Victory.

Document B: Source Document 2, of the report against Ramón Pastor Brotons on 7 June 1939.

DENUNCIA

ISMAEL CHINCHILLA MARTINEZ de 24 años de edad soltero natural y vecino de Elche con domicilio en la calle San Juan nº 39 y JOSE MAS BLASCO de 23 años de edad, soltero, natural y vecino de Elche con domicilio en la calle Mecánica Rada nº 29 en aras de Justicia exponen: que:

RAMON PASTOR (a) IERREU fué fundador de la Juventud y Partido Comunista de Elche tomando en aquellos momentos parte en los mítines y en reuniones clandestinas, en la huelga de Diciembre de 1930 juntamente con otros muchos afiliados al P. O. y en particular con JOSE CANAIS dirigentes estos dos del comulso, intentó asaltar la Derecha Illicitana y al ver que estaba la puerta cerrada y no podía hacerlo empezó desde la calle a hacer piedras al edificio rompiendo los cristales el rótulo y un Santo Cristo que había junto a uno de los balcones, este individuo ha sido el de mas acción que ha tenido el partido comunista de Elche que ~~constituye~~ por cuyo motivo ha desempeñado cargo en el comité de dicho partido desde la fundación del mismo hasta que fué liberado este pueblo por las Gloriosas tropas Nacionales, según palabras testuales de JAIME ANTON (a) Canari, detenido en Palacio, este individuo era el hombre de mayor confianza y de acción. En Octubre del año 1934 el denunciado llamaba a los comunistas para reunirse en la Plaza del Arrabal, Puertas Coloredas y en los huertos repartiendo en dichas reuniones armas y potardos que fueron lanzados cuando entraron los militares y guardias de asalto en dicha Plaza del Arrabal; por cuyo motivo resultaron heridos dos militares y el Teniente de asalto Sr. Meseguer, tambien en las Puertas Coloredas cuando estaban reunidos y llegó la Guardia Civil ya denunciado juntamente con los del comité y varios mas le hicieron frente con pistolas a haciendo muchísimos disparos; dirigió tambien las bombas que se echaron contra la Fábrica de Don Antonio Peraltó Díez, en garage de Nolla, en la casa de Don Porfirio Pascual y en el Transformador Eléctrico del Barrio de Ntra Sra. de la Asunción, en una de las charlas que dicen Plaza del Arrabal alontaba a los obreros para que no acudiesen al trabajo diciéndoles que estaban esperando una columna de Asturianos para implantar el comunismo en Elche; en el año 1935 se dedicó el denunciado a perseguir a persona de orden y a dar algunas palizas entre ellas a Gaspar Mora una noche con pistola en mano en la Plaza del Arrabal y en otra ocasión le salieron tambien a Pascual Chinchilla Martínez que repartía el Eco órgano de la Derecha Illicitana con pistola en mano quintándole los periódicos que rompió y pengándole después el mencionado campara Pascual Chinchilla (q.e.d.) diciéndole que si lo volvía ha ver repartir otra vez dicho periódico le metería de una paliza, otra noche del mismo año espóro a que salieran de la Derecha Illicitana a Gaspar Mora, a Bruno Rodríguez y a los dos denunciados, juntamente con unos cuarenta afiliados al P.O. siguiéndoles con una garrote de toro e insultándoles todo el trayecto y cuando los demás se fueron a sus casas y se quedó solamente el denunciante Ismael Chinchilla Martínez le rodearon y ha instancias del denunciado le dieron una paliza siendo el el que mas se destacó ya que llevaba dicha garrote, pasando al día siguiente por en frente de la casa del denunciante Ismael Chinchilla en cuya puerta se encontraba su madre y le dijo que a su hijo ya le habían arreglado, al querer contestarle su madre le insultó y le llamo puta, durante las elecciones del año 1936 fué el denunciado de los mas destacados en los mítines y de mas propagandas; después de dichas elecciones fué el denunciado de los que se dedicó a dar palizas, encontrando en una ocasión al denunciante José Mas Blasco diciéndole que ahora que ya tenían las izquierdas mas de 400 diputados ya se podía ir preparando que las iba a pasar muy mal él y su familia y efectivamente en Octubre del año 1936 fué asesinado por elementos del partido comunista el padre del denunciante Don Pedro Mas Aznar.

sigue



Translation of the original **Source Document 2**.

REPORT

ISMAEL CHINCHILLA MARTÍNEZ, 24-year-old single man, born and neighbour in Elche, living at 39 San Juan Street, and JOSÉ MAS BLASCO, 23-year-old single man, born and neighbour in Elche, living at 29 Mecánico Rada Street, for the sake of justice expose that:

RAMÓN PASTOR was founder of the first Youth and Communist Party in Elche, taking part at that time in rallies and under cover meetings. In the general strike of December 1930, together with many other members of the Communist Party, especially JOSÉ CANALS, both being heads of the turmoil; he tried to attack the Elche Right seat. Seeing that the door was closed and he could not attack it, he started throwing stones to the building from the street, breaking some glasses, the sign and the image of a Saint Christ next to one of the balconies. This individual has been the most active in Elche's Communist Party and consequently he has had a post in the committee of such political party since its foundation until the city of Elche was liberated by the Glorious National troops, according to JAIME ANTÓN's words. Arrested in Palace, this individual was the most reliable and the most active. In October 1934, the accused called the communists together for meetings at the Arrabal square, Puertas Coloradas and the orchards, handing in weapons and fireworks in such meetings, which were used when soldiers and assault guards entered the mentioned square; two soldiers and the Assault Lieutenant Mr Meseguer were wounded. Also in Puertas Coloradas, upon the arrival of the Civil Guards, the accused together with some more members of the committee faced the Civil Guards with weapons and shootings. He also led the groups against Mr Antonio Peral Díez's factory, against Nolla's garage, against Mr Porfidio Pascual's house, against the electrical power transformer at Our Lady of the Assumption neighbourhood. In one of the meetings at the Arrabal square he encouraged workers not to go to work, as they were waiting for a group of Asturians to come and introduce Communism in Elche. In the year 1936, the accused devoted himself to the pursue of people and to the beating of some people, among them to Gaspar Mora, one night, gun in hand, in the Arrabal square. Other night, he also beat gun in hand Pascual Chinchilla Martínez, who delivered the newspaper Eco, Elche Right organ, taking the newspapers from him, breaking them and beating Pascual Chinchilla (r.i.p.) and telling him that they would beat him again in case he saw him deliver newspapers again. Other night he was waiting, together with a group of forty other members of the Communist Party, for Gaspar Mora, Bruno Rodríguez and both forty other members of the Communist Party, for Gaspar Mora, Bruno Rodríguez and both plaintiffs to come out of the Elche Right seat. The group followed them with a bull cane, insulting them. When only Ismael Chinchilla left, the others had gone home, the group surrounded him and, following the accused directions, they beat him, especially the accused, as he was holding the cane. The following day, he passed by the plaintiff's house and told his mother, who was at the door, that her son was already fixed. When the mother tried to answer him, he insulted her and called her Whore. During the elections of 1936, it was the accused one of the most outstanding persons in rallies and other propaganda; after the elections he engaged himself in beating. One day, he met the plaintiff José Mas Blasco and told him that now that the Left-wing had over 400 members of Parliament, he and his family should get ready to have a hard time. And, in October 1936, the plaintiff's father, Mr Pedro Mas Aznar, was indeed murdered by several individuals of the Communist Party.

The historian's workshop

Students imagine the story of a collaborator with different elements to the ones in the previous sources.

5.2. ACTIVITIES FROM A LITERARY PERSPECTIVE

Commitment, literature and denouncement

Ethical and aesthetical commitment of authors has always been controversial. According to Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956), *“Art is not a mirror held up to reality but a hammer with which to shape it”*; that is why, and especially for the artist, *“All art forms are in the service of the greatest of all arts: the art of living”*.

There are writers who have an epic, ethic and aesthetic commitment, such as kind-hearted and universal poet **Miguel Hernández** (1910-1942), who died of tuberculosis hardly assisted in the Francoist prison of Alicante. He had been arrested for the last time when he went to see his wife and little son Manolillo, on 29 September 1939. José María Martínez, *Patagorda*, officer at Orihuela's Municipal Court points at him and Manuel Morell Rogel, Municipal Guard inspector, arrests him and he will never be released again.

The also universal poet and playwright **Federico García Lorca**, executed in August 1936 by the Francoist faction just a month after the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, also showed great commitment to the poor. In an interview on “Sol”, of 15 December 1934, a few months after the failure of the Asturian revolution, the poet openly identifies himself with the poor of the world, showing his commitment as an artist as well as a man with his people: *“In this world, I am and will always be in favour of the poor”*.

Likewise, in his last interview on “Sol”, of 10 June 1936, Luis Bagaría asked Lorca about the classical topic of Art for art's sake, and he answered as follows:

“No man believes in such trifle any more. (...) At this dramatic moment of the world, the artist must cry, laugh with his people. It is necessary to put the bouquet of lilies aside and get into the mud waist-deep to help those who are looking for the lilies.”

Other outcasts who Lorca always defended and supported were the gipsies, the Arabs, the Jews, the homosexuals and the black. To the latter, he devoted in his book *Poet in New York* the poem “Cry to Rome – from the tower of The Chrysler Building”, calling for rebellion:

Meanwhile and meanwhile and meanwhile,
blacks collecting up the spittoons,
boys trembling beneath directors’ bloodless ferocity,
women drowned in mineral oils,
crowd with hammer, violin or cloud
must yell even if their brains splatter on the wall,
yell before the domes,
yell maddened by
yell maddened by snow,
yell with heads full of excrement,
yell like every night in one,
yell with a voice torn terribly
until cities tremble like girls
and burst the prisons of oil and music,
because we want our daily bread,
alder-flower and everlasting harvest of tenderness,
because we want Earth’s will be done,
the Earth that gives her fruit to all.

Although he never affiliated to a political party, Lorca cannot be said to be apolitical. He did not conduct politics through speeches, but through his pen and through his actions. We can mention what the member of the SCARG (Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Right-wing Groups) Ruiz Alonso said after arresting him at Luis Rosales’ home: *“He has been more harmful through his pen than others through their gun.”*

In the interview mentioned above, on 15 December 1934 for “Sol”, he also said, among so many other things:

“I will always be in favour of those who have nothing, those who are even denied of the quiet of the nothing.”

In an interview with Felipe Morales in 1936, Lorca claims:

“Poetry is something which wanders along the streets, which moves, which passes by us. All things have their own mystery, and poetry is the mystery within all things. When passing by a man, when looking at a woman, when trying to guess a dog’s crosswise walking, and in each and every one of these human objects there is poetry.”

Lorca devoted his last years to drama more intensely. In the previous interview, he said:

“Drama was always my calling. I have given many hours to drama all through my life. My concept of drama is personal and resistant in a sense. Drama is the poetry which comes out of the book and becomes human. And by becoming, it speaks, and shouts, and cries, and exasperates. Drama needs that the characters on stage wear a costume of poetry and, at the same time, that we can see their bones, their blood.”

Spanish poetry in the immediate post-war period.

Post-war Spanish literature was extremely conditioned by economic difficulties, starvation, Ration cards and severe censorship. They were “dark” and “hard” years. “Dark” because of the devastated, deserted and black cultural scene, and “hard” due to the great material difficulties faced by the Spaniards of the 40s.

After any war, a kind of social literature often arises. In Spain, this was most clear in poetry and novel.

Spanish poetry of the 1940s.

After the war, the previous poetic generation, the Generation of '27, scatters. Lorca is shot and the rest of the group scatters. They all go into exile, except for Gerardo Diego, Dámaso Alonso and Vicente Aleixandre, who stayed in Spain. The rest settle in different American countries.

In the immediate post-war period, several ways opened for poetry. The most relevant two were the **rooted poetry** and the **rootless poetry**.

On the one hand, we have those authors who identify with Franco regime. They offer an ideal and heroic vision of life which does not match Spain’s reality of those years. They also defend

the regime's values: patriarchal family and Catholic moral. They create a poetry that Dámaso Alonso defined as *rooted*. He writes: *"The current Spanish poetic scene offers a few images of the world, quite harmonic or well-focused, or linked to an anchor, a fixed tie: I will call it all rooted poetry. It is something curious how in our very sad years several voices have coincided in Spain, all with faith in something, with happiness, either joyful or gloomy, with enlightened and ruled belief in the organisation of the conceivable reality. (...) For others, the world is chaos and anguish, and poetry a frantic search for order and an anchor. Yes, others are far from harmony and serenity. We have turned our eyes round and we have felt as a hideous, indecipherable appearance, surrounded by other appearances, as incomprehensible, as ferocious, maybe as unpleasant as ourselves: 'monster among monsters', or we have seen us as corpses among millions of other living corpses, rotting we all, huge pile of mulch for strange flowers, or we have gazed at the end of this world, already deserted planet where hatred and injustice, hideous invading roots, will have choked, will have extinguished all love, that is to say, all life. And we have moaned all night long. And we did not know where to yell.*

I used to moan like that. And the contrast with all rooted poetry is extremely violent. But I was not alone.

(...) my voice was only one among many inside Spain and abroad, coinciding all in huge grief, in a frantic search: for centre or a tie. How many Spanish poets have felt the calling!"

Features of rooted and rootless poetry.

Rooted poetry.

It is represented by a group of authors who offer an ideal and enthusiastic vision of the world. Poetry does not reflect the real situation of Spain after the war, it rather looks for escape, taking shelter in topics such as love, the beauty of God and his Creation. All in all, they defend Franco's faction values.

They grouped under two magazines, *Escorial* (1940) and later *Garcilaso*. That is why they were also called "*garcilasistas*", but it was not only a name: doing garcilasist poetry was a turn to Garcilaso and other Renaissance poets' lyrical poetry. The formal features of this poetry were:

- The main **topics** are the classical ones in all-time poetry: love, landscapes, beauty, etc.
- God as men protector, source of perfection and the order of the universe.

- Lack of commitment and estrangement from reality.

We can highlight authors (most of whom will suffer great disappointment with this ideal world) such as **Dionisio Ridruejo, Luis García Nieto, Leopoldo Panero o Luis Rosales**. The latter will become highly influential, and will start their turn to a more existentialism poetry with his work *The Burning House*.

Rootless poetry.

This current represents the first aesthetics renewal movement after the Civil War. Unlike the former, for these poets, the world is chaos and anguish. Dámaso Alonso with his book *Children of Wrath* (1944) is the one to set this trend line, supported by another poet of the Generation of '27, Nobel Literature Prize Vicente Aleixandre with his work *Shadows of Paradise* (1944).

Rootless poets group under magazine *Espadaña*, founded by Victoriano Crémer and Eugenio de Nora.

The features of this poetry are:

- Regarding the **topics**, God is still one of the major reasons for poetic composition. But, unlike in the rooted poetry, this religiosity is critical. It transmits the idea that God has abandoned the human being and, consequently, the world is dominated by loneliness or existential emptiness and fear to live or to die. This current matches the existentialist tendency generalised in all European literature after World War II.
- As for stylistics, this poetry is less classicist than the latter, with a more straightforward and simple language, where content is more important than form. However, this formal strength is just apparent. Regarding meter, they use free verse, but also sonnets, prevailing in most compositions and other popular stanzas.

We can highlight authors such as Dámaso Alonso, Carlos Bousoño, José Luis Hidalgo, Leopoldo de Luis, Vicente Gaos, Gabriel Celaya, José Hierro or Blas de Otero. Most of their poetry will later evolve towards the social poetry which will appear in the 50s.

Example of rooted poetry:

MEMORIA

Y resbaló el amor estremecido
por las mudas orillas de tu ausencia.
La noche se hizo cuerpo de tu esencia
y el campo abierto se plegó vencido.

Un ayer de tus labios en mi oído,
una huella sonora, una cadencia,
hizo flor de latidos tu presencia
en el último borde del olvido.

Viniste sobre un aire de amapolas.
Como suspiros estallando rojos,
bajo el ardor de las estrellas plenas,

Los labios avanzaron como olas.
Y sumiso en el sueño de tus ojos
murió el dolor en las floridas venas.

Dionisio Ridruejo

Example of rootless poetry:

INSOMNIO

Madrid es una ciudad de más de un millón de cadáveres
(según las últimas estadísticas).

A veces en la noche yo me revuelvo y me incorporo en este nicho en el que hace 45 años que me pudro,

y paso largas horas oyendo gemir al huracán, o ladrar los perros, o fluir blandamente la luz de la luna.

Y paso largas horas gimiendo como el huracán, ladrando como un perro enfurecido, fluyendo como la leche de la ubre caliente de una gran vaca amarilla.

Y paso largas horas preguntándole a Dios, preguntándole por qué se pudre lentamente mi alma, por qué se pudren más de un millón de cadáveres en esta ciudad de Madrid, por qué mil millones de cadáveres se pudren lentamente en el mundo.

Dime, ¿qué huerto quieres abonar con nuestra podredumbre?

¿Temes que se te sequen los grandes rosales del día, las triste azucenas letales de tus noches?

Dámaso Alonso, *Hijos de la ira* (1944)

Spanish novel, commitment and denouncement during the civil war and the immediate post-war

The years of war are, of course, of priority warfare and politics, and so inauspicious for intellectual and literary activity which, quite often, appears tainted with an exasperated and bellicose ideology, especially in those novels whose topic is war itself and where, either from a faction or the other, the same mistakes are made: blind exaltation of the fighting cause; Manichaeism and surface analysis, handling and distortion of reality that end up in an approach of the novel to the pamphlet; outlining of the characters and lack of mettle in style.

Regarding the prose fiction of the Republican side, we remember *Counter-Attack* by Sender, National Literature Prize in 1937. The following year César M. Arconada and José Herrera Petere share the prize with *Tajo River and Steel of Madrid*, an epic narration about the defence of Madrid, defined by a critic as a poetic creation in prose; also from José Herrera Petere are *Puente de Sangre* (1938) –about the first stages of Ebro Battle– and *Cumbres de Extremadura. Novela de Guerrilleros* (1938). In this same year, Antonio Sánchez Barbudo publishes his book of tales *Entre dos Fuegos*.

Among the writers of the National faction, we remember Concha Espina (1877-1955), a writer who enjoyed recognition long before and who clearly showed exhaustion in *Retaguardia. Imágenes de vivos y muertos* (1937), where a prisoner tells very unpleasant events that she lived and suffered or was told about. By Wenceslao Fernández-Flórez we have *Una isla en el Mar Rojo* (1939). Other authors not so well-known before 1936 also publish novels of this kind, like Agustín de Foxá, with *Madrid de Corte a Cheka* (1938), which is, despite its partiality and the influence of Valle-Inclán, the most important novel of the time. Other Falangist narrators who also use the military and war topic in its most strict sense are: José Vicente Puente, with *Viudas Blancas* (1937); Felipe Ximénez de Sandoval, with *Camisa Azul* (1938); Pedro Álvarez, with *Cada Cien Ratas un Permiso* (1939), with which he had won in 1938 the warlike short novel contest launched by the Falangist magazine *Vértice*; and especially Rafael García Serrano, who becomes well-known thanks to *Eugenio o la Proclamación de la Primavera* (1938), which, rather than a novel, is a real manifesto, lyrical and proudly aggressive, of the Falange ideals.

Post-war Spanish novel.

Along with the difficulties of Spaniards' lives in this time, we find an impoverished culture, after years of shortage, international siege, closed autarchy, silence and fear which, of course, can be seen in the process of cultural reconstruction.

The lack of tradition and the isolation strongly influence culture in general and the writer of the peninsula in particular. The split-off from the literary roots is the first and most important consequence of the intellectual and political breakup. That is why a critic talks about "the years of doubt and confusion". A part of the most significant previous literature fell into silence. The breakup with the most immediate tradition spread to the whole liberal thinking. Added to this estrangement, we have the exile to which an important part of our intellectuals were forced, which sadly orphaned the younger generations.

We also have to add-on how scarce are Baroja's works after 1939 represented. Moreover, almost the whole Generation of '98 is systematically censored; Pío Baroja is considered as an atheistic and solvent, and Unamuno is the victim of frenzied attacks.

The greatest novelists of the 19th century are also frowned upon, as they are considered the seeds of the harmful ideologies that had caused the stagnation previous to the war. Of course, all realist and committed literature of the 30s is also ignored and prohibited: Sender, Díaz Fernández, Arconada... In exchange, a return to Imperial Spain is postulated from poetry, which breaks the sense of historical continuity. Such postulates can even be appreciated in the titles of some magazines –sponsored more or less officially or unofficially, and sustained with public organisations– which appear in this time: *Escorial* and *Garcilaso*, apart from *Vértice*, *Destino*, *Juventud*, *Haz*, *La Estafeta Literaria* and so on. These magazines had an advertising role, sheltering already renowned novelists as well as young writers in a time when it is hard for Spanish authors to publish, mainly due to the growth of the translations of foreign novels, nearly always mediocre. Likewise, biographies (or better biographical "novelling") become another distraction for the reader of the time, which obstructs the taking off of our novel.

Outlining the main trends of our novel in the first postwar years, we refer to a kind of escape novel, whose principal intention is to inhibit the reader from the memories of what happened and from the uncertain situation in which Spain has become lost. The "pink novels" by Carmen Icaza are a clear example of this tendency, *¡Quién Sabe!* (1941) or *Soñar la Vida* (1942).

It is more interesting, at least from a sociological point of view, provides the production of those writers who create a kind of war literature, closely related to the ideals and premises of the Movement and inspired by them. Maybe, the fact of having arisen simultaneously with the events, in the heat of the struggle, stuck to the battle, deprived those authors of the necessary perspective, which explains demagogic, contesting and controversial character of some of those novels.

The common thread of this fictional literature is the tightness, the lack of psychological and human complexity of the characters, the absence of equanimity and the shortage of temper in style; the determinism which divides characters into two opposing categories: the good and the bad –idealizing the first ones and darkening the second ones. There is neither detachment nor observation, and panegyric or contempt replace what should be an analysis of the characters. Ultimately, it is a novel deeply unrealistic, with a rough and even rude language which is unable to fulfil the vacuum with human reality.

Among the many titles of this direction, we remember *Chekas de Madrid* (1940) by Tomás Borrás, *La Mascarada Trágica* (1942), by Enrique Noguera, which begins each chapter with a verse from “Facing the Sun” (“Cara al Sol”, the Falange hymn); *Cristo en los Infiernos* (1941) by Ricardo León, *Princesas del Martirio* (1941) by Concha Espina, and, especially, *La Fiel Infantería* (1943) by Rafael García Serrano.

The striking case of the prohibition of the latter, whose author was a meaningful Falangist, illustrates an important factor in the life of the postwar novel: censorship. This novel, like others at the time –*The Family of Pascual Duarte* (1942) by Cela, and *Javier Mariño* (1943) by G. Torrente Ballester (one more Falangist)– suffered the ecclesiastical veto in spite of easily having passed the government’s censorship. This proves the lack of an inner monolithic strength in the Regime and of a censorship with unanimous and coherent criteria, since Falange and the Church compete for supremacy.

Two dates are usually highlighted as meaningful in the beginning of the genre: 1942, with *The Family of Pascual Duarte* by Camilo José Cela, and 1945, with *Nothing* by Carmen Laforet. We could also add 1947, with Miguel Delibes’ first novel *The Cypress Casts a Long Shadow*.

Some critics refer to the direction opened by authors and works mentioned as existentialist novel, and not without any reason, as this is a kind of novel which intends to transmit the feeling of

unease; but we should not confuse it with the European existentialist novel, as in the Spanish novel experiences do not refer to ontological or metaphysical categories, but to a social situation, to a state where the characters become victims.

As we pointed out before, Camilo José Cela, Carmen Laforet and Miguel Delibes open the way for the postwar novel. Cela opens a trend called “Tremendismo”, consisting of a selection of the hardest aspects of life with the aim of acting as a wake-up call.

In this sense, he conceives a novel series entitled “Uncertain ways”. *The Hive* is the first and only work in such series. Rejected by censorship in its first version in 1946, because of its immorality, it came out in Buenos Aires in 1951. This novel has the intention of becoming a testimony of the uncertain ways along which an important part of the Spanish population was wandering in the 1940s. According to Gonzalo Sobajano, its topic is “*the uncertainty of the human destinies*”. Other topics can also be starvation, money, sex, war memories. The novel’s realism and its scattered structure contribute to the expression of rupture and disintegration of a society living the burst of war.

The social novel of the 1950s was the testimony of what the press did not say since, as Gil Casado says “...we say that a novel is just social when it points out the injustice, the inequality or the stagnation existing in our society and, with a critical purpose, it shows how they really appear, in a sector or in the whole national life”.

Camilo José Cela, who would be granted the Nobel Literature Prize in 1989, received after his death on 17 January 2002 a real outburst of praise about the life of the member of the Royal Spanish Academy. It is an old Spanish tradition that of showing respect for the deceased highlighting their virtues and trying to forget their flaws. However, it is especially revealing the collective amnesia suffered by politicians, journalists, writers, priests and publishers when examining the Galician writer. Among his colleagues –with the exception of Catalan Juan Marsé– recognition was general.

Such devotion broke in the publishing sphere with the release of his biography *Desmontando a Cela*, by Tomás García Yebra, where the author depicts a biographical note of Cela which brings to light some aspects of this personal and literary career which had been hidden after the shine of prizes and institutional honours.

Mr Camilo J. Cela was what our society usually calls a successful man: prestigious and well-known novelist, priceless columnist and the owner of a multimillionaire estate. He visited ministers and he even briefly worked as a senator, thanks to King Juan Carlos I. Doubtlessly, his acclaimed social status influenced in the sweetened image of him created for his popular consumption: that of a genius author, honest but a foul-mouthed and bad-tempered.

Not surprisingly, the last finds about the character have been received with a certain shock. By mid-2004, London's *The Guardian* accused Cela –basing on a series of documents found by historian Pere Ysàs- of having been a spy for Francoist dictatorship and an informant of other writers and intellectuals during the 1960s. An old report from the Ministry of Information has revealed that Camilo José Cela not only did not acquiesce in informing about his colleagues, but he also suggested the leaders of the regime –Manuel Fraga in this case– to use bribe as the way to recover dissident intellectuals with less rooted beliefs.

Mr Camilo's good trades during Franco's dictatorship

Once, Cela went as far to solemnly say: *"It is something bitter, rather than sad, that men inform on each other. It is possible to live without falling into denunciation"*. The undeserving writer was not exactly characterized by accepting the pieces of advice that he offered to others.

In 1938 –when Franco's victorious army instilled fear and revenge on the defeated Spain– Camilo José Cela sent the General Inspector of Investigation and Surveillance an application offering his service as an informer⁴.

"That The Glorious National Movement produced when the applicator was in Madrid..." –the writer expressed– *"and for the same reason I believe I know the acts of specific individuals... I think I can give you details about persons and behaviours which could be useful..."*

The author of *The Hive* intended to take advantage of the literary circles of the republican Madrid contributing to the hunt of "reds and stateless", as they used to be called. In order to measure the exact meaning of his offering, it is mandatory to remember that being accused of "red" in those years led, in most cases, to the firing line. We do not know the fate of his application, but between 1943 and 1944 he was installed in the offices of the Information and Censorship Section of the Glorious National Movement, working as a censor under the direct command of Falange ideologist Juan Aparicio.

⁴ See accompanying document on page 58.

Newspaper archives still keep some writings of the time. Like the poem published in the book *Laureados* (Fermina Bonilla edition, Madrid, 1940), which starts:

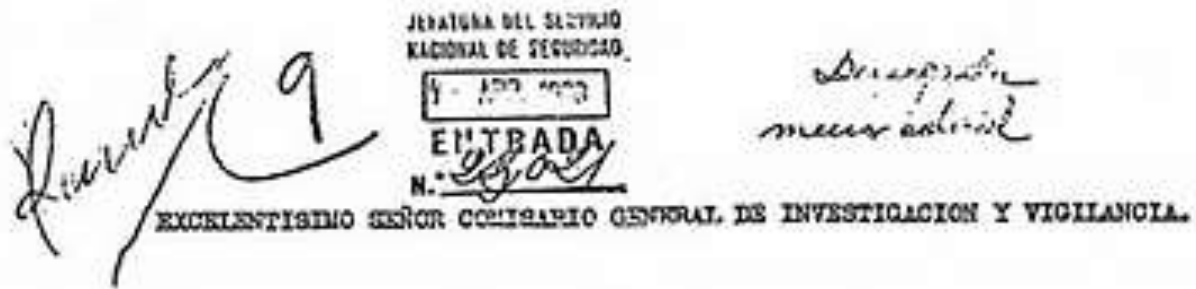
“Mussolini told us that –History moves with the wheel of blood...” and finished demanding *“God’s blessings –for Francisco Franco, our Leader and Father”*.

Or the article published in “El Alcázar” in 1949, entitled “Afoot and moneyless” (Praise to the Infantry Weapon on its Saint Patron’s Day). Here are some reflections with which young Cela started his career as a brilliant columnist:

“War is not sad because it provides healthy –do not sanctimonious tear at their hair– war is not sad, as it raises the souls. War is not sad because it teaches us that outside the flag nothing, not even life, is important...”

Mr Camilo devoted these patriotic lines to *“my Colonel, General Millán Astray”*. And, seeing its contents, he could have also finished with his admired Colonel’s famous quote: *“Hurrah for death! Death to intelligence!”*

Was he expressing a genuine feeling or just a genuine intention of prospering at all costs? Be that as it may, during Franco’s dictatorship –which condemned the most valuable Spanish intellectuals to exile or to ostracism– Cela published his best novels, he used to write for the press, he received many prizes and he triumphantly joined the Spanish Royal Academy.



El que suscribe, Camilo-José Colla y Trullols, de 21 años de edad, natural de Padrón (La Coruña) y con domicilio en esta Capital, Avenida de la Habana 23 y 24, Bachiller Universitario (Sección de Ciencias) y estudiante del Cuerpo Pericial de Aduanas, declarado inútil Total para el Servicio Militar por el Tribunal Médico Militar de Logroño en cuya Plaza estuvo prestando servicio como soldado del Regimiento de Infantería de Bailén (nº24), a V.E. respetuosamente expone:

Que queriendo prestar un servicio a la Patria adecuando a su estado físico, a sus conocimientos y a su buen deseo y voluntad, solicita el ingreso en el Cuerpo de Investigación y Vigilancia.

Que habiendo vivido en Madrid y sin interrupción durante los últimos 13 años, cree poder prestar datos sobre personas y conductas, que pudieran ser de utilidad.

Que el Glorioso Movimiento Nacional se produjo estando el solicitante en Madrid, de donde se pasó con fecha 6 de Octubre de 1937, y que por lo mismo cree conocer la actuación de determinados individuos.

Que no tiene carácter de definitiva esta petición, y que se entiende solamente por el tiempo que dure la campaña o incluso para los primeros meses de la paz si en opinión de mis superiores son de utilidad mis servicios. Que por todo lo expuesto solicita ser destinado a Madrid que es donde cree poder prestar servicios de mayor eficacia, bien entendido que si a juicio de V.E. soy mas necesario en cualquier otro lugar, acato con todo entusiasmo y con toda disciplina su decisión.

Dios guarde a V.E. muchos años.

La Coruña a 30 de Marzo de 1938 . II Año Triunfal .



Camilo José Colla

Translation:

TO HIS EXCELLENCY MR GENERAL INSPECTOR OF INVESTIGATION AND SURVEILLANCE

The undersigned, Camilo José Cela y Trulock, 21-year-old, born in Padrón (La Coruña), whose address is in this capital city, 23-24 La Habana Avenue, University Baccalaureate (Section of Science) and student at the National Body of Customs, considered unfit for the military service by Logroño's Militar Medical panel, where he was serving as a soldier of Bailén's Infantry Regiment (number 24), exposes to your excellency:

That with the intention of serving his Homeland according to his physical condition, his knowledge and his good will and wish, he applies for a post in the Body of Investigation and Surveillance.

That having lived in Madrid uninterruptedly for the last 15 years, he thinks he can provide information about persons and behaviours which can be found useful.

That the Glorious National Movement was produced when the applicant was in Madrid, from where he passed on 5 October 1937, and, consequently, he believes to know about the acts of certain individuals.

That this application has not got a definitive character. It must be understood only during the time in which the campaign lasts, even during the first months of peace if, according to my supervisors, my service is still useful.

For all these reasons, he requests to be sent to Madrid, where he believes to be able to serve more efficiently, understanding that if your Excellency considers that I am more necessary at any other place, I will comply with your decision with enthusiasm and respect.

God save your Excellency for many years.

La Coruña, 30 March 1938. Second year after the Victory.

Camilo José Cela

5.3. ACTIVITIES FROM A PHILOSOPHICAL PERSPECTIVE

1. Students are presented the activity with the aim of briefly introducing the development of the practical part of this teaching unit. They are informed about the activity's basic structure:
 - Comprehensive reading and analysis of the files in groups. Group discussion and elaboration of an answer or a common and inclusive point of view which represents the group.
 - Sharing and discussion among the groups and the resulting assessment.

Writing of a text which reflects the different conclusions achieved by the different groups.

2. The teacher divides the class in groups to read the files (to be found in the **Sources** section). Before handing out the files (chosen for their philosophical interest) some of them can be projected, as a way of contextualisation, with an informative and didactic aim.
3. The three files selected for the activity are handed in by the teacher. The first two are given to the students doing the work dossier 1 and the third file is handed in to students doing the work dossier 2.

WORK DOSSIER 1

File: Antonio Román Lloret.

File: Carlos Torres Soler.

Introduction.

The cases presented in the files of Antonio Román Lloret and Carlos Torres Soler can be understood from a moral philosophical perspective if we focus on what such files describe. In both stories, the accused are found guilty of having murdered their ideological opponents under the moral shelter that the ideological conviction grants before what is considered illegal or illegitimate. Such conviction settles in the consciousness of both factions, which justifies their actions from a moral level. And this moral level also reaches the political level, as it is embodied in a just law which punishes the enemies of the State. The just punishment on the enemy, as well as the pre-existent and essential dehumanisation of the not-me (enemy/other) in ancient

anthropology, allows physical and ultimate violence on the one who threatens moral, understood not as a stronghold of the self, but as *mos* or *ethos*: habit, that is, a way of life to be protected. This point of view allows us to open the realm of moral to the realm of politics and explore the sense, suitability, limit and scope of what from Machiavelli onwards we have called *Raison d'Etat* (Reason of State). Machiavelli's State is carried along the political power, which aims at its own survival beyond any ethical formality or domestic morality. From this logic of power, violence is not pure aggressiveness any longer and becomes immoral or heartless cruelty when it is the other who inflicts it on us. Therefore, violence becomes legitimate if the legal state exercises it against those who attack (from the inside or outside) the order and stability of the state. (Max Weber)

The enemy's dehumanisation survives as the state's strategy to justify and to not morally explain the murder of a human life. The Other embodies what Hannah Arendt called radical evil, that is to say, the enemy is somebody inherently evil, his intention is wicked and his soul dark, since all within him is absolute evil. However, characters such as Adolf Eichmann make Hannah Arendt doubt about this concept of radical evil, which swaps to banality of evil when she discovers that the I includes in itself that potential evil that can be unleashed in any situation in the actions of any common person, in the actions of any average person.

Activities.

A. Creon or the need to punish our enemies.

Introduction.

This activity is linked to the reading of *Antigone* by Sophocles and to its theoretical development, previously studied in the part of the unit dealing with the ethical disobedience of the law.

Students read an excerpt of the text by Sophocles where Creon shows Antigone his reasons to ban the public burial of her brother Polynices due to the fact of being a proven enemy of Thebes.

ANTIGONE:

Creon, what more do you want than my death?

CREON:

Nothing.

That gives me everything.

ANTIGONE:

Then I beg you: kill me.

This talking is a great weariness: your words

Are distasteful to me, and I am sure that mine

Seem so to you. And yet they should not seem so:

I should have praise and honor for what I have done.

All these men here would praise me

Were their lips not frozen shut with fear of you.

[Bitterly]

Ah the good fortune of kings,

Licensed to say and do whatever they please!

CREON:

You are alone here in that opinion.

ANTIGONE:

No, they are with me. But they keep their tongues in leash.

CREON:

Maybe. But you are guilty, and they are not.

ANTIGONE:

There is no guilt in reverence for the dead.

CREON:

But Eteocles—was he not your brother too?

ANTIGONE:

My brother too.

CREON:

And you insult his memory?

ANTIGONE:

[Softly.]

The dead man would not say that I insult it.

CREON:

He would: for you honor a traitor as much as him.

ANTIGONE:

His own brother, traitor or not, and equal in blood.

CREON:

He made war on his country. Eteocles defended it.

ANTIGONE:

Nevertheless, there are honors due all the dead.

CREON:

But not the same for the wicked as for the just.

ANTIGONE:

Ah Creon, Creon,

Which of us can say what the gods hold wicked?

CREON:

An enemy is an enemy, even dead.

ANTIGONE:

It is my nature to join in love, not hate.

CREON:

[Finally losing patience.]

Go join them, then; if you must have your love,

Find it in hell!

Analysis.

After reading the previous text, students analyse it according to the following activities:

1. Extract the reasons explained by Creon to ban the funeral of Polynices. Identify the reason that justifies Creon's attitude towards Polynices.
2. Questions to guide the analysis:
 - a) Is Creon's position opposing to Antigone reasonable? Why?
 - b) From a Kantian perspective, what would happen if Creon's view became universal?
 - c) Assess the moral correction of Creon's decision/action from classical utilitarianism.
 - d) If Creon's action did not end with the insecurity of what the enemy's potential represents, would it be possible for utilitarianism to adopt a stance of the defence of virtue?
 - e) From a general ethics perspective, is Creon's attitude towards those he considers Thebes' enemies morally justified?
 - f) Investigate:
 - a. the definition of enemy.
 - b. what military law establishes in relation to the enemies of the state.
 - c. the ways of naming the enemy: the Others in Anthropology.

- Elaborate:
 - a. a personal essay about the construction of the Other in history, from an anthropological point of view, in relation to the different ways Philosophy has found to justify and reject war.
 - b. a class presentation which combines the notions of the Other and War.
- 3. Face to face: Creon vs the Spanish Civil War.
 - Reading of both files, Antonio Román Lloret's and Carlos Torres Soler's.
 - Identification of the actions carried out by the accused according to the files.
 - Due to the lack of other information than the one described in the files, think of the possible reasons that led the accused to commit the facts they are being judged for.
 - Think:
 - a. Is the death of our enemies⁵ justified?
 - b. From a general moral perspective, is it fair that the accused are sentenced to death? Why?
 - c. If law allows death penalty, can we consider these deaths as murders? Why? What is the difference between murdering and executing a death sentence? Why?
 - d. Read the following interview to the Spanish philosopher Amelia Valcárcel and point the importance of memory and pardon⁶ according to the author.
 - Discussion: War according to Philosophy. Are there fair wars?

B. Machiavelli and the Reason of State. Does the end justify the means?

Introduction.

This activity is linked to the reflections and ideas of Niccolò Machiavelli, whose newness, realism and controversy made him go down in the history of philosophy. The Italian thinker is credited with the well-known quotation “the end justifies the means”, a statement that he never openly defended; hence in a great number of studies about the thinker, it is intended to bring order to the subject and to qualify the reason of such credit. In any case, we find the motto “the end justifies the means” useful for our purpose of moral reflection aimed at clarifying human

⁵ In the radical and ultimate sense of enemy, the one who wants our annihilation or destruction.

⁶ The interview to Amelia Valcárcel is included in the documents of the appendix, section A.

actions in critical or extreme situations. In this sense, the stories described in the files will be analysed from this motto in order to achieve a map of reasons and legitimate arguments which shed light on an ideological and warlike conflict. The main aim is the students to be achieve deep reflection skills as well as a philosophical perspective regarding sensitive issues or subjects.

We suggest two activities of a participative and group-work nature, whose main aim is to assess up to what extent the Italian thinker was a strong supporter of the popular quotation he is with: “the end justifies the means”. At the same time, this activity will provide a space for free thinking and opinion for the students, where they can discuss the issue of ends and means according to the deontological and teleological ethics already studied.

Activity 1.

The well-known quotation “The end justifies the means” is usually understood in its negative sense, as a justification for selfishness or destructive fanaticism. However, great thinkers such as Machiavelli used it in its positive sense, as a valid formula to achieve the common good. In this activity we will try to delve deeper into the different ethical points of view that this controversial quotation can enclose.

- “The end justifies the means” can be understood from these two approaches: “**Any ends justify any means**” and “**any means can be justified by an end important enough**”. What is the difference between both approaches? Think of an example to represent each option.
- Which approaches could the protagonists of the files have chosen as a moral argument? Could such approach morally justify their action? Why?
- Can there be an end important enough to justify the means consisting of torture or death of a human being? Justify your answer.
- Answer the previous question from the deontological and a teleological ethics.
- **Moral dilemma:** New York Police have managed to arrest a very dangerous terrorist before he committed a terrorist attack in an underground station. However, police know that the terrorist, before being arrested, had left a bomb somewhere in the city and it will explode in

half an hour. Police have so little time to find the bomb and save thousands of people who will die for sure unless they find it. In this serious and extreme situation, the only option they seem to have is coercion, that is to say, the use of force or torture to coax him into telling the information. Police think that they must cause as much pain as necessary to beat the fanatic resistance of the terrorist.

- What must police do? Is saving thousands or millions of people an end important enough to use torture or extreme pain as legitimate means? Why? Remember to elaborate a list with possible consequences of the decision-action. You can also answer this dilemma from the ethics of Kant and of the Utilitarianism.
- Why was the Holocaust an abhorrent deed for the allies, whereas the millions of deaths caused by Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs were only necessary evil? Who decides what legitimate means are? Who decides what a legitimate end is?

Activity 2.

Students read carefully the following Machiavelli's ideas and try to establish in what sense he considered that the end justifies the means.

- If an injury has to be done to a man, it should be so severe that his vengeance need not be feared.
- I believe that this follows from whether cruelty is being badly or well used. Those may be called properly used... that are applied at one blow out of necessity to secure one's power, and that are not persisted in afterwards.
- The badly employed are those which, even if initially limited, multiply with time rather than decrease.
- The main foundations of every state are good laws and good arms.
- It is better to be feared than loved. Men shrink less from offending one who inspires love than one who inspires fear.
- War should be the only of a prince. He should consider peace only as a breathing-time, which gives him leisure to contrive, and furnishes as ability to execute, military plans.
- Whosoever desires constant success must change his conduct with the times.

C. H. Arendt and Max Weber: soldiers and suicide bombers, among the radical evil, the banality of evil and the legitimate violence.

Introduction.

In this activity, the students will reflect upon the casuistry which leads us to commit inherently bad deeds, such as killing a human being. At the same time, he or she will have to apply Hannah Arendt's concepts of radical evil and banality of evil to several cases, such as the ones about soldiers at war, the main subjects of the files or present-day suicide bombers. In addition, students will also have to morally assess the convenience of effective laws which rule for instance self-defence or the law of the sea.

Activity 1.

Regarding the already developed construction of the Other in Anthropology, we intend to consider, bearing in mind the history of war, if there is a general tendency towards humanisation or dehumanisation of the enemy. Students may use as contents for analysis any of the wars they know or have studied, so as to be able to answer with more fluency.

- Which deeds are allowed when we dehumanise the Other?
- Which borders cannot we cross when we recognise in the Other a human being?
- Can we consider an innocent as an enemy? Why?
- Is violence less violent when it comes from a legal and legitimate power?

According to the difference established by Hannah Arendt between radical evil and the banality of evil, as well as Max Weber's definition of legitimate violence, try to classify the following figures of soldier:

- the suicide bomber.
- Adolf Eichmann.
- Antonio Román Lloret and Carlos Torres Soler.

The law of the sea comprises several popular traditions, such as the one according to which the captain is the last to leave the boat, women and children are the first ones to leave the boat and have the first seats in the lifeboats, everything in case of danger. However, the law of the sea refers mainly to the practice of cannibalism when a group of survivors are left adrift after a

shipwreck. According to this practice, if a group of sailors managed to survive a shipwreck and were left deserted at sea, they could cast lots for those of them who would be sacrificed to become a food source for the rest when they ran out of supplies. This is the true story of the whaling ship “Essex”, sunk by a sperm whale in 1820. The novel *Moby Dick* was inspired by the story of the whaling ship “Essex” and its crew.

- Is physical survival a strong enough reason to use another person as a means? What would Kant say thereon? And Utilitarianism?
- Discussion: physical survival or moral integrity⁷?

WORK DOSSIER 2

File: *Asunción Junquera-Huergo y Mera*.

Introduction.

Asunción Junquera-Huergo y Mera’s file reveals one of the most subversive practices (let’s think of Socrates, Gandhi or the student at Tian Na Meng’s square in 1989) which have been punished cruelly and harshly by any form of government or established power, legitimate or not, legal or illegal. There is no power which can face with political propriety an act of dissidence or resistance from the citizenship, since the dissident, the resistant, the one who rejects (both quietly or loudly) what is established unwillingly becomes an opponent to the government and the established power. Philosopher Foucault reminds us that “where there is power, there is resistance”, so power is linked to insurrection, to a naturally human reaction of individual or group resistance, active, passive or everyday, given the plastic character of power, presented both subtly or coercively. Thus, the manifestations and acts of resistance are present in any place, given that the relations of power exist on a micro political level⁸, they reveal through this intertwining of the social net. Foucault’s interest in the idea of power leads him to the analysis of the individual as a subject subdued⁹, taking more interest in determining the mechanisms,

⁷ This discussion can be prepared according to the contents dealt with in the first topic of reference.

⁸ Michel Foucault, Karl Popper, Hannah Arendt and Ernesto Mayz-Vallenilla studied the power in its different variations and forms from different perspectives to the traditional ones, embodied by Machiavelli, Hobbes and Weber. Foucault’s relevance in the study of power lies in not asking the subject how, why or under which conditions he accepts to be subdued, but in showing how he creates the specific relations of subjugation.

⁹ Nowadays, philosopher Judith Butler carries on with Foucault’s work, widening and reviewing it, in her work

implications, relations and power devices used in the different levels of society in the technological construction of the subject subdued¹⁰.

The case of the file before us is valuable in the sense that it accurately narrates the self-strength of the individual, the power that they generate when changing the loneliness of the individual into the subtle but effective harrying to power. The importance of this file, of the person of Asunción Junquera-Huergo y Mera, shows the radical subversive load that Kantian ethics¹¹ still has at present, which leads us towards a moral and ethical scenario where the individual itself becomes revolutionary, subversive, powerful and dangerous. Therefore, the act of resistance escapes from the topical ways of organised demand¹², massive or social. Not leaving out the importance of the reflections upon Thoreau's civil disobedience, this teaching unit tries to unveil the value and political power of not only active and civil resistance, but also passive resistance included in the authoritarian and dictatorial power goals. That is why Gramsci's notion of passive resistance is a key point. It is an almost invisible way of resistance, as it avoids direct confrontation with the established power, but it questions and rusts the power by generating a hidden message of rebellion and resistance. Such action, physically invisible but real in its political effect and moral connotation, is embodied by Asunción Junquera-Huerga y Mera. These anonymous and individual ways of disobedience are so subversive for the power, as following no outlines or plans, and with the group's support, the subject gains in depth and high ethical beliefs, to which Asunción's sense of challenge to the unjust reveals as a serious form of moral autonomy.

Psychic Life of Power. Theories in Subjection, Stanford University Press, 1997.

¹⁰ Asking about the conditions and means used by the power when producing subjugation becomes one of the key topics in the present day bio politics. However, this matter surpasses the scope of this teaching unit, as the aim of this activity leans towards those cases in which the individual disobeys (rejection and structural opposition considered by the system itself, on the other hand).

¹¹ In the theoretical unit of reference we develop the notion of ethical disobedience that the Kantian moral embraces as a coherent attitude towards its ethics.

¹² A cinema example of passive resistance, or better everyday resistance, is offered by the film *Gone with The Wind*. One of the girl slaves is asked to go and look for a doctor before the imminent labour of one of the main characters; this girl, instead of rushing towards her duty, leaves the house slowly, singing and rambling, showing the importance that the white's affairs have for her: none at all. From a white's perspective, blacks are naturally lazy people, that is why, instead of rushing, she sings and plays in her way, and so she comes back long hours later. However, from the logic of resistance, no doubt this is an act of dissidence and everyday passive resistance, as the girl slave displays her only possible strategy: disobedience. That is the reason why, although there is not an antislavery organisation to reclaim their personal rights, the individual who lives under subjugation, under compulsion, under repression, etc. makes a choice that he can effectively make in spite of such strong external conditioning: individual and personal disobedience.

A. Passive resistance or the immunity of moral freedom

Introduction.

The activities proposed in this section are divided in three parts interrelated. Moreover, given the current nature of resistance as a strategy of protest, even indifference towards the established power, we suggest a more reflexive and experiential air. That is why we suggest three lines of theoretical analysis whose aim is its direct connection with the students' experiences and knowledge. This way, the main aim of this teaching unit is a personal and reflected conclusion of the students, both individually and in groups. Thus, the teacher can divide the class in working groups to speed up the carrying out of the tasks and the students' comprehension.

Activity 1: Definition and typology of resistance.

Students are divided in groups (3 at the very least) in order to carry out the following general and contextualised activities, whose aim is to develop these three abilities: creativity, critical and reflexive ability and complex text comprehension.

- Definition of resistance. The group looks up in a dictionary the definition of resistance, in its political, moral and social sense. From this definition, the group presents the rest of the class a definition of resistance, including those aspects that they think do not appear in the dictionary.
- Definition of active resistance. The group has to search the Internet for information about the notion of active resistance, focusing on definitions, specific actions and historical examples. Once they have selected the working material (with the monitoring of the teacher), the group will elaborate a text explaining what active resistance is.
- Definition of passive and everyday resistance. The group reads a text¹³ which explains the definitions and differences between passive and everyday resistance. They read, ask, and debate about the contents of the text so as to be able to present the class an accurate and coherent explanation of both concepts. Besides, and with the help of the teacher, they write a short definition and explanation of both concepts to give them to the rest of the class.

¹³ The text handed in to the students is in the general appendix. This text has been elaborated basing on several authors, so it is not an original version, but an adaptation for the students. Section D.

- Definition of Berkeley's passive obedience¹⁴. The group reads some pages selected from an article about the issue of Berkeley's passive obedience and present the class the philosopher's storyline.

Activity 2: The moral responsibility of civil disobedience in Henry Thoreau.

Students read a selection of fragments from Thoreau's text *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience*, with the aim of relating the contents previously seen with Thoreau's arguments to defend the subject's political autonomy. The following questions may guide the reflection:

- What does Thoreau mean when he claims that "*that government is best which governs not at all*"?
- Which requirements must a person meet in order to live in a world where "*that government is best which governs not at all*"?
- What is Thoreau's conception of the law?
- Give your opinion: Do laws allow us to be free or do they belittle freedom?
- What did Thoreau mean when he stated: "*I think we should be men first and citizens afterwards*"?
- According to Thoreau, "*the laws do not make men more just*". Relate Thoreau's view with the idea of moral heteronomy.
- Think: Why do we comply with the law? Because it is just or because we are afraid of its consequences? If the basic prohibitions established by the law, such as not killing or not stealing, did not have any consequences, would we comply with these laws?
- Why do we comply with the laws?

Activity 3: Practical cases.

a) Case 1. Civil disobedience and Gandhi's peaceful resistance in India.

This first practical case refers to the notion of civil disobedience on which we have already worked. Gandhi embodies the importance, the scope and the limits of this strategy of peaceful fight.

¹⁴ Berkeley's definition of passive obedience is in the general appendix. Section E.

This activity consists of the elaboration of a short essay about Gandhi's political biography. The students have to think of the strategies for peaceful resistance that Gandhi must have used in order to fulfil his purposes. After that, the students reveal the actions designed by Gandhi. So the class will be able to compare their proposals with Gandhi's and to debate about their success or suitability.

b) Case 2. Passive resistance is a breach against the authority. The Spanish Law¹⁵.

- According to the Spanish government, what would an example of punishable "passive or serious active resistance" be?
- The teacher shows the articles of the Spanish law about civil disobedience and passive resistance:

Article 556

«Those who **resist or seriously disobey** the authority or its agents will be punished with prison from three months to a year or a fine of six to eighteen months, those who not being included in Article 550, **resist or seriously disobey** the authority or its agents in the exercise of their duties, and the private security staff, properly identified, collaborating and commanded by the State security forces and bodies, will be punished with prison from three months to a year, or a fine of six to eighteen months.

2. Those who disrespect the authority, in the exercise of their duties, will be punished with a fine of one to three months.

Article 36.6

Disobedience or resistance to the authority or its agents in the exercise of their duties, when not being a criminal offence, as well as the refusal to identify with the authority or its agents, or the allegation of fake or inaccurate information in the process of identification. The punishment foreseen in these cases is between 601 and 30,000€.

¹⁵ The newspaper article to which this activity refers is in the general appendix, section G.

- The penalty for serious passive disobedience is punished with 6 to 18 months. If we change this penalty into a fine, and taking as the benchmark 5€ a day, we would be fined with between 900 and 2700€. So, it is very likely that the fine for disobedience is higher than the one for serious disobedience.
- Give your opinion: personal opinion and class debate about the Spanish law and its relation with freedom.
- Investigate: before an unjust law, which acts could be considered as everyday resistance? Which ones as active resistance?
- Watch: students look for different literary, historical, local film examples or cases, or even among the files, where actions can be classified into civil disobedience, active resistance and passive/ everyday resistance.
- Reflect: What is the best way to face the power when it is unjust?

c) *Case 3. Ethnography of resistance.*

The cases and situations depicted have considered by Anthropology as examples of dissidence and passive/ everyday resistance. The students will have to imagine what ways or strategies to resist could be applied in the situations presented. The students can also think of and identify the reason why Anthropology considers these people dissidents. So, the purpose of this activity is to imagine specific strategies of resistance, to recognise the features of passive/ everyday resistance and to identify the type of power which is being questioned.

- Abdou is a 25-year-old young man from Senegal who lives in Spain. He is trying to earn enough money for him and for his family through street trading. Abdou and some other partners sell handbags, sports shoes, t-shirts, etc. whenever they can, as street trading is forbidden in many places of Spain and the police do not let them sell anything. However, despite the fines, detentions and frights, Abdou keeps on trading when he can.
 - Why is this trading activity a way of resistance?
- Jadiya is a 16-year-old girl. Her mother is Spanish and her father Moroccan. Jadiya's mother works in a bar and her father fixes electrical appliances in a small workshop. Jadiya is going through a difficult situation, not only because of the financial problems of her family, but also because she feels misunderstood, as she defines herself as a bisexual,

something that her family people at home and people at school frown on. Jadiya has few friends, as the others have prejudices on her sexual condition as well as her cultural identity, which does not help much when being respected, rather than accepted. Both at primary and secondary school, she has had to find the way to face the class, genre, ethnic and sexual diversity oppression that she has experienced almost every day. However, Jadiya is a strong and strong-viewed person, so she has been building her own identity not monolithically, but incorporating to her life those aspects which help her define as a young woman, student, who tries to escape labels and gender cultural marks.

- Which strategies of resistance could have Jadiya developed throughout her life in order to face social and family pressure?

5.4. ACTIVITIES FROM AN ETHICAL-MORAL PERSPECTIVE

Methodology and objectives:

This is an open-question activity whose aim is to make students reflect about the realities shown in the pictures, to make them draw their own conclusions and to share them, to make them discuss in class and to motivate them to take civic action. As a result, the activity can be approached in two different ways:

- The class is divided in three groups and each one receives one of the three activities. Then each group answers, discusses and agrees on the answers to the questions about the pictures. When time is over, a spokesperson of each group presents the answers and conclusions of their group.
- The teacher decides the number of groups in which to divide the class and they all receive the same activity. Each group answers, discusses and agrees on the answers to the questions about the pictures. When time is over, a spokesperson of each group presents the answers and conclusions of their group. Then, they all agree on a final answer to the activity.

The questions suggested are very wide from an academic point of view, as they can be approached from the most general aspects to the most specific of fields such as History, Ethics or Philosophy. That is why the teacher, according to the students' interests, can select some or widen the number of questions, modifying the activity according to their objectives.

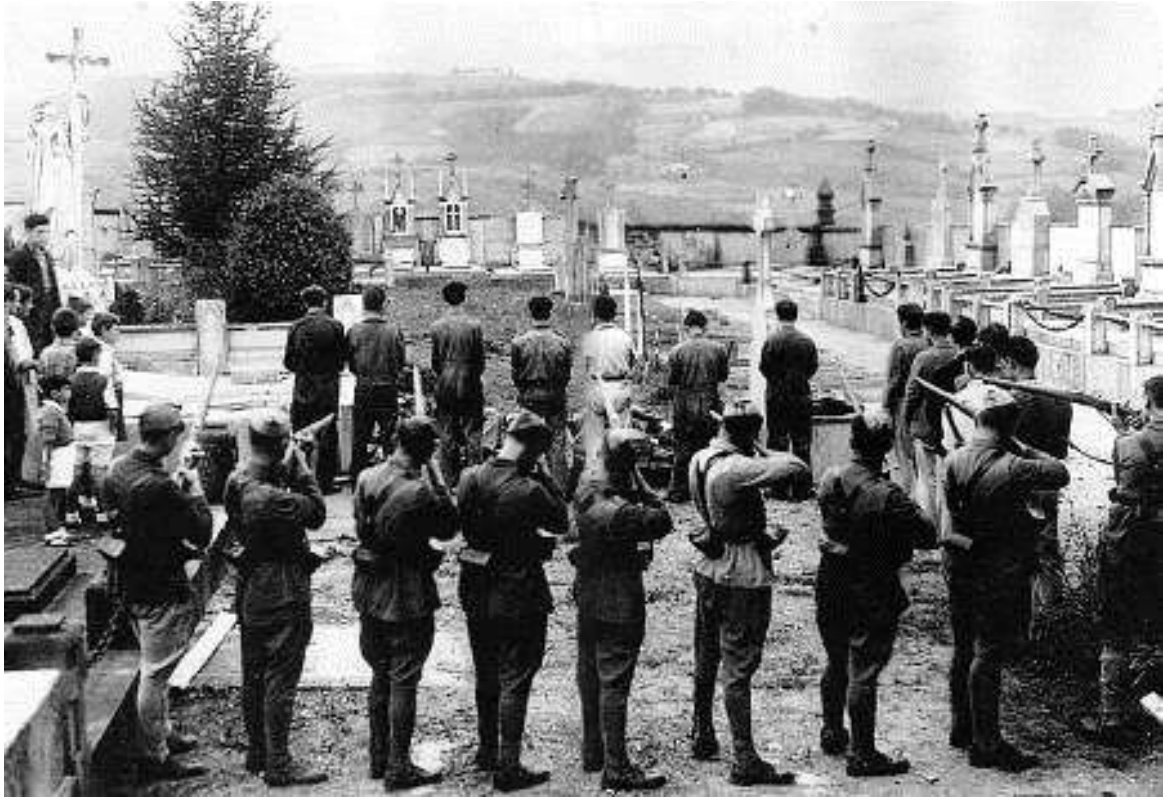
The activity is planned to be carried out in as many sessions as desired. For instance, if it is aimed at a history lesson, the teacher may give students a series of keys and then ask them to start researching about the historical context of the events: the exile of children during Spanish Civil War, the exile of Spanish refugees and their living conditions in France, and so on.

Thus, we have planned a model activity absolutely flexible and adjustable.

Group 1. Acceptance and recurrence of injustice.

- Students are handed out **Picture 1.1.** and **Picture 1.2.** (To be found on the **Sources** section). Then they answer the following questions:

Picture 1.1



Picture 1.2



- a) Describe both pictures. What characters appear and what are they doing? What draws your attention the most in picture 1.1? Are there any underage? What are they doing?
 - b) What relation is there between both pictures?
 - c) Do you think one fact influences the other? Why?
 - d) Comment, explain and relate the pictures with the following quotes:
 - *"The impious act begets more after it."* Aeschylus
 - *"In spite of temporary victories, violence never brings permanent peace."* Martin Luther King.
 - *"Violence is nothing but the expression of fear."* Arturo Graf.
 - e) It is always complex and hard to have genuine thinking and to be thoroughly independent and free when making decisions. Society influences on us somehow and to a certain extent, to the point of making us get used to realities or situations that we considered unjust in other contexts and that, due to their daily nature, we assume and standardize with no more analysis. Up to what extent do you reckon both pictures reflect this idea?
- Then students are handed out **Picture 1.3**. (To be found in the **Sources** section) taken on 3 March on the Italian island of Lampedusa. Then they answer this last set of questions:

EFE/EFE/
NINO RANDAZZO¹⁶



¹⁶ Picture taken from <http://www.rtve.es/noticias/20131003/testigos-tragedia-lampedusa-hay-cementerio-mar/756762.shtml>

- a) What does the picture show?
- b) Do you think we have got used to these episodes?
- c) Regarding what we talked about the influence of society, about considering ordinary situations which are not, and so, about accepting unjust situations, do you think that there is a relation among these three pictures?
- d) How do you think that we could change the acceptance of injustice as something ordinary?
- e) How do you think that individuals can fight these situations?
- f) Do you think that school provides you with the mechanisms and keys to try and change reality and to develop your own critical thinking? Explain and justify your answer.

Group 2. Accomplices of injustice.

Picture 2.1



Picture 2.2



- Students are handed out Picture 2.1. and Picture 2.2. (to be found in the **Sources** section). These pictures were taken at the end of the Spanish Civil war, and they show lots of people heading for France. Then they have to answer these questions:
 - a) (Specific activity for a history lesson). Research about the Spaniards who exiled to France after Spanish Civil War.
 - How many people exiled? Try and gather information about the number of men, women and children, their age, jobs, and so on.
 - How were they accepted? Explain the conditions in which they arrived.
 - Where were they accepted? On a map, point the places where there were refugees' camps.
 - How did the State of France act with the refugees? What a future did those refugees have in France?
 - Figure out if they took part in World War II.

- To find out more about this topic, look up information about the French army lieutenant Amado Granell, an exile coming from the Spanish Republican Popular Army.
- b) Explain and give details about both pictures. What type of people appears: gender, age, social status, etc.? Where do you think they are going? Why do you think they are leaving? How do you think they feel? What do you think and what do you know about the conditions they suffered when they arrived in France? How were they received? Why do you think they escaped? Do you think all exile fled the country on foot in these conditions or there were others who did not suffer the same?
- c) Do you know anybody who had to flee their country because of threats to their lives or on account of persecution? What would you think if any State had denied their entry into the country, or the Spaniards escaping the Civil War, or the Jews escaping persecutions? Would you think these States had a reason not to accept those refugees? Do you think Republican Spaniards and exile Jews were a burden for those countries where they went or, on the contrary, they were an enriching element? Justify and argue your answer.

You can look up information about this. Here you have some clues: Amado Granell, Luis Buñuel, Rafael Alberti, Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud, Jürgen Habermas, Hannah Arendt, etc.

- d) What would you do if your and your family's lives were facing death due to any given situation in your country? Would you try and escape to another country where you knew you would be safe? How would you like to be accepted? What would you do if you were denied access and you were taken back to the place where you and your family's death is awaiting?
- Students are handed out **Picture 2.3**. (to be found in the **Sources** section) and then they answer this last set of questions:
 - a) Comment and explain the following picture, taken at the Hungary border. Describe the picture and try to explain what is going on. We also enclose an excerpt from the article accompanying the picture on the newspaper El Periódico:

Picture 2.3



HUNGARIAN POLICE USES TEAR GAS AGAINST REFUGEES AGAIN

REUTERS / ROSZKE

Wednesday, 16 September 2015 - 16:11 CET

Hungarian riot police has used tear gas and a water cannon against the refugees trying to enter their territory from Serbia through Roszke's border.

Police have justified their actions pointing out that they acted against a group trying to break through one of the border crossings, which has been sealed by the Hungarian authorities.

Gyorgy Bakondi, the Hungarian Prime Minister's Security Advisor, has also pointed out that two children have been wounded after been thrown over the fence, and that they are currently in hospital. According to this advisor, at least 20 Hungarian police officers have been wounded. Bakondi has not reported on the number of wounded among the refugees.

"We are going to restore the wire fence and to strengthen it. We are going to protect Hungary's safety by all legal means", he has stated.

This is the second time that Hungarian authorities use tear gas against refugees. The first time was last 28 August at that same crossing point. Moreover, during these weeks, pepper spray has also been used. Macedonian police have also used gases in an attempt to fend off the stream of refugees...

- b) (Specific activity for a history lesson).

Search for information about the Syrian Civil War and briefly present what is going on there, the origin of the war, the opposing factions, the positions of the USA, Turkey, Russia and Europe. How have the different countries of the European Union reacted to the crisis of Syrian refugees?

- c) Relate this picture with the two previous. In what do you think they are similar? What do they have in common? How did some countries react then before the refugees, such as France with the Spaniards and the USA with the Jews? What differences and similarities do you find between these two events and the international reactions?
- d) Read the following articles of the Treaty on European Union, signed in Maastricht on 7 February 1992:

Article 2. The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail.

Article 3.5. In its relations with the wider world, the Union shall uphold and promote its values and interests and contribute to the protection of its citizens. It shall contribute to peace, security, the sustainable development of the Earth, solidarity and mutual respect among peoples, free and fair trade, eradication of poverty and the protection of human rights, in particular the rights of the child, as well as to the strict observance and the development of international law, including respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter.

- Do you think the European Union is being consistent with its own treaty, signed in Maastricht? Explain and argue why you consider these two articles are being obeyed or not.
- How would you judge the European Union's positioning before immigration in general and before the crisis of the Syrian refugees?

- What is your country's attitude towards immigration and the crisis of the Syrian refugees? Do you think they emigrate due to arbitrary or selfish reasons? Explain your opinion in that regard.
- e) Why do you reckon this activity is called **Accomplices of Injustice**?

Group 3. Europe's shame.

Picture 3.1



Picture 3.2



- Students are handed out **Picture 3.1.** and **Picture 3.2.** (To be found in the **Sources** section). Then they have to answer this set of questions:
 - a) (Specific activity for a history lesson).

Research on the exile of the Spanish republican children during the Civil War, who were sent to other countries such as Russia or Mexico in order to save them or to protect them from war. Try to gather information about the number of children, their age, and so on. How were they accepted? How was their future, generally speaking? Did they ever meet their parents again?

- b) Explain and give details of the images depicted in both pictures, especially the second one: clothes, objects, etc... What type of people appear: gender, age, social status, etc...? Where do you think they are heading for? Why do you think they are leaving? How do you think or what do you know about the conditions they suffered when they arrived in Russia or Mexico? How were they accepted? Why do you think their parents sent them abroad?
 - c) Why do you think children are the most damaged at war? Do you think having lived a war may have future consequences in their lives?
 - d) How would you feel if you had to flee your country by yourself, without your family, heading to a foreign country whose language and culture you are ignorant of? How would you like to be accepted? Do you think it was easy for the parents to send their children abroad?
- The students receive **Picture 3.3.** (to be found in the **Sources** section) and the teacher explains the story of Aylan. On 3 September 2015, Europe woke up horrified by the broadcasting of a picture of the a Syrian little boy's corpse. His name was Aylan and he died while striving to swim across the Aegean Sea along with his family, trying to escape from the Syrian conflict.

Picture 3.3



Nilufer Demir/ Reuters

- They also read this article which accompanied **Picture 3.3.** in a Spanish newspaper. Then they do the following research:

El Periódico

ALBERT GUASCH / BARCELONA

Thursday, 3 September 2015

...

Today's cover photo may be the most moving of the Syrian exodus. It may even be the most symbolic. A dead little boy on the sand of a touristic beach in Bodrum (Turkey) and its impact on the social networks was as immediate as justified. Now it still remains to be seen its impact on European governors, particularly on those who are more reluctant to accept refugees, or on those who set conditions, or on those who refuse them. **A picture which should reflect Europe's shame.**

...

What is the relation between this recent photograph with the two previous photographs? Search for information about the number of children who have died when trying to cross both the Mediterranean and the Aegean seas in order to access Europe. Look up information also about the mafias acting in Turkey, in the countries in the North of Africa and in Europe to move immigrants.

- Students read this article about the Convention on the Rights of the Child and then answer the following questions:

CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

Passed by General Assembly of the United Nations on 20 November 1989

Article 22. States Parties shall take appropriate measures to ensure that a child who is seeking refugee status or who is considered a refugee in accordance with applicable international or domestic law and procedures shall receive appropriate protection and humanitarian assistance.

According to the information previously gathered and the contents dealt with on the activity of Group 2, explain and argue why you think Article 22 of the CRC is obeyed or not. What do you think Governments could do to prevent this? Do you think the European Union is acting properly? Argue your answer.

- a) Read carefully the previous excerpt from the newspaper and explain the underlined sentence. Why do you think the author uses the word “shame”? How would you entitle the picture?
- b) Do you feel the European Union’s attitude towards refugees is right? Why? Argue your answers. What do you think you could do to change the attitude of a part of society who is afraid of a massive arrival of refugees? Do you think the education you receive at school helps you understand what is happening better or is it indifferent to what happens around?

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Glossary of terms

The following glossary of terms should be photocopied and handed in to students who are not Spanish.

- **FUERO (regional code of law):**

Basic Law of the State enacted as a Constitution and granted by Franco. This kind of laws date from the Middle Ages when feudal lords granted a group of laws, rights or privileges for a given territory or social group. These laws were based on ancient written documents and customary rules.

- **FALANGE ESPAÑOLA DE LAS JONS (Spanish Phalange of the JONS):**

Fascist political party resulting from the merger of two different parties: Ramiro Ledesma's JONS (Committees of the National Syndicalist Offensive) and José Antonio Primo de Rivera's Falange Española (Spanish Phalanx). During the II Spanish Republic this party used violence as a part of social action, including bloody confrontations against Socialists and Communists. After the Spanish Civil War it became the only legal political party in Spain. Its ideology was based on National Syndicalism, Fascism and Anticommunism, as well as unyielding defence of National Catholicism. The party was dissolved by Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez after Franco's death during the Transition to Democracy.

- **PARTIDO REPUBLICANO RADICAL SOCIALISTA (Radical Socialist Republican Party):**

Spanish Political Party emerged in 1929 from a split up of Alianza Republicana (Republican Alliance). This party supports Anticlerical and Jacobin liberalism. The majority of its members came from Masonic lodges. It was part of the interim government of the II Spanish Republic and was involved in the San Sebastián Deal.

- **UNIÓN REPUBLICANA (Republican Union):**

Spanish political party emerged in 1934 from the split up of the Radical Democratic Party and the Radical Republican Socialist Party. It certainly played an important role before the Spanish Civil War. It was part of Popular Front together with Communists, leftist Republicans and Progressives. After the Spanish Civil War it became one of the most important Republican forces in exile.

- **GENOCIDE:**

According to the UN 1948 Convention, and following the Polish lawyer Raphael Lemkin, *“genocide is defined as the extermination of a nation or an ethnic group.”*

- **FREEMASONRY:**

It is an initiatory, non-religious, philanthropic, symbolic and philosophical institution based on a sense of brotherhood. They claim to pursue the quest for the truth, the promotion of the social and moral development of human being and social progress. The Free Masons are organized in basic structures called “lodges”.

- **NON-INTERVENTION AGREEMENT:**

It was an organisation founded in 1936, on the motion of France and supported by the UK, to avoid foreign participation in the Spanish Civil War and the internationalisation of the conflict at a time of greatest strain among democracies and dictatorships in Europe. Although many countries joined the pact, the agreements signed were not observed.

- **HERO:**

According to the philosopher Fernando Savater and from a moral point of view, *“a hero is someone who shows the virtue as strength and excellence through the example of his actions.”*

- **“RED”:**

A synonym of “republican” during the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939. Applied to persons.

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