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## SPAIN BEFORE WORLD WAR 1

- Spain very divided country

### *The Spanish 'establishment'*

- Spain based on alliance between monarchy, landowning aristocracy, army + Catholic Church
  - Opposed any change/ modernisation that undermined privileges
- Absolute monarchy until 3 civil wars over accession in 1800's
  - Liberal democrats against conservative traditionalists
    - Brutal fighting highlighted political divisions
  - Army intervened frequently in politics
  - Elections manipulated by both liberals + conservatives
- Landownership mostly by small group of aristocratic families
  - Owners of large estates (*latifundia*) kept labourer wages low to maximise profits
    - Poverty caused periodic outbursts of violence against landowners
      - Protected by Civil Guard (paramilitary police) + army
      - Prevented unionisation of workforce
- Spanish economy underdeveloped by European standards
  - Modern industries in north/ northeast only, from late 1800's onwards
  - Centred around natural deposits/ resources
    - Wages + working conditions poor
    - No welfare system for sick/ injured workers
    - Strikes + unrest harshly suppressed by Civil Guard + army
- Military occupied privileged position for centuries
  - Successfully resisted reform attempts in 1880's
  - Excessively bureaucratic + outdated
  - Top heavy with massive officer corps
    - 60% of national military budget used to pay officer salaries
    - Promotion based on seniority, not merit
      - Decisions made by military committees (*juntas*)
    - Govt attempts in early 1900's to reduce officer numbers unsuccessful
- Army frequently used to crush agricultural/ industrial worker unrest
  - Officers from wealthy families brutally suppressed any disorder
    - Created even deeper hatred amongst urban + rural working class
- Catholic Church also maintained power + privileged position in Spain
  - Strong supporter of monarchy
  - Resisted attempts to create more liberal, secular society with separation of Church + state
  - Closely identified with privileged, wealthy class, military + monarchy
  - Acted as defender of Spain against 'new' political ideas seen as anti – Church, anti – traditionalist
    - Liberalism, atheism, socialism, anarchism

- Most Spanish schools run by Church
  - Ignored teaching literacy to poor
  - Limited secondary education opportunities
- These factors caused inc discontent among masses
  - In south, landless peasants abandoned Church for atheism + anarchism
  - In cities + north, industrial workers moved towards socialism + communism

### ***Emergence of Revolutionary Groups***

- The traditionalist nature of Spain and its resulting inequalities resulted in the emergence of many revolutionary groups
  - Increasing number of violent civil struggles and conflicts

### ***Socialism***

- Unlike the European trend of revolutionary movements linked to Marxism, socialism was slow to become established in Spain
  - Partly due to Spain's agricultural predominance and the domination of conservative ideology by the elites and Catholic Church in rural areas
  - Partly due to the fact that the capitalist development was not as extensive as it was in other European countries
- In the late 1800s organised labour movements against the elites and old order began to arise
- 1879, Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) was formed
  - Wanted to replace monarchy with republic
- 1888 General Workers Union (UGT) formed
  - Had 100,000 members by 1913

### ***Anarchism***

- More serious threat to the old order
  - First reached Spain 1868 and quickly became widespread
  - After a strike in 1873 the police opened fire on strikers
    - This drove the anarchist movement underground
    - Largely based in rural areas
    - Often limited to individual terrorist acts
- During the early 20th century a particularly revolutionary style of anarchism, anarcho-syndicalism rapidly spread
  - Believed that workers strikes not individual acts was the way to achieve revolution
  - Supported the separatist and nationalist demands of different regions of Spain
  - Opposed to religion and the Catholic Church
- 1900 they formed the Workers Societies of the Spanish Region
  - Organised strikes suppressed

### ***Separatism***

- Spain was, and still is, greatly divided geographically, culturally and linguistically
- The formation of the country in the 15th century was achieved via a diplomatic marriage
  - Many regional languages, laws and customs still remained despite the formation of the country

- These natinalist tendencies carried into the 20th century where more serious sepratasit movement began to occur
- The two most notable are Basque and Catalonia, with popular sepratist movements remaining today
  - Basque nationalism rose in the 20th century, largely suppressed until 1931
  - Catalonia resisted serious integration with a notable strike in the 17th century
    - France often helped foster Catalan separatism to weaken Spain
    - 19th century there was a serious movement to revilaise the Catalan language
    - During the Carlists wars Catalan nationalism threatened to support conservative Carlists to gain concessions from the liberals
  - Early 20th Century demands for autonomy were increasing insistent and by 1913 some measure of self government had been achieved

### *The 'Tragic Week'*

- July 1909 the factors above on what was a taste of the conflicts to arise post 1918
  - Textile industrialists in Barcelona closed factories and sacked workers
  - Waged cust were implemented for those still employed
- The colonial war in Morocco which had begun in 1906 was another factor
  - To provide extra troops and to rid itself from rebellious workers the government called on reserve troops
    - The rich were able to avoid conscription but the working class men weren't
    - Anti-war protests broke out with workers refusing to fight in a colonial war in the interests of wealthy capitalists
- July 1909 these developments provoked a general strike among workers spanning various industries
  - Involved the UGT, anarchists and members of the Radical Republican Party
- Spread from Barcelona to other Catalan cities
  - Trains carrying conriped troops were blocked
  - Churches and convents were attacked
  - When troops fired barriers were erected
- Authorities declared martial law but when local troops refused to fire on strikers troops from other parts of Spain were sent in
  - 150 strikers killed
  - 2000 arrested
  - 5 leaders executed
  - 59 sent to life imprisonment
- The the repression unions were banned and newspapers shut down
  - This repression convince many racists that a stranger organization was needed
    - 1910 artists set up their own national trade union, CNT
      - Became a powerful rival the the socialist dominated UGT
    - Although a nationalist organization many local section shad relative autonomy
  - They called another general strike which was crushed by the army and the CNT was banned

## IMPACT OF WW1 ON SPAIN

### *Economic Developments*

- Neutral in WW1, so Spain able to trade with both sides
  - Export lead to an econ boon
    - Strong in shipping, steel and mining
    - Profits also rising in agriculture
      - New wealth not reinvested in modernisation but spent on luxuries
- For Spaniards, war = rising prices
  - Govt attempts to control prices failed, caused shortages
  - Little protection for workers and middle class from rising prices
    - Unionised workers on strike regularly
      - Other successful as manufacturers had wartime orders to fill
- Wartime prosperity ended with the end of war in 1918
  - Basque shipping industry collapses
  - Mining, factories closed, jobs lost, other part time
    - Catalonia alone, 140 textile factories closed, 20,000 lost jobs
    - Employers moved aggressively against unions
  - In countryside landowners also lost markets for additional food
    - Stopped farming land
    - Low wages, unemployment or underemployment common

### *1917 The Year of Unrest*

- War also caused rise in expectations of working class and agricultural workers
  - Inspired by Feb Revolution in Russia
  - Growth in socialism after 1917
    - Spanish communist Party (PCE) founded in 1920
  - Concern with growing radicalism within officer ranks of army

#### *1. Army Unrest*

- Colonial war in Morocco ongoing
- Ambitious officers in Spanish African Army (*Africanistas*) fighting to earn promotion
  - Promotion by ability undermining tradition of promotion by seniority
  - Jun 1917 junior officers revolt in Barcelona
    - Protect promotion by seniority
    - Higher wages to cope with inflation
  - Formed their own groups called *juntas militares*
    - Known as *junteros*
    - Excluded all senior officers
    - Received support from many politicians
    - Depicted as 'national savours' of Spain
    - Aimed to reform political establishment which army blamed for loss in Spanish-American war of 1898
      - Had lost colonies of Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico to US

- Liberal govt forced out of office after it refused to recognise *Juntas*
  - Parliament (Cortas) suspended
  - Replaced by coalition of republicans parties and Catalanian nationalist party
    - Political regimes weakened as military action could not change govt

## 2. General Strike

- PSOE supporting new location
  - UGT supportive but believed general strike would bring more change to political system
    - Also call for wage increases
    - Anarchist CNT joined strike
  - *Juntas* supported coalition
    - Strike crushed by police and army
      - 170 deaths

## Political Problems 1918-23

- New govt led by Liberal, Conservatives only lasted 6 months
  - Replaced by short-lived coalition of nationalist, liberals and conservatives
    - 10 govts 1918-23
    - Violent conflicts between employers and workers continued
    - Moroccan war continues
    - Both required army to solve
      - Further shift of power away from civilian govt, towards military

## Containing Industrial Unrest

- 1918-23 saw worst social conflicts in post-war Europe
  - Anarchist CNT inc. membership, influenced at expense of Socialists
    - 700,000 by 1919 3x Socialist UGT
- Barcelona and Andalusia main areas of conflict
  - Strong history of anarcho-synalsism
    - Belief in revolutionary militant unions influence/controlling broader society
    - CNT believed unions for direct action against ruthless employers
      - Series of successful strikes would lead to a general strike which would destroy capitalism
  - Others believed Bolshevik style revolution

## Barcelona

- Unrest continuing after suppression of 1917 general strike
  - Reaction to post-war depression, Russian revolution
  - Pay cuts to workers lead to another general strike, 1919
    - 100,000 workers across numerous industries
    - Employers unable to organise repressive response as done in the past
      - Some concession won
        - Union now legal
        - 8 hr working days
    - Employers hired gunmen to assassinate union leaders militants
      - Afraid of communist revolution
      - Pm killed

### *Andalucia*

- Unrest also in rural areas following end of ww1
  - Demand for agricultural products declined
    - Wages fell as landowners took advantage of surplus labour workers
      - Workers also facing rising prices
  - Landowners, police, army used violent repression against protests
    - Anarchist/socialist ideas rapidly
    - Increasing calls for land reforms
      - Migrating workers spread these ideals around country

### *The Army*

- Decrees granting promotion by seniority as well as wage increases announced by govt
  - Aimed at reducing influence of *juntas*
    - *Africanistas* gaining influence within whole army
      - Sought promotion by merit
- July 1921 army suffered humiliating defeat in Morocco
  - African army officers blamed civilian govt
    - Accused them of not properly equipping troops
    - Adopted increasingly brutal tactics against Moroccan insurgents
    - Saw themselves as new elite, increasingly hostile to civilian govt
- King committed to *Africanistas*
  - Public opinion turning against *junteros*
  - Govt finally dissolved *junteros* Nov 1922

## **DEVELOPMENTS IN SPAIN 1923-1930**

- Sept 13 1923 a military coup, lead by Miguel Primo de Rivera overthrew the Spanish parliamentary government and established himself as a dictator
  - Unlike previous intervention the army had no intention of passing power to civilian politicians
  - Planned to construct a military regime
- Sept 14 Rivera declared a state of national emergency lasting until May 15 1925

### *The Elites and the Coup*

- The elites (army, employers and catholic church) supported Riveras coup
  - Believed a strong leader needed to suppress the working class and restore order
  - Wanted to crush the emerging revolution
- King Alfonso XIII never approved of a constitutional monarchy and frequently came into conflict with the parliamentary government
  - His decision to not respond to the coup until he had met with advisors led to the PM resigning
  - A XIII voluntarily handed power to Rivera
  - Rivera stated that he would not have a civilian govt or respect the constitution
- In Nov when the senate called the king to follow the constitution he refused and dismissed them
- Army, dominated by conservative and aristocratic elites supported the king's decision

- After the coup the army ruthlessly suppressed any uprisings/protests
- Similar to the church became hated by the lower classes
- Elites flourished under Rivera's dictatorship
- Nov 1923 A XIII and Rivera visited Italy to meet the Pope and Mussolini
  - A XIII offered Spain's services to the pope should there be another crusade to 'save' the Catholic church from its enemies
  - Rivera praised Mussolini, which in turn he advised Rivera

#### *Military Doctrine*

- Initially Rivera only had the support of the military governor of Zaragoza and generals close to the King in Madrid
  - The rest of the military not prepared to resist fellow officers
- Rivera formed a Military Directorate made of eight generals and one rear admiral
  - Real power still maintained by Rivera
  - Military courts were established to 'try crimes against the unity of the fatherland'
  - Constitution and its guaranteed rights were suspended
  - Press severely censored
    - Ban on criticising govt and church reporting social conflicts or on Morocco

#### *Suppression*

- Surprising lack of immediate opposition to Rivera from many left wing parties despite his desire to 'crush public disorder' regional nationalism and *caciquismo*
- Republican parties waited to see what Rivera's intentions were or even gave support for the coup
- Socialists and the UGT urged their members to remain calm and not to join protest organised by the CNT and Communists
  - This continued even when suppression against anarchists and communists became severe
  - Rivera banned all anarchist organizations
    - CNT leaders arrested
    - Some went into exile
    - The repression of Communists resulted in the OCE having less than 500 active militants
- Rivera determined to crush regional separatist movements
  - Separatist groups in Basque and Catalonia were harshly repressed
    - In response the organizations went underground
  - 18th Sept 1923 A XIII signed a decree which forbade any other flag other than the Spanish flag to be flown
  - Only the Castilian language to be used

#### *Political Centralization*

- Rivera wanted to centralise control over Spain's regions and establish military control over



- Decrees issued to achieve this;
  - All civil governors to be replaced by army officers
  - Elected city and town councils abolished
    - Members of the highest-tax payers were chosen to lead
    - Enforced spanish nationalism and patriotism
  - Appointed administrators to control provincial governments
  - Municipal courts abolished
- From 1924 Conservative economist Stoelo oversaw steps to reform the entire local and provincial administration
  - City councils and provincial governments granted some financial independence and powers to improve infrastructure and city planning
  - Real power remained within the hands of military governors
- April 1924 Rivera announced there would be a gradual separation of the posts of civil and military posts
  - By then opposition had virtually been eradicated and dictatorship established

#### *The Union Patriótica and somaten*

- To provide the administrators the new system they needed Rivera set up the the *Union Patriótica*
  - Nationalist party to support the regime and church
  - Membership was slow at first but the new town and city councils
  - By mid 1924 Rivera claimed they had around 2 mil members
    - Able to defend law and order, private ownership and political authority
- Rivera also encouraged the establishment of local *somaten*
  - Set up in Catalonia in the early 1920s by the wealthy as a local armed militia
    - Occasionally helped police and military suppress left-wing groups and actions
  - By 1928 there were 200,000 members
- On the surface Rivera's dictatorship was securely established
  - Crushed separatist movements
  - Class conflict and social unrest had been reduced
  - Various institutes set up were consolidating his power

### **FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR**

- 2 main reasons why Nationalism under Franco won war
  - Disunity of republican forces
  - Impact of foreign intervention

#### *Republican Disunity*

- Republican forces had different goals for war
  - Middle class and liberals defending republican democracy
    - Communists also supported this goal
      - Stalin aiming to keep UK and France happy, ally against Nazi Germany
  - Anarchists/PSOE wanted full workers revolution

- Workers Unified Marxist party (POUM) largest left-wing group, also supporting rev
  - Foremed rev people's militias to address lack of weapons and soldiers
    - Run on anarchist principles
  - Encouraged land seizures collective farming, factory takeovers in republican controlled areas
- Govt recognised need for militias, distributed weapons to them
  - Defence on Republic now in hands of labourers and workers committees
- Republican Govt concerned about 'dual power' with POUM militias
  - Might alienate middle class
  - Undermine effective military resistance
  - Prevent UK/FR from coming to republics aid
    - Send 1936 broke up milpitas, incorporated into regular army units
    - Began repressin rev organisations, claiming they supported franco
    - May 1937 troops in Barcelo attacked and defeated anarchist and POUM forces
- Divisions in Republic forces demoralised many Spaniards
  - Further reduced effective of military forces

### *Foreign Intervention*

- Key reason for Natinalist victory
  - Neither side expected nor equipped for ling conflict in 1936
    - Both sought external assistance
    - Natinalists provided with weapons and advisosrs from Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy
    - Republican received aid from USSR
    - Volunteers in International Brigade also assisting govt

### *Support for Nationalists*

- Molas rebel army initially ineffective
  - Most cities, towns and navy under Republican control
  - Aig and Sept 36, bought in Francos 35,000 experiences Africanistas from Morocco
    - Hitler prov air cover for trip to Spanish mainland
  - Some troops from portugal far-right dictator Salazar
- Majority of assistance from Hltler and Mussolini
  - 40,000 Italian troops sent to Spain 12,000 Germans
  - Hitler prov Condor Legion
    - Mixed tank and air unit =, developed new method of coordinated attacks
      - Precursor to Blitzkrieg
    - In return France joined Anti-Comintern Pact 1939
      - Refused to join WW2

### *Support for Republicans*

- Hoped to receive aid from socalist govt in France
  - Able to purchase some French aircraft and artillery

- UK refused to aid Spain
  - Trying to avoid war breaking out across Europe
  - Pressured France to halt aid
- UK And Fr proposed non-intervention pact
  - UK,FR, USSR, Germany, Italy, US all signed
- Became obvious pact was not working
  - UK and FR blocking all military suppliers to Republicans
  - Germany and Italy continued assisting Nationalists
    - Stalin started providing humanitarian and military assistance to republican govt from Oct 1936

### *International Brigades*

- Made up of volunteer men and women from around the world who wanted to oppose fascism
  - Mostly organised by Comintern, but mix of communists, socialists, democrats
    - 35,000 volunteers over whole war including 3,000 from Germany and Italy
    - Most had little/no military experience
    - Became disillusioned with strict discipline of communist commanders

### *Aftermath*

- After victory, Franco built dictatorship which lasted till death in 1975
  - Refused to restore monarchy
  - Police and Falange militia under military control
  - Brutal repression of all opposition
  - Censorship and propaganda used to maintain personal rule
  - Outlawed all non christian religions, restricted rights of Protestants
    - Gave Catholic Church control over primary school
    - Church in return endorsed Franco's regime's oppression of Marxists and Socialists
    - Stayed silent about atrocities