

Curs 2002-2003

**ELS FETS DE CATALUNYA I DELS CATALANS VISTOS DES
D'EUROPA.**

**APLICACIÓ DIDÀCTICA DE DOCUMENTS EUROPEUS SOBRE ELS CATALANS I
EL SEU SEGLE XX.**

Jordi Pons Pujol

ÍNDEX

Introducció..... pàg. 3

Annex:

Fitxes de Treball *Els fets de Catalunya i dels catalans vistos des d'europa*....pàg. 6

INTRODUCCIÓ

El nostre projecte ha consistit en l'elaboració d'un material didàctic per a l'ensenyament de la història de Catalunya en forma de Fitxes de Treball, en un futur consultables en una web pròpia, per tal de facilitar la tasca docent i motivar l'alumnat amb un sistema de treball variat i unes temàtiques històriques interessants i innovadores.

Aquestes Fitxes de Treball es basen en documents polítics i diplomàtics francesos, italians i britànics que parlen de fets de la nostra història, de la nostra societat i del nostre tarannà. Amb això aconseguim augmentar la perspectiva amb què els nostres alumnes aprenen i comprenen la pròpia història, fer-los adonar de les relacions establertes entre pobles i Estats al llarg de la història, i reforçar la consciència tant de la identitat comuna europea –vista en la seva trajectòria històrica -, com de la seva pluralitat i diversitat. Ens facilita, també, comprendre millor la dinàmica històrica i evitar la concepció de les històries nacionals com illes separades enmig del mar.

És habitual en la pràctica docent del professor d'història el que, a l'hora d'explicar o d'il·lustrar un tema del nostre passat, recorri a fonts documentals generades en el propi país que reflecteixen l'actitud o el pensament de personatges o grups socials protagonistes directes del fet en qüestió. Així, l'*actor* històric esdevé alhora el *narrador* d'aquell bocí de la història que ens fa arribar a través de la seva veu. Contrastar diferents veus o *narradors* és el mètode que seguim habitualment per fer-nos un retrat el màxim de complet i rigorós d'aquella situació històrica. Com seria d'interessant, però, fer servir també fonts que fossin primordialment *narradores* i no protagonistes al mateix temps!

L'hàbit, la facilitat d'accés a uns recursos tradicionals i, també, els buits en la nostra producció historiogràfica han bandejat les fonts estrangeres que parlen dels fets i dels protagonistes del nostre passat.

La documentació exterior sobre Catalunya té la virtut, a més, que transmet estereotips sobre els catalans i els seus fets que permeten entendre millor tant les característiques de la nostra societat com les de la societat que els crea. No és el mateix una reflexió d'un filòsof català sobre el seny i la rauxa de la gent d'aquí que l'explicació d'un estranger sobre el mateix tema. El segon cas té un valor afegit. I la comparació de

fonts de diferent procedència europea mostra els punts en comú que situen la identitat catalana en el temps.

D'entre totes les fonts documentals estrangeres sobre els fets històrics dels catalans, la més important és la político-diplomàtica. D'una banda perquè sol ser la millor informada; de l'altra, perquè té interessos d'Estat: així, sol pronunciar-se davant els esdeveniments i, a més, pot arribar a mostrar una major o menor voluntat d'intervenir en el curs de la nostra història.

En coherència amb això, s'han recollit documents procedents de la diplomàcia d'alguns països europeus que fan referència als esdeveniments de la Catalunya del segle XX, essencialment de la primera meitat (per restriccions en l'accés a la documentació, que sol exigir una antiguitat mínima de trenta anys), i que retraten la nostra societat i el nostre tarannà d'aleshores.

El nostre treball ha tingut un component de recerca científica i un d'aplicació didàctica.

Per a la part de recerca científica, - la recollida de documents estrangers sobre la història de Catalunya -, ha calgut fer estada en els arxius dels ministeris d'afers estrangers de França, la Gran Bretanya i Itàlia¹. Aquestes eren, de fet, les nacions amb les quals Catalunya tenia aleshores més relació i que, al seu torn, més interessos econòmics, polítics i de residents van tenir a casa nostra. També el nostre coneixement de llengües estrangeres (francès, italià i anglès) ens limitava a aquest àmbit geogràfic.

La tasca feta, en concret, consistí en la localització i transcripció fidel, en suport informàtic (ordinador portàtil), de documents rellevants i aptes per a una aplicació didàctica adequada.

El vessant didàctic del projecte ha consistit en elaborar un seguit d'activitats-fitxes de treball, (que volem posteriorment penjar en una pàgina web amb les seves traduccions, algunes imatges, i lligams a adreces electròniques interessants), tant per a professors, per als quals serà un material d'ampliació a l'aula, com per als alumnes de Batxillerat.

Les Fitxes de Treball ***Els fets de Catalunya i dels catalans vistos des d'Europa*** estan ordenades cronològicament, abraçant des de 1898 fins a mitjans de l'etapa franquista, i fan referència a fets de la Història de Catalunya. Al final de la fitxa, una bateria de preguntes serveix de guió de reflexió i d'activitat escrita.

L'estudi i la divulgació de la Història de Catalunya ha estat feta durant molt de temps (i potser no podia ser d'altra manera, vist el dèficit que s'arrossegava) a partir exclusivament de les fonts documentals localitzades a Catalunya o, a tot estirar, a Espanya. La poca obertura a l'exterior i el poc coneixement d'idiomes han marginat recursos escrits sobre Catalunya molt interessants que es trobaven terres enllà. Alguna experiència reeixida de divulgació feta als grans mitjans de comunicació ho ha posat de relleu. Fa uns anys ja, la periodista Montserrat Besses dirigia el reportatge televisiu d'investigació *Operació Nikolai*, sobre el segrest i assassinat del dirigent del

¹ El *Public Record Office – The National Archives* de Londres; els *Archives Diplomatiques* del *Ministère des Affaires Étrangères* francès a Nantes i a París; i l'*Archivio Storico-Diplomatico* del *Ministero degli Affari Esteri* italià a Roma.

POUM Andreu Nin durant la Guerra Civil espanyola. Per fer-lo, havia calgut entrar als arxius soviètics. Recentment, l'equip de la mateixa periodista va fer llum damunt tota la correspondència dels exiliats republicans a França continguda en els arxius departamentals francesos (reportatge *Veus ofegades. Cartes d'un exili a França*). Aquestes experiències són espurnes del què hauria de ser una línia de recerca i divulgació popular de la història del nostre país. L'accés als arxius diplomàtics estrangers se'ns ofereix com una de les millors vies per entendre com des de fora es veien els esdeveniments catalans, com s'intentava o no d'influir-hi des dels Estats, i com eren vistos els catalans, la seva cultura i la seva societat.

En un moment que estem reforçant la dimensió europea de la nostra identitat i que des de la pròpia Unió Europea s'està donant prioritat al desenvolupament de programes i experiències educatives comunes, creiem altament oportú facilitar elements didàctics als nostres alumnes per estudiar la història des d'una perspectiva més àmplia i enriquidora que posi de relleu les connexions entre pobles i Estats.

D'altra banda, l'estudi de la història des d'una perspectiva comparada és encara massa poc habitual en els nostres centres, malgrat el poder explicatiu i comprensiu que té i la llarga tradició que tenen altres països en la seva aplicació per a la docència.

ANNEX

**ELS FETS DE CATALUNYA I DELS CATALANS
VISTOS DES D'EUROPA.**

Fitxes de treball

<u>Fitxes de treball</u>
1. Les tupinades durant la Restauració (1874-1923)
2. Agitació catalanista (1899)
3. La vaga general de 1902
4. El terrorisme anarquista.
5. La Solidaritat Catalana (1906-1909)
6. El Carlisme
7. La Setmana Tràgica (juliol de 1909)
8. Lerroux
9. La qüestió religiosa
10. L'opinió catalana davant la Gran Guerra (1914-1918)
11. La campanya per l'autonomia (1918-1919)
12. Tensió social i sindicalisme revolucionari a Barcelona 1919-1920
13. La guerra social: el pistolerisme.
14. La prohibició de la llengua catalana en la dictadura de Primo de Rivera
15. La resistència a la dictadura de Primo de Rivera
16. La proclamació de la 2a República
17. El referèndum sobre l'estatut d'autonomia (agost de 1931)
18. El debat sobre el vot femení
19. La proclamació de l'Estat català(6 d'octubre de 1934)
20. El cop d'estat del 18 de juliol
21. La revolució. Les col·lectivitzacions
22. Les Brigades Internacionals
23. Els bombardeigs aeris feixistes de població civil (1936-1939)
24. Els drames humanitaris de la guerra civil
25. La caiguda de Barcelona i l'ocupació de Catalunya (gener-febrer de 1939)
26. L'èxode de febrer del 39 i els camps de refugiats a França
27. Franco, Hitler i Mussolini, lligams estrets
28. Les institucions de l'exili català
29. Adhesió de l'exili català i basc als aliats-1940
30. La repressió política franquista
31. Subsistència i descontentament popular a la postguerra
32. La resistència antifeixista a l'interior (1939-1945)
33. Actituds occidentals davant el règim franquista en 1945 i 1946.
34. Catalans i bascos demanen la ruptura diplomàtica amb Franco.
35. Persecució de la llengua catalana
36. La resistència antifranquista: el maquis
37. Fer vaga sota la dictadura
38. Esdeveniments oficials, propaganda i coerció, i Festes de Montserrat de 1947
39. Censura en la premsa i emissions en català de la BBC
40. La fi de l'aïllament internacional de la dictadura franquista

Fitxa 1

LES TUPINADES DURANT LA RESTAURACIÓ (1874-1923)

17 d'abril de 1896

El cònsol de França a Barcelona escriu al ministre d'affers estrangers del seu govern² :

Les élections à Cortés

La comédie, on pourrait dire la farce des élections est terminée, et le ministère Canovas a réussi presque partout à faire proclamer les candidats conservateurs, usant, comme aux plus beaux jours, de tous les procédés connus pour obtenir ce résultat. On peut que le spectacle auquel on voit assister est triste pour le pays, car il montre à quel point la population se laisse encore aujourd'hui, malgré plusieurs années d'application du suffrage universel, dominer par la pression gouvernementale et imposer la candidature officielle, sans opposer la moindre résistance. Il est vrai que cette fois l'élément républicain s'est abstenu presque complètement de prendre part à la lutte, ce qui enlevait aux élections de dimanche la plus grande partie de leur intérêt, puisque, sur la plupart des points, elles n'ont été qu'une simple formalité, les candidats conservateurs étant le plus souvent seuls à se présenter aux urnes.

(...)

A Villanueva, deux candidats l'un conservateur pur, M.Puig y Valls et l'autre silveliste, M.José Ferrer y Vidal étaient en présence ; le dernier très aimé dans le pays, y jouissant d'une influence considérable et dont la candidature avait été, en outre, soutenue par de nombreux agents de propagande à ses gages, a, sans contredit, obtenu une majorité indiscutable. Le lendemain des élections, les dépêches de Villanueva lui attribuaient près de 4000 voix, dont on donnait le détail par sections de vote, contre 1800 tout au plus à M.Puig y Valls. Eh bien ! hier, les résultats officiels publiés après tous les tripotages (chanchullos), tous les remaniements, grattages, etc. donnent à M.Puig y Valls 4103 voix tandis que M.Ferrer y Vidal n'en a plus que 3233 !

A Igualada, un des centres où le parti carliste est le plus fort, le candidat indiscutable et indiscuté de la région n'était le Marquis d'España, mais le Gouvernement avait décidé l'élection de M.Godó, et M.Godo a été proclamé avec une majorité dans laquelle figurent les suffrages des électeurs de certaines localités où il n'y a même pas eu de scrutin.

(...) Je ne terminerai pas, cependant, sans citer le fait d'une élection, celle de M.Bofill, à Cervera, dans la Province de Lérida, où l'on a attribué au candidat 1500 voix d'un village supposé, d'un village qui n'existe pas!

² N°157

16 de març de 1905

El cònsol de França a Almeria al ministre d'afers estrangers francès.³

Le suffrage universel en la province d'Almeria

Le renouvellement de la moitié (soit douze membres) de la Députation Provinciale a eu lieu dimanche dernier. Personne ne s'est présenté aux urnes, sauf ça et là quelques amis, les plus intéressés, du pouvoir, pour se montrer, affirmer leur dévouement. Dans un grand nombre de commerces, la salle du vote est restée close ou si elle a été ouverte, il n'y avait ni urne ni bureau constitué. En un mot, on n'a pas voté :

1^r. Parce qu'il est encore entendu en cette région, que le parti au pouvoir quel qu'il soit, doit toujours avoir la majorité dans les élections ;

2^e. Parce que les noms des élus étaient, comme d'habitude, désignés à l'avance, après entente entre le Gouverneur et les chefs ou les caciques des partis conservateurs et libéral. Dès lors, l'avis des électeurs n'importe pas ; et, de leur côté, les électeurs savent qu'il ne sera pas tenu en compte de leurs votes.

De telles pratiques donnent une idée de l'état politique et morale cette partie de l'Espagne. Et l'on peut ajouter que la justice fonctionne à peu près comme les suffrage universel.

3 d'abril de 1916

Carta de l'ambaixada italiana a Madrid al seu govern⁴.

(...)

Il periodo elettorale iniziato (...) si svolge finora in una calma assoluta che si potrebbe anzi chiamare indifferenza. La scelta dei deputati facendosi assai più che nei collegi elettorali al Ministero dell'Interno ed essendo consuetudine ormai consacrata dalla storia parlamentare del paese che ogni ministero trae dalle elezioni presso a poco la maggioranza che vuole, così i giornali assai più che della situazione delle varie circoscrizioni elettorali si occupano dei colloqui che il presidente del Consiglio ed il ministro dell'Interno hanno con i capi dell'opposizione per entendersi sul numero di deputati da assegnarsi a ciascun gruppo.

(...)

Activitats :

1. En quin període de la història política d'Espanya succeeixen els fets relatats?
2. Com qualifica el cònsol francès de Barcelona les eleccions a Espanya? Què permet qualificar-les així? Quina opinió en té el d'Almeria?
3. Com és que encara al 1916 el govern negociï amb l'oposició els diputats a concedir-los? Quina conclusió permet treure del sistema electoral i del sistema de la Restauració?

³ N°1

⁴ Serie politica "P" (1891-1916), pacco 79 (1912-16).

Fitxa 2

Agitació catalanista (1899)

25 de setembre de 1899

L'ambaixador francès a Madrid informa al govern francès ⁵:

Un projet gouvernementale de décentralisation et agitation séparatiste

Projet de del ministre governació Dato, « un dels més innovadors sembla », per modificar a fons l'org provincial : assemblees regionales compostes de diputats de provincies difs reagrupades, elegit per corporacions, etc.

Dato i companys esperen que aquest primer pas cap a descentralització serà tingut en compte « dans les centres régionalistes de la Catalogne, de l'Aragon et d'ailleurs. Le gouvernement leur offre évidemment là une première satisfaction à laquelle ils ne devaient pas s'attendre. Mais les esprits sont déjà tendus et surexcités par les agitateurs locaux à ce point que toute concession gouvernementale paraît timide et insuffisante, surtout lorsqu'elle fait, comme celle en question, si peu de cas des droits du suffrage universel. Et n'est ce pas le suffrage universel qui s'agite ou qu'on agite partout dans ces provinces et qui affiche chaque jour sa désunion d'avec la métropole ? En catalogne les meetings séparatistes se multiplient sans se ressembler, car on y arbore maintenant les drapeaux séparatistes et les assistants y entonnent des chants de circonstance qui sont des appels à la rébellion. Ce n'est là qu'on sera converti par les propositions de M.Dato.

Pasteur

Activitats :

1. Quin és l'ambient dins els sectors catalanistes cap al govern ? Què ofereix el govern Dato per a intentar satisfer-los ? serà suficient, segons l'ambaixador francès ?
2. Què vol dir la referència al poc cas que fa el govern espanyol al sufragi universal ? és això motiu « d'unió o desunió » amb la metròpoli ? què és, la metròpoli, aquí ? A què fa referència la denominació « bandera separatista » ?
3. Explica quin moviment de protesta va tenir lloc a Catalunya l'any 1899 i quins grups polítics es van fundar aleshores i en els anys immediats.

⁵ MAD>PAR, nº106

Fitxa 3

LA VAGA GENERAL DE 1902

21 de febrer de 1902

El vice-cònsol francès de Tarragona escriu al seu cap de París (el ministre):

“Ahir es va proclamar l'estat de setge a la província de Tarragona. També ahir hi va haver una breu reunió en què les societats obreres decidiren iniciar avui una vaga secundant la de la capital de Catalunya i mentre aquesta duri. Avui hi ha vaga general, també en les botigues i fins i tot en els forns. La gent es va procurar ahir provisions. També hi ha aturada en els diaris. Hi ha protecció militar a la sucursal del Banc d'Espanya i a l'estació i als molls.

L'ordre resta assegurat per les tropes. Però la població aquí és molt pacífica; tampoc hi ha grans fàbriques. No és el mateix a Reus, gran centre industrial, on la vaga és general i on hi ha insuficiència de forces de l'ordre. Hi ha tranquil·litat, però, de moment. A Valls, on també hi ha moltes fàbriques, també és molt seguida la vaga.

És la primera vegada que els obrers se solidaritzen així en aquesta província i mai havien fet vagues que no fossin parcials sense preocupar-se de secundar els seus germans de Barcelona o d'altres ciutats de Catalunya, encara que fossin del mateix cos d'ofici. Hom no pot explicar-se aquest gran moviment de solidaritat general que existeix en aquest moment entre tots els obrers sinó és per llur perfecte organització sindical i per la gran misèria que regna en totes aquestes regions a causa del cost de la vida provocat per l'alça del canvi facilitant l'exportació de totes aquestes « damées »(?) alimentàries y la paralització gairebé completa de la mà d'obra en aquest país després de malvendre els vins.”

Activitats:

1. Per què fou tan important la vaga de 1902?
2. Quina novetat considera el vice-cònsol francès que es dona en aquesta vaga a la zona del Camp de Tarragona?
3. Quines dues causes creu que expliquen aquest “gran moviment de solidaritat general”?

Fitxa 4

EL TERRORISME ANARQUISTA

18 d'abril de 1904

El cònsol d'Itàlia a Barcelona al Ministre d'afers estrangers d'Italia⁶:

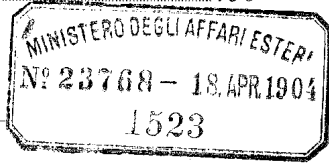
Attentato al presidente del Consiglio Maura.

⁶ Serie politica "P" (1891-1916) Pacco 74, n° 545/38

Barcellona

190

WP



N. 545
38

Barcelona

Atterrito il
Presidente del
Consiglio Maura

Faccio seguito al
vostro telegramma del 11 corrente
ed ho dato notizia all' E. V.
dell' attentato commesso contro
il Presidente del Consiglio Sp.
Maura.

L' autore si esso è
Joaquin Miguel Artel, si
19 anni; egli non ha cattivi
precedenti. Depprima legge
preferibilmente libri si filosofia
cristiana, ma attualmente sono
cambiato ed in una casa sono
stati trovati libri si Reclus,
Sorki e si Thrapottine. Egli
appartiene quindi all' elemento
intellettuale del partito anarchico
e si crede di far parte del
gruppo della Juventud Libertaria

a G. B.
il Ministro
Degli Affari Esteri

F 12

ed quale si sarebbe imbastito il
 idee anarchiche. Ora sono
 attivamente ricercati i membri di
 questo gruppo, assai pericoloso,
 che tuttavia non ha sede fissa
 e col quale gli anarchici stranieri
 corrisponderebbero a mezzo del
 giornale Il Produttore, diretto
 dall'anarchico Leopoldo Bonifazi,
 che figura nel famoso processo
 di Mentjuick.

Invece non si è potuto
 accertare se l'Artal abbia
 complicità; però, come sospetti
 tali, sono stati arrestati certi
 Abatka Westendorfs y Serra
 e Indoro Vico.

Il primo di essi, il cui
 29, è un amico di Artal ed
 quale lavorò in uno studio di
 nottura; egli ha dichiarato di
 essere anarchico e di conoscere
 perfettamente l'Artal il quale

venendo scuro gli avrebbe diretto
una lettera dove, prendendo da
lui congedo come persona che
volere porre fine ai suoi giorni,
gli raccomandava però di imitarlo
e di avere, al pari di lui, coraggio
per la difesa dell'ideale anarchico.
L'Heutencks tuttavia affermava
che non conosceva affatto i progetti
dell'amico.

Il secondo degli arrestati,
Ferdinando Vico, è pure amico di
Artal; in una casa furono
trovati molti giornali anarchici.

Alcuni altri arresti furono
eseguiti, ma finora altro non
si sa che i nomi degli arrestati,
tutti sconosciuti.

Fino qui cantato nella
Chiesa della Madonna un Te Deum
per lo scampato pericolo del
Presidente del Consiglio, al
ritorno della Chiesa, dei gruppi
passarono sotto le finestre

Del giornale repubblicano La Liberté
 e gestarono viva Maura e
viva alla Repubblica, intemando
 a quei della Repubblica che erano
 alle finestre si chiudete, come
 se fu ripetuto. L'incidente,
 dato l'eccezione delle folle,
 potera avere serie conseguenze,
 se non fosse stato il providenziale
 arrivo del feramatore cui da
 calmo le folle e nel tempo
 stesso ottenne la chiusura
 delle finestre della Repubblica
 e della Liberté.

Con profonda ossequio

Devotissimo
 G. Deputato

1
 2
 3
 4
 5
 6
 7
 8
 9
 10

5 de febrer de 1909

Ministeri d'afers estrangers britànic. Informe anual sobre Espanya, any 1908.

Autor: ambaixador Sir Maurice de Bunsen.

Confidencial (9426)⁷

(...)

III. ANARCHISM.

(...)

Trial of Rull.

On the 27th March the trial of Juan Rull and about a dozen other suspected anarchists began at Barcelona before the Chief Court of the province. Great public interest was aroused by the proceedings, the more so that a bomb explosion followed closely on his Majesty's visit to the town. Rull was a well-known anarchist, but since 1906 had been employed as an informer by successive Governors. The evidence at the Trial proved that Rull, while taking money from the town authorities, was connected with several of the recent explosions. It was also clear that the outrages had lost any real character, and were mainly used to levy blackmail. Rull, his mother and other brother were found guilty and sentenced to death, while another brother received fourteen years' imprisonment. The principal offender was subsequently executed, the capital sentence in the other two cases being commuted.

(...)

Activitats:

1. Averigua qui va ser Antoni Maura.
2. Resumeix les característiques de l'autor de l'atemptat contra el president.
3. Per què van jutjar a Rull? Compara la seva trajectòria amb la d'Artal.

⁷ (PRO-FO 425/327)

Fitxa 5
LA SOLIDARITAT CATALANA (1906-1909)

L'ambaixador italià a Madrid comunica els fets del Cu-cut al seu govern⁸:

28 de novembre de 1905

Stato di assedio a Barcellona.

Signor Ministro

La intemperanza del partito regionalista catalano, una sezione del quale è persino separatista, aiutata dall'irrequietezza abituale dei repubblicani hanno prodotto gravi torbidi a Barcellona. Un giornale catalanista, il Cut-cut, per offese alla Spagna e all'esercito è stato fatto segno a violente per quanto meritate rappresaglie. Gli ufficiali della guarnigione recatisi al suo ufficio distrussero e dispersero quanto v'era. E temendosi seri conflitti il governo ha presentato oggi d'urgenza alla Camera il progetto di legge qui incluso, che sospende a Barcellona le garanzie costituzionali.
(...)

⁸ Serie politica "P" (1891-1916), Pacco 74, 1164/492.

5 de febrer de 1909

Ministeri d'afers estrangers britànic. Informe anual sobre Espanya, any 1908.

Autor: ambaixador Sir Maurice de Bunsen.

Confidencial (9426)⁹

I. POLITICAL SURVEY.

(...)

(Señor Maura's Administration) Principal Measures.

Local Administration Bill.

(...) This measure is the central point of the Government policy. It is intended to settle by fair compromise the dispute between the supporters on the one hand of the highly centralized Government on the French model which has existed in Spain since the Napoleonic wars and, on the other, of a system which would resemble a federation of provinces, each self-governed in accordance with its local particularities and united only by the link of the Crown. The question was pushed into prominence by the threatening attitude of the Catalan Home Rulers. It was they who, by their attacks on the Spanish army and resistance to Government control, provoked in November 1905 the violent reprisals of a band of army officers, by which the Liberal Government of Señor Moret was compelled to pass, in the spring of 1906, the unpopular law transferring jurisdiction in press offences against the nation and army from the civil to the military courts. Catalonia replied by forming the Solidarity or Home Rule group, composed of politicians representing every shade of opinion between the extremes of Right and Left, and agreeing only in their resolution to place Home Rule for Catalonia in the forefront of their political programme. Some forty of them were returned to the Chamber of Deputies at the general election in May 1907. They at once assumed an attitude of opposition to the Government, which lasted throughout the year and recommenced soon after the opening of the Cortes in January 1908.

Activitats:

1. En què van consistir les ofenses del *Cut-cut!* a l'exèrcit? Què et sembla la decisió del govern espanyol davant aquesta acció dels militars de Barcelona?
2. Quina discutida llei va aprovar el govern la primavera de 1906? Què establia? Quina reacció va provocar a Catalunya?
3. Quin ventall polític agafava la Solidaritat Catalana, segons l'ambaixador britànic? Quin objectiu principal es va marcar aconseguir? Quin resultat obtingué a les eleccions de maig de 1907?

⁹ (PRO-FO 425/327)

Fitxa 6

EL CARLISME

23 de juliol de 1909

L'ambaixador britànic a Madrid Sir M. de Bunsen al secretari del Foreign Office (ministeri d'afers estrangers britànic) Sir Edward Grey:

Northern and Western Europe. B. Confidential. Section 1.

Received August 3.[28998] N°.1

Death of the Pretender Don Carlos.

(PRO FO371/743, pages 81&82)

San Ildefonso, July 23, 1909

No. 147

Sir M. de Bunsen to Sir Edward Grey.

(...)

Carlism relies, moreover, besides absolutism and ultramontanism, on the strong regional aspirations of the Basque Provinces, Navarre, and Catalonia. It has always supported those aspirations in the past. In the provinces where they prevail Carlism has found its most numerous and faithful adherents. This home rule sentiment is far from declining. In Catalonia it has been fanned during the last two years into a flame which has powerfully influenced Spanish politics. The whole system of local administration is being recast to meet its demands. In the Basque Provinces and Navarre this sentiment is still strong and vigorous. (...)

The Carlist party will no doubt continue to regard those regions as their principal stronghold.

(...)

Maurice de Bunsen.

Activitats:

1. Quin contingut ideològic atribueix el cònsol britànic al carlisme?
2. En quines regions diu que troba més suport aquest grup? Per què?
3. Explica com va néixer el carlisme, quina va ser la seva base social i quins conflictes armats va generar al llarg del segle XIX.

Fitxa 7

La Setmana Tràgica (juliol de 1909)

27 de juliol de 1909

Carta del consolat italià de Barcelona al ministeri d'afers estrangers a Roma¹⁰:

Situazione della città

(...)

La popolazione è eccitata per la guerra d'Africa, che essa ritiene imposta da privati interessi, ed alla quale sononstati chiamati i riservisti fra i quali molti hanno famiglia; ciò che fa risaltare sempre più l'anomalia di questo sistema di coscrizione pel quale i giovani agiati pagando poche migliaia di lire si sottraggono al servizio. Il popolo reclama che questa diversità di trattamento, di altri tempi, cessi e nelle manifestazioni alle quali diede luogo la partenza della truppa fu invocata la coscrizione obbligatoria per tutti.

¹⁰ Serie politica "P" 1891-1916, pacco 77.

2 d'agost de 1909

Carta del consolat italià de Barcelona al ministeri d'afers estrangers a Roma¹¹:

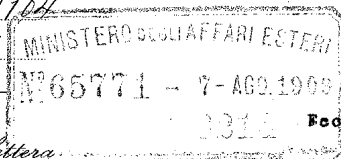
Situazione
Barcellona

di

R.° CONSOLATO GENERALE
D'ITALIA

Barcellona, 2 Agosto 1909.

N. 257/104
P. no 31-91



Riscontro alla lettera

del
N.°

OGGETTO

SITUAZIONE DI BARCELONA

Dopo quasi una settimana di orrori e di fuoco oggi Barcellona ha ripreso il suo aspetto ordinario; gran parte degli operai meno quelli che sono andati in provincia a continuare l'agitazione, sono tornati al lavoro; il telegrafo ha ripreso il servizio e pare che nella importantissima linea di Francia stia per riprenderlo anche la ferrovia almeno sino a Gerona. Cesserà così l'isolamento in cui questa disgraziata città è stata per alcuni giorni, isolamento quasi assoluto non essendo essa collegata col mondo che col cavo sottomarino che la unisce a Marsiglia.

Il risultato di questo movimento, che da politico, ispirato cioè da sentimenti contrari alla guerra marcechina, degenerò in preta rivoluzione antireligiosa ed anarchica fu la distruzione, per molti totale, per altri parziale, di quaranta fra chiese e conventi. Gli istituti religiosi e fra questi parecchie chiese fra le più antiche di Barcellona, furono presi specialmente di mira dalla rabbia distruggitrice che aveva invaso gli strati più bassi di questa popolazione. Con grossi travetti manovrati a modo di ariste si gettavano a terra le porte ed allora con queste e con quanto capitava per le mani, si formava nell'interno dell'edificio una grande catasta di legname, che si aveva cura di coprire di petrolio o di benzina, e le si dava fuoco; ed al fuoco, che nessuno si azzardava a spegnere si lasciava compiere l'opera, recandosi gli incendiari a ricominciare l'operazione per altro edificio. In qualche luogo ^{accersero} i pompieri ma la folla levò loro di mano le manichette ~~per~~ unicamente per proteggerli dall'incendio gli edifici attigui.

LA SUA ECCELLENZA
MINISTRO
DEGLI AFFARI ESTERI

ROMA
11/2

Per vari conventi, gli incendiari prevennero i frati e le monache che li abitavano di quanto si stava preparando perchè provvedessero a mettersi in salvo e non rubarono; ma poi questo sentimento fu ritenuto fuori di luogo ed in altri conventi si innescò contro le persone e dei religiosi furono uccisi; tuttavia

¹¹ Idem.

R.° CONSOLATO GENERALE
D'ITALIA

Barcellona, 19.....

N.° fermi fanno veramente onore al nostro Paese e quindi accennai
B. ne alla necessità dell'invio di una nave; non appena mi parve che
..... questa necessità non fosse più urgente mandai il telegramma del
..... 31 per far scendere l'invio. Gli altri miei col-
..... legghi si fecero interpreti presso i loro Governi di analoghi de-
Riscontro alla lettera siderii molto vivacemente espressi dalle loro colonie e mi si
del assicura che la Colonia francese mandò proteste al suo Governo
N.° per il mancato invio di navi.

L'azione militare fu in principio disagiata; mentre la gu-
dia civile procedeva con l'usato suo rigore ed era oggetto dell'
OGGETTO ita dei rivoluzionari, la poca truppa nei primi due giorni era accolta con appli-
si ed al suo apparire le si faceva strada nelle barricate perchè si sapeva che
dei soldati si erano rifiutati di far fuoco. Divenuta gravissima la situazione
ed aumentata di ora in ora la truppa chiamata da ogni parte, e venuta parte in
treno parte a marce forzate, la repressione fu compiuta con estremo rigore; fu
adoperata largamente l'artiglieria per abbattere le barricate; la lotta dalle
strade si estese ~~lea~~ ai tetti delle case da dove la guardia civile procurava
far contro a chi tirava dalla finestra; essa riuscì ^{assai} difficile; all'enorme con-
sumo di munizioni fu sproporzionato il risultato utile, mentre d'altra parte le
continue e nutrite scariche ingeneravano in tutti la persuasione che avvenisser
veri massacri.

Inutile aggiunga che i morti ed i feriti furono numerosi, ma che probabil-
mente mai si saprà con precisione la cifra esatta dei primi che ora la voce pub-
blica fa ascendere a centinaia.

Ieri furono arrestati il Sig. Emiliano Iglesias direttore del "Progreso"
giornale repubblicano-anarchico ed organo del deputato Leffoux che sempre predi-
cò la guerra e la distruzione dei conventi, e furono anche arrestati vari capi
anarchici; le barriere della fortezza di Montjuich rigurgitano di prigionieri.

Il movimento che sembra domato in città si è propagato nella provincia
fomentatovi da molti sfuggiti alla repressione di qui e dai numerosi operai che
si trovano in centri industriali importantissimi, quali Manresa, Sabadell (di
fu proclamata la repubblica), Tarrasa, Figueras, Gerona, Natarò. A Sabadell la
repressione fu operata con la artiglieria; i componenti la giunta repubblicana
sarebbero già stati condotti a Montjuich.

Ma di tutti i fatti occorsi finora non vi è alcuna relazione ufficiale
giacchè soltanto da ieri sera hanno ripreso a comparire i giornali; questi pub-
blicano una nuda cronistoria redatta dallo Stato Maggiore e dalla quale sciolde
se copia. ././.

Activitats:

1. Quin és el motiu que desencadena la vaga general? Seguint l'explicació del cònsol italià explica què passava amb el servei militar.

2. El moviment vaguista, segons el cònsol, va canviar de caràcter. Explica què va passar. Per què els vaguistes lluiten contra la guàrdia civil i en canvi aplaudeixen els soldats?
3. Quin polític arrestaran les autoritats? Per què? Qui va ser condemnat a mort mesos després fet responsable de la revolta?

Fitxa 8 LERROUX

6 de novembre de 1909.

El cònsol britànic a Barcelona Sr. Roberts a Sir Edward Grey, ministre d'afers estrangers britànic¹²:

Northern & Western Europe. Confidential. November 10. Section 1. [41333].

November 6, 1909

BCN(cònsol Roberts)>LDN(Sir Edward Grey), n°36.

(...)

(...) in Catalonia, as in this revolutionary movement in this province you have to deal with three classes, the genuine enthusiastic fanatic anarchist such as Ferrer, whom one may say nothing will repress, hooligans and idle loafers, of whom there are always a large number in a city of this size ready to join in any acts of violence, and, lastly, and the most important, the socialistic working-classes, who under ordinary circumstances would be honest work-people, but who, when carried away by the oratory and teaching of men like Lerroux and Ferrer, join these violent movements (...).

Lerroux is a professional agitator, clever, and a brilliant orator and writer, and is with the socialistic masses here an "uncrowned king".

His influence is immense, and so long he is satisfied he will doubtless be able to keep things quiet, but when the day comes that he considers there is a grievance fresh troubles will arise, unless he again be forced to quit the country. Not only has Lerroux influence with the masses, but also with the Republicans of a higher and better class and imbued with higher views, such as the deputy Señor Giner de los Ríos (...).

(...)

J. Frederick Roberts

Activitats:

1. Considera homogeni el moviment revolucionari català el cònsol Roberts? quines distincions estableix?
2. Com qualifica Lerroux? sobre qui li atribueix gran influència ?
3. Quin partit polític va fundar i liderar Lerroux ? Quina actitud va tenir respecte el moviment catalanista?

¹² PRO, FO 371/744, pages 482-483.

Fitxa 9

LA QÜESTIÓ RELIGIOSA

13 de març de 1913

Carta de l'ambaixador d'Itàlia a Espanya informant al seu Ministeri:

Insegnamento religioso nelle scuole

Signor ministro,

Un incidente della vita spagnuola che merita d'essere segnalato all'Eccellenza Vostra è l'intensa agitazione che si va disegnando nel paese in seguito alla intenzione manifestata, in forma del resto assai vagam dal gabinetto Romanones, di modificare le norme vigente circa l'insegnamento del catechismo nelle scuole primarie. (...)

Ma è bastato che si parlasse di riformare come che sia le disposizioni della legge del 1857 che rende obbligatorio l'insegnamento della dottrina cristiana, perchè una viva emozione la quale già a avuto per efetto che dietro iniziativa di alcune signore dell'aristocrazia si raccogliessero l'altro ieri in poche ore ben ottomila firme sotto una petizione delle donne madrilene che una commissione delle stesse signore presentò ieri al presidente del Consiglio.(...)

Tutto questo viene a dimostrare una volta di più la grande influenza che per mezzo della donna il clero esercita sulla vita politica di questo paese. (...)

28 d'abril de 1913

Carta de l'ambaixador d'Itàlia a Espanya al Ministre:

Insegnamento religioso

Signor ministro,

Il Decreto Reale per la riforma dei regolamenti concernentil'insegnamento religioso nelle scuole primarie, annunciato da parecchio tempo e che prima ancora d'essere conosciuto aveva provocata una intensa agitazione tra i conservatori, è stato finalmente pubblicato (...) La prima impressione (...) è che non valeva davvero la pena di fare tanto rumore per una così piccola riforma (...). Il decreto si compone di due articoli, il primo conferma l'obbligatorietà dell'insegnamento religioso, il secondo dispensa i figli di quei genitori che appartenendo ad altra confessione che la cattolica ne facciano domanda. (...)

Non si poteva davvero far meno poichè nessuna dispensa si ammette per gli insegnanti nè per i figli di genitori appartenenti ufficialmente alla confessione cattolica. È perciò i giornali di estrema sinistra rimproverano al conte di Romanones la delusione che loro viene inflitta, e gli organi conservatori dal canto loro commentano ironicamente la disproporzione tra l'atteggiamento di ardito riformatore che aveva preso il governo e la timidità della riforma. (...)

Activitats:

1. Es pot parlar de separació entre església i estat en l'estat liberal espanyol? Quin paper jugava la religió catòlica dins l'escola?
2. A quin partit dinàstic pertanyia el Comte de Romanones? Què deia el Decret aprovat el 1913?
3. Per qui estan fortament influïdes les dones, segons el cònsol? Gaudia de drets polítics, aleshores, la població femenina?

24 d'abril de 1916

El cònsol francès de Barcelona escrivia¹³:

Les Catalans disent ou écrivent, tous les jours, que la guerre actuel aura pour résultat le triomphe des petites nationalités, et ils escomptent ouvertement le bénéfice de l'événement pour la « nationalité catalane ». Je ne vois pas très bien, pour ma part, sous quelle forme concrète ce profit se réalisera. Mais le Gouvernement Espagnol, à tort ou à raison, s'inquiète de cet état d'esprit et des complications éventuelles qui peuvent en résulter pour la politique intérieure du Pays. Il serait inopportun, sans doute, de faire abstraction de cette sorte de nervosité, au cas même où on l'estimerait injustifiée.

Je ne veux nullement dire, cela va de soi, que nous devons négliger la région la plus industrielle, la plus vivante, de l'Espagne, celle où nous avons rencontré certainement, depuis le début de la guerre, les sympathies les plus chaudes et les plus nombreuses. Mais il convient, semble-t-il, d'être actuellement très prudents, dans les manifestations de nos sentiments, et de ne pas nous laisser aller sans contrôle à l'impulsion de nos amitiés.

Quoiqu'il arrive, peut-on assurer, les Catalans auront toujours intérêt à se tourner du côté de la France, ne serait-ce que pour exercer une pression sur le Gouvernement Central de Madrid, au point de vue de leurs privilèges politiques et économiques. Or comme c'est, en réalité, le Gouvernement Central qui détermine la politique extérieure de l'Espagne, c'est lui, bien évidemment, que nous avons surtout avantage à ménager, au moins pendant la durée de la guerre.

Gaussen

Activitats:

1. Quins estats s'estaven enfrontant en la guerra europea en aquells moments?
2. Quin bàndol o país rep majors simpaties a Catalunya, segons el cònsol francès? Sabries distingir, però, quins grups polítics i socials catalans mostraven preferències oposades?
3. A què atribueix el cònsol el suport a França de molts catalans? Què n'esperaven, del resultat de la guerra? Per què?
4. Busca informació sobre els voluntaris catalans de la Gran Guerra.

¹³ ADP: Guerre 14-18, vol.473, carta n° 41 del 24 d'Abril de 1916

Fitxa 11

LA CAMPANYA PER L'AUTONOMIA 1918-1919.

18 de novembre de 1918

Carta del cònsol francès a Barcelona a l'ambaixador francès a Madrid¹⁴:

Traduïda:

El plebiscit català per l'autonomia.

Abans d'ahir van ser lliurats als parlamentaris encarregats de fer conèixer al govern el desig de Catalunya, els quatre volums amb les decisions municipals catalanes a favor de l'autonomia.

En la mena de plebiscit que s'ha fet a cadascun dels ajuntaments catalans, gairebé totes les respostes foren afirmatives. Segons uns el 90%, segons altres el 98%.

El que hi ha de cert i bastant frapant és que totes les parts eren presents (o gairebé) oficialment a la cerimònia de dissabte organitzada per la Lliga. El lliurament de llibres el féu l'alcalde de Barcelona, el Sr. Morales Pareja, home de confiança del Sr. Lerroux. Els carlistes, tret d'una minoria, han posat també la seva signatura. La comissió de parlamentaris encarregada d'estudiar els problemes que porti l'autonomia catalana comprèn representants de tots els partits: regionalistes, liberals, republicans i tradicionalistes.(...)

16 de desembre de 1918

Telegrama del cònsol francès a Barcelona a l'ambaixador francès a Madrid¹⁵:

Traduït:

Esdeveniments a Barcelona.

Els recents esdeveniments han provocat a Barcelona alguna efervescència. Com sempre, la policia reprimeix brutalment les manifestacions. Ella carrega, i ara que l'han proveïda de fusells, dispara. Ahir hi va haver varis ferits i una vianant morta al Passeig. Aquest fet no ha ajudat a disminuir l'excitació.

Els oficials manifesten vivament els seus sentiments anti-autonomistes.(...)

Activitats:

1. La voluntat dels catalans d'obtenir autonomia es va manifestar en la campanya de 1918-1919 a partir dels municipis. Qui havia de transmetre la seva voluntat al govern espanyol?
2. De què se sorprèn el cònsol de Barcelona en la primera carta?

¹⁴ ADN, Bcn-B-52 o bé ADN, Mad-C-139, o bé ADP, Europe Z-Esp 44.

¹⁵ ADN, Mad-C-139

3. Quina actitud mostra la policia i l'exèrcit davant les manifestacions autonomistes?

29 de gener de 1919

Carta del cònsol francès a Barcelona a l'ambaixador francès a Madrid¹⁶:

Traduïda:

Autonomia catalana

Els dies 24 i 25 de gener els diputats, senadors i consellers de la Mancomunitat han discutit i aprovat el projecte d'Estatut elaborat pel Consell de la Mancomunitat i diverses personalitats.

El 27 de gener els delegats dels municipis catalans l'han aprovat a Barcelona: de 1072, sols 31 han dit no i sols 5 en contra d'una autonomia (només l'1% dels catalans).

Tot i aquesta unanimitat i del fet que tots els polítics catalans, des dels carlistes als socialistes l'hagin aprovat, sembla que aquesta unanimitat és un xic superficial. L'autonomia no l'entenen igual, sembla, els regionalistes pròpiament dits dels republicans radicals o dels socialistes.

Per als primers, Catalunya és el primer (com resumí Cambó: "Monarquia? República? Catalunya"). Els altres no deixen de costat el seu ideal purament polític i veuen la qüestió autonòmica d'un punt de vista més ampli i més espanyol. Demanen, en resum, la substitució del règim actual per un règim federalista.

D'altra banda, els catalans d'extrema esquerra apel·larien si calgués a la violència. Els regionalistes de dreta, per contra, són partits burgesos i amic de l'ordre, i que temen, si aquesta arribés, veure's ràpidament desbordats per les forces obreres i sindicals.

Els catalanistes de totes tendències, que formen avui un bloc aparentment unit, constitueix a Catalunya la immensa majoria. (...)

¹⁶ ADN, Bcn-B-52 o bé ADN, Mad-C-139

1 de febrer de 1919

Carta de l'agregat militar de l'ambaixada francesa a Madrid al ministeri de la Guerra a París¹⁷:

Traduïda:

La situació a Espanya. L'exèrcit i la qüestió catalana.

La qüestió catalana acaba de travessar aquests dies una crisi extremament aguda, causada per la intervenció de l'exèrcit en el conflicte i l'actitud intransigent dels representants catalans de l'altra part. La ruptura ha estat hàbilment evitada per Romanones. Però la inquietud no ha desaparegut i la solució sembla llunyana.

La intervenció de l'exèrcit:

L'exèrcit ha estat sempre un factor important dins el problema catalanista. Del principi, ell s'ha declarat contra l'autonomia, considerant-la purament separatista.

Se sap avui que la suspensió de les garanties constitucionals, feta pel govern per aturar l'acció sindicalista, es va declarar sota pressió de l'exèrcit i en realitat contra els catalanistes.(...)

Actitud dels catalanistes:

Havien anunciat que es presentarien a Cambra després d'un mes d'absència per a presentar-hi (el 28 de gener) el projecte d'estatut.

Cambó ha pres la paraula en nom de Catalunya, "ja virtualment separada d'Espanya". Ha rebutjat categòricament el projecte d'Estatut presentat pel govern i ha demanat al Congrés d'acceptar integralment i ràpidament el que ell aportava, Ha demanat al govern que donés la seva opinió sense tergiversar.(...)

4. Què aproven els representants dels municipis catalans el 27 de gener de 1919? Resumeix el procediment que s'ha seguit per elaborar aquest Estatut d'Autonomia.
5. Quines diferències observa el cònsol francès entre els partits polítics respecte l'autonomia? Són minoritaris els catalanistes?
6. Quina és la situació l'1 de febrer de 1919? Què significava la suspensió de les garanties constitucionals?
7. Què rebutgen els representants catalanistes al Congrés de Madrid? Què demanen?

¹⁷ ADN, Mad-C-139, o bé ADP, Europe Z-Esp 44

Fitxa 12

Tensió social i sindicalisme revolucionari a Barcelona 1919-1920

21 d'agost de 1919

Informe del Servei d'Informació militar francès a Madrid a l'Estat Major de l'Exèrcit.

Situation Sociale actuelle à Barcelone.

Le Secteur de Barcelone nous écrit ce qui suit à la date du 16 Août 1919 :

« La situation sociale, politique et économique actuelle de Barcelone et de la Catalogne est, malgré les apparences, d'un calme relatif, excessivement troublée et précaire. Un malaise énorme pèse sur toutes les classes de la société et sur les diverses transactions commerciales.

Cette situation très critique est en partie cachée aux yeux du grand public et surtout de l'étranger, par la permanence dans toute la Province de l'état de guerre (de siège) rigoureux qui entraîne la censure de la presse exercée d'une manière particulièrement sévère, ainsi que la police de la rue et de toutes réunions publiques. Mais, mon impression, partagée par de très nombreuses personnes, est que le lendemain de la levée de l'état de siège, Barcelone verra exploser dans son sein un mouvement populaire violent et sanglant.

Depuis de longs mois, les grèves se succèdent sans interruptions, semant la misère, la rancœur et même la haine dans les masses ouvrières. Ces grèves persistantes enlèvent toute stabilité aux affaires, d'où paralysie commerciale très grave, dans un moment où Barcelone aurait pu et pourrait faire tant pour sa prospérité et son avenir économique. Les patrons répondent à ces grèves par le lock-out, et voilà la crise arrivée à son apogée de tension et de nervosité : Patrons et ouvriers se regardent comme des frères ennemis ; la chasse aux « esquiroles » (ouvriers transfuges « jaunes ») est devenue l'assassinat ; les patrons y répondent par les mêmes procédés ; d'où les crimes sociaux tous impunis et fort nombreux.

En outre, le bolchévisme progresse et fait chaque jour de nouveaux adeptes. C'est pour cela que l'on peut craindre, ce semble avec quelque raison, une révolution sanglante et terroriste, ouvertement causée par la misère et la cherté de la vie, mais véritablement dirigée et subventionnée en sous-mains par l'organisation mondiale bolchéviste.

En résumé, je crois que l'on peut parfaitement dire, sans être taxé d'exagération ou de pessimisme, que la situation sociale à Barcelone est très grave, sinon angoissante. Sans prendre la chose au tragique, il convient de la prendre très au sérieux ; on vit un peu sur un volcan, et seule une main de fer (peut-être brutale, mais à mon avis indispensable) pourra empêcher la révolution terroriste que l'on voit très distinctement poindre dans un horizon rapproché.

Activitats:

1. L'ambient social a Catalunya és molt tens, segons el militar francès. Què passa que li ho faci veure així? per què, en canvi, diu que algun foraster pot semblar-li que hi ha tranquil·litat ?
2. Què és un « lock-out » ? i un « esquirole » i un « obrer groc » ?
Explica què era el bolxevisme i com va néixer.

3. Quin remei suggereix aquest informador? quina relació podríem establir amb el què va passar el setembre de 1923?

29 de març de 1920

Informe del Servei d'Informació militar francès a Madrid a l'Estat Major de l'Exèrcit.
Secret.

Bolchevisme.

Nouvelles tentatives faites par la "Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo" pour fusionner avec la "Union General de los Trabajadores".

(De divers informateurs, s'ignorant mutuellement)

« On sait qu'au mois de Décembre dernier, le Congrès syndicaliste de Madrid exprima (peut-être un peu trop violemment) le désir de voir fusionner les deux grands partis ouvriers d'Espagne : « La Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo » (parti syndicaliste-communiste-bolcheviste) et la « Union General de los Trabajadores » (parti socialiste parlementaire).

Depuis quelques semaines, on constate très aisément en Catalogne une importante recrudescence des tentatives ayant pour but de réaliser cette fusion.

Le parti syndicaliste-communiste est certainement le plus important en nombre, mais il s'est cependant rendu compte qu'il ne pouvait pas et ne pourrait jamais arriver à la révolution sociale qu'il désire et vers laquelle il tend, sans l'appui matériel et moral du parti socialiste-parlementaire qui, pour combattre le syndicalisme-communisme, fait bloc avec les syndicats catholiques. Géographiquement, la « Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo » est maîtresse des provinces de Cat, Aragon, Valen , Andalusi, et d'une partie de la Castilla-.Vieja et de l'Extremadura :mais le reste de l'Espagne est sûrement aux mains soit des socialistes-parlementaires (Union General de Trabajadores), soit des syndicats catholiques.

Une très importante entrevue doit avoir lieu prochainement à Madrid entre les délégués (relativement conciliants) barcelonais de la « Confederacion » et ceux de la « Union » pour arriver à tout prix (sic) à une entente. »

4. Resumeix l'essencial d'aquest informe secret.

Fitxa 13

LA GUERRA SOCIAL : EL PISTOLERISME.

7 de gener de 1920

Carta del cònsol francès a Barcelona al Ministre d'afers estrangers francès.

« L'attentat dirigé contre le Président de la Fédération patronale a produit une impression profonde non seulement en raison de la personnalité en cause mais aussi en raison des conditions dans lesquelles il s'est produit. Il a eu lieu en plein centre. Les agresseurs craignant une riposte des agents qui se trouvaient dans l'automobile s'étaient assurés la supériorité écrasante du nombre. Ils étaient de quinze à vingt divisés en petits groupes. C'est un véritable feu de salve qu'ils ont exécuté. Je rappelle que cet assassinat a été précédé de plus de deux cents crimes sociaux qui sont tous demeurés impunis. Le seul coupable condamné pour un pareil fait, Villalonga, a été l'objet d'une demande de grâce et n'a pas été exécuté.

Aujourd'hui les magasins fermeront en signe de deuil. On annonce le départ pour Madrid de délégations des principaux groupements économiques qui vont signaler la situation faite à la Catalogne. Sauf naturellement dans les milieux ouvriers, l'opinion publique déplore ce qu'elle appelle le désintéressement du Gouvernement de Madrid à l'égard de la question sociale Catalane.

On a procédé hier à de très nombreuses arrestations, les centres syndicalistes ont été fermés et, ajoute-t-on, les légistes avocats des syndicats détenus. »

Charles F. Filippi

Activitats :

1. Qui ha estat la víctima d'aquest atemptat ? i els autors ? com l'han executat ?
2. A què es refereix el cònsol quan parla d'impunitat?
3. Quina ha estat la reacció de les autoritats?

24 de febrer de 1920

Carta del cònsol francès a Barcelona al govern francès.

Situation en Catalogne

« Depuis une dizaine de jours le travail a complètement repris dans toute la Catalogne. Les ouvriers qui étaient à bout de force et qui commençaient à émigrer, notamment pour l'Argentine, ont renoncé à continuer la lutte. Leurs ressources étaient tellement épuisées que dans la province, les travailleurs appartenant à certaines industries, à celle du tissage par exemple non seulement ont renoué la besogne mais encore se sont entendus avec les patrons pour faire des heures supplémentaires et gagner ainsi un peu plus d'argent.

La situation, cependant, n'est redevenue normale qu'en apparence. On signale des actes de sabotage assez fréquents. Le feu a été mis dans diverses usines au moyen de pastille incendiaires et d'assez nombreux chevaux sont empoisonnés. Un seul

entrepreneur de transports aurait perdu de cette manière dix sept de ces animaux. Enfin on sait qu'avant hier à Sabadell la série des attentats anarchistes a repris. Deux patrons filateurs les frères Jenny ont été assaillis chez eux à heures du soir et grièvement blessés ; leur père un vieillard de 82 ans, a été assassiné.

Les victimes appartiennent à notre nationalité. Malgré la lutte très vive menée par le Gouverneur civil contre les syndicats considérés par lui comme ne remplissant pas les conditions prescrites par la loi, ceux-ci continuent assure-t-on, à vivre d'une clandestine. Ils n'ont pas cessé de donner des ordres aux ouvriers, ni de publier des manifestes, ni même de recouvrir des cotisations, bien que l'on procède chaque jour à l'arrestation de syndiqués chargés d'opérer ces recouvrements. »

Charles F. Filippi

4. Ha tornat completament la normalitat al món del treball català?
Per què?
5. Segueixen funcionant, els sindicats prohibits?

31 d'octubre de 1920

Carta del cònsol francès a Barcelona al govern francès.

Troubles sociaux à Bcn

Dans mon rapport du 11 Septembre dernier, je signalais à Votre excellence la recrudescence d'attentats sociaux et le commencement d'agitation gréviste qui se manifestaient à Barcelone. depuis cette date, la situation s'est sensiblement aggravée. Le « Syndicat Unique » qui est une sorte de CGT révolutionnaire, a repris toute son activité. Il est rare maintenant qu'un seul jour se passe, sans être marqué par un ou plusieurs crimes commis contre des patrons ou des ouvriers. Avant hier, par exemple, un patron boulanger était tué, à coups de pistolet. Hier c'était le tour d'un patron électricien. Ce dernier qui présidait le syndicat de sa corporation se disposait à se rendre à la séance à laquelle il avait convoqué ses collègues pour discuter avec eux les revendications ouvrières, lorsqu'il fut attaqué en plein midi et dans une des rues les plus fréquentées de Barcelone. Blessé d'une première balle, il tomba sur la chaussée et les assassins purent s'approcher de lui pour l'achever sans qu'aucun des nombreux passants osât intervenir. Aujourd'hui on signale, dans la ville voisine de Tarrasa, deux autres morts dues, elles aussi, aux violences sociales.

Parfois à la suite de ces faits, quelques arrestations sont opérées. Mais le plus souvent aucune détention n'a lieu et même lorsqu'il en est autrement on n'apprend jamais qu'une sanction soit intervenue contre les coupables. Les criminels sont d'habitude de tout jeunes gens qui reçoivent une légère rémunération. On va jusqu'à prétendre, qu'en raison de l'impunité dont ils bénéficient, elle n'est plus aujourd'hui que de cinquante ou de soixante quinze pesetas et les mauvais plaisants ajoutent que c'est seulement en ce sens là que l'on peut dire que le prix de la vie a baissé à Barcelone.

En ce qui concerne les grèves, elles se succèdent depuis la fin de Septembre, avec une intensité marquée. Ce furent en premier lieu, les ouvriers des transports qui cessèrent le travail. A cette occasion des précautions minutieuses furent prises par l'autorité locale

qui semblait craindre des évènements graves. Les troupes qui se livraient à des exercices de tir ou à des manœuvres de compagnie ou de bataillon hors de Barcelone furent rappelées. La garnison fut renforcée. La police se livra à des perquisitions et fouilla la nuit, dans certains secteurs, tous les passants suspects.

La grève qui paralysait successivement, par l'arrêt des transports, les différentes industries catalanes, prit fin par un accord conclu sur l'intervention du Gouverneur Civil. Mais à peine avait-elle cessé que celle des métallurgistes qui jusqu'alors était demeurée à l'état latent prenait une grande ampleur. Le « Syndicat unique » donnait, en effet, l'ordre, à ceux de ses adhérents qui étaient employés dans les diverses usines de la région, comme mécaniciens ou chauffeurs, d'arrêter successivement le travail, par solidarité avec les métallurgistes proprement dits. Un assez grand nombre de fabriques, sont en conséquence, fermées et on évalue à plus de 30.000 les ouvriers qui sont, en ce moment, en chômage volontaire ou forcé. Le service des tramways lui-même est entièrement suspendu, les spécialistes qui réparent les câbles aériens ayant obéi à cette sommation. Le « Syndicat Unique » d'autre part, invite aujourd'hui les ouvriers forgerons à ne plus ferrer les chevaux dans le but évident d'immobiliser aussi les transports par charrettes.

De tout ce qui vient d'être exposé, il semble bien en résulter que la tactique des syndicalistes révolutionnaires consiste à ne pas provoquer la grève générale qui pourrait entraîner, à leur rencontre, toute une série de mesures coercitives. Ils estiment sans doute préférable de procéder par grèves partielles déterminant une paralysation étendue de l'industrie et un état de trouble économique marqué.

Aussi ai-je entendu quelques chefs d'industrie souhaiter que le conflit se généralise complètement et prenne une allure telle que l'intervention gouvernementale devienne en dépit des flottements du pouvoir central, une inéluctable nécessité.

En raison de l'état d'insécurité où l'on se trouve, les bruits les plus divers circulent à Barcelone. A plusieurs reprises déjà, on a annoncé que la grève générale allait immédiatement éclater. On a également indiqué comme prochaine la mainmise violente des syndiqués sur les usines. On a par ailleurs envisagé l'éventualité d'un lock out patronal semblable à celui qui fut déclaré l'année dernière.

J'ai déjà observé que si le syndicat unique a repris toute son activité, il paraît pour l'instant, préférer à une cessation générale du travail des arrêts partiels. D'autre part, beaucoup de ses adhérents n'étant recrutés que par la menace il peut, peut être, penser qu'il ne convient pas de faire grand fonds sur ceux là pour un mouvement collectif violent. Aussi bien qu'on assure de très bonne source que des changements d'armes destinées aux syndicalistes ont été débarqués il y a quelques semaines à Montjuich, il est permis de supposer que ceux-ci s'en tiendront aussi longtemps qu'ils le pourront à leur tactique actuelle.

S'ils en changeaient et si l'ordre était troublé, il semble qu'on pourrait toujours compter pour le maintenir sur le « Somaten » qui, comme le sait Votre Excellence est une sorte de garde civique, et sur l'armée. Celle-ci il est vrai a été assez fortement travaillée. Mais les « tracts » et la propagande syndicalistes ne paraissent pas avoir produit grand effet sur les troupes. On dit que c'est pour mieux les tenir en mains que leurs chefs ont eu soin, cette année de rétablir les exercices de campagne...

L'union des syndicalistes et des socialistes tentée à Madrid paraît être demeurée sans effet à Barcelone. Dans cette dernière ville qui est de tradition anarchiste, le marxisme n'a jamais eu que très peu de fidèles. Le syndicat unique semble assez disposé à taxer de tiédeur et de modérantisme, ceux de ses chefs qui, comme Segui, recommandent cette fusion. Il est déjà à peu près certain que la pure doctrine syndicaliste qui interdit à ses

adhérents de prendre part aux votes sera respectée et qu'en Catalogne les partisans du « syndicat unique » ne participeront pas à la prochaine lutte électorale. Pour achever cette revue rapide de la situation sociale existante à Barcelone je dois signaler un fait assez intéressant. En face du syndicat unique ou du syndicat rouge comme on l'appelle aussi, s'est constitué un syndicat libre. La création en est due aux carlistes dont l'influence en Catalogne a évidemment beaucoup baissé mais qui ont conservé du temps où ils luttèrent les armes à la main, comme une sorte d'organisation militaire (les « requetés »). Ce syndicat libre a rallié à lui les syndicats catholiques qui n'exerçaient jusqu'ici qu'une influence bien minime et il est arrivé à représenter une force qui n'est pas négligeable. Il a adopté exactement les mêmes procédés que ses adversaires ; menaces et attentats. On signale, en effet, plusieurs agressions commises contre des syndicalistes rouges blessés ou tués par des syndicalistes libres. Hier encore on disait qu'on avait tiré, sans d'ailleurs l'atteindre, plusieurs coups de feu, sur Seguí qui fut et qui est encore un des chefs les plus connus du syndicat unique. Il semble, l'autorité paraissant se désintéresser de la répression, qu'on en arrive, peu à peu, à substituer à celle-ci une sorte de guerre civile entre deux bandes ennemies. »

Charles F. Filippi.

6. Resumeix les idees principals d'aquest informe consular.

Fitxa 14

LA PROHIBICIÓ DE LA LLENGUA CATALANA EN LA DICTADURA DE PRIMO DE RIVERA.

24 de gener de 1929

Carta del consolat de Barcelona al ministeri d'afers estrangers francès i a l'ambaixada de Madrid.

(Traduïda).

La premsa local publica una nota del governador civil assenyalant que un col·legi religiós ha rebut una multa de 2000 ptes. per no haver hissat ahir la bandera nacional per la festa del Rei. El director m'ha dit haver fet com sempre i actuat de bona fe, i que no ho entenia. Segons el que he pogut saber, deixava els seus alumnes, fills comerciants o industrials, parlar lliurement entre ells la llengua catalana i és possible que aquesta tolerància sigui la veritable raó de la sanció presa, completament desproporcionada per la falta invocada.

Tanmateix un cert número de pares d'alumnes, enfadats per la sanció, han dit que es farien càrrec de la multa imposada al col·legi.

Activitats:

1. Per què havia estat oficialment multada aquesta escola? Per què ho havia estat en realitat, segons sembla?

25 de febrer de 1929

Carta del cònsol francès a Barcelona al govern de París.

“Alguns diaris francesos es fan ressò del rumor que corre per Barcelona que el Vaticà, sota demanda del govern espanyol, hauria invitat el clergat català a només fer ús de la llengua castellana.

De la meua recerca en surt que res no confirma aquest rumor. Una decisió tal entraria en contradicció amb els principis de l'Església sobre l'ús de la llengua materna amb els fidels.”

« Le catalan continue d'ailleurs d'être employé en chaire dans les églises de Barcelone. Quand bien même une réforme lui substituerait le castillan, elle serait absolument inapplicable dans la campagne où des villages entiers, à commencer par le prêtre, ne comprennent pas un mot d'une autre langue que le catalan.

On dit, et ce serait peut-être là l'origine du bruit en question, que certains prêtres catalans, ayant poussé l'intransigeance jusqu'à refuser d'entendre des confessions en espagnol, auraient été invités par leurs supérieurs à faire preuve de plus de tolérance ».

2. Resumeix l'essencial d'aquesta carta.

Fitxa 15

LA RESISTÈNCIA A LA DICTADURA DE PRIMO DE RIVERA.

Maig de 1929

Diplomàcia francesa. Sense signatura.

Désireux de donner aux expositions de Barcelone et de Seville, une importance remarquable, et, d'autre part, voulant s'assurer un renouveau de popularité par la réussite de ces entreprises le Président du Conseil se préoccupe de plus en plus, cherchant à tous moments à les étouffer, des divers mouvements de mécontentement qui lui sont signalés de toutes parts, principalement de la région de Barcelone, car, bien qu'on ait démenti les faits, on me confirme à nouveau les troubles qui ont eu lieu récemment dans cette ville et que je vous ai signalés dans mon précédent rapport. 22 bombes, qui n'explosèrent pas, ont été, en effet, trouvées sous le pont de Badalona, des individus ont également fait sauter plusieurs colonnes de transmission électrique dans plusieurs villages des environs, notamment à Rubi, à Igualada et à Llinas. De plus, des collisions ont eu lieu dernièrement entre des Somatenes et des syndicalistes ; chaque fois, des arrestations ont été opérées. Parmi les détenus, se trouvent actuellement tous les rédacteurs du journal socialiste « L'OPINIO », plusieurs membres des Comités mixtes paritaires, nombre de membres de « L'Ateneo Enciclopédico Popular », certains de l'« Ateneo Barcelones » ; l'avocat RIUSECH, catalan, le médecin AGUADE, catalan ; les frères BOTELLA, catalans ; Antonio BADIA VALLS, catalan ; le docteur TUSSO, catalan ; un nommé PITARCH, ex-anarchiste ; l'ex-député radical COMPANYS et plusieurs d'autres.

La plupart des individus, qui furent compromis dans le fameux attentat de Garraf, et qui échappèrent à une condamnation lors du jugement de cette affaire, ont été également mis sous les verrous.

(...)

D'après les derniers renseignements, le succès de ces expositions paraît bien compromis, les nombreux troubles qui ont eu lieu jusqu'à ce jour, portant un tort énorme à la propagande faite en leur faveur dans le monde entier ; certains ont toujours supposé que c'étaient des étrangers qui les fomentaient, mais il semble qu'il n'en est rien et que c'est là l'œuvre des ennemis du régime et des Catalans qui n'ont jamais abandonné leur idéal.

(...)

Activitats :

1. Qui és el “President del Consell”?
2. D'on li prové l'oposició al seu règim? Com reacciona al respecte?
3. Què fou “el famós atemptat del Garraf”?
4. Quin és l'ideal que “no han abandonat mai” els catalans?

Fitxa 16
LA PROCLAMACIÓ DE LA 2ª REPÚBLICA.

22 d'abril de 1931
Informe de l'ambaixador italià.¹⁸

La Repubblica di fronte ai problemi nazionali.

(...)

Circa la questione religiosa, il Governo Provvisorio ha dichiarato che soltanto le Cortes Costituenti sono competenti a decidere in merito alla separazione della Chiesa dallo Stato. I soli provvedimenti finora presi o annunciati concernono la decretata libertà dei culti, la secolarizzazione dei cimiteri, la reintegrazione del clero "nella pienezza della vita civile", la partecipazione non più obbligatoria dei militari alle funzioni religiose.

(...)

Activitats:

1. Quines mesures inclou la reforma que avança el govern provisional de la República en relació a l'església?

¹⁸ Sèrie *Affari politici 1931-45, Spagna n°1.*



R. AMBASCIATA D'ITALIA

N° 651/359

OGGETTO: La Repubblica Federale.

Madrid, 27 Aprile 1931 - Anno IX -

(Bering)

1/12

9.5-31

Signor Ministro,

In questi ultimi giorni si è nettamente profilato il problema fondamentale della Nazione: la struttura da dare alla Repubblica.

Questo Paese che finora era noto per il culto della tradizione, sembra che voglia ora sorprendere il mondo per la rapidità quasi cinematografica delle sue successive evoluzioni politiche. La Monarchia è caduta con una facilità improvvisa che ha sorpassato tutte le previsioni, anche le più rosee dell'antica clientela del Carcere Modello; immediatamente si è impostato ed imposto il movimento federalista che forse domani sarà già risolto e sorpassato.

L'esempio è partito dalla Catalogna, anzi da Barcellona. Tre grandi aggruppamenti di forze erano colà in presenza il 12 Aprile: la concentrazione monarchica con la lliga regionalista, la congiunzione repubblicano-socialista simile a quella di Madrid e conforme al patto di San Sebastiano dello scorso estate, l'autonomismo integrale dello stato catalano col Colonnello Macià. Quest'ultimo ha ottenuto una vittoria altrettanto vistosa quanto impreveduta, grazie all'appoggio della Confederazione Nazionale del Lavoro. Ora accade che mentre l'ex "Repubblica Catalana" ed attuale "Governo della Generalità di Catalogna" tratta col Governo centrale di Madrid un modus vivendi che permetta di giungere senza gravi attriti alle Cortes Costituenti, solo arbitre di decidere in merito alla auspicata costituzione della "Repubblica Federale" spagnuola, la Confederazione Nazionale del

Regio Ministero degli Affari Esteri

R O M A

2. Quin és segons l'ambaixador italià el problema fonamental de la República? D'on prové l'impuls de canvi?
3. Quines opcions polítiques es van presentar a les eleccions del 12 d'abril i quina va guanyar?
4. A què fa referència amb l'expressió "l'ex República Catalana"?

21 de maig de 1931

Carta de Sir G.Grahame (ambaixada britànica) a Mr. A. Henderson (*Foreign Office*).

Madrid, May 15, 1931

Sir,

I left Madrid for Barcelona on the evening of the 10th instant (...)

My impression was that Señor Macia was extremely popular, even among the advanced elements, owing to his championship of Catalonian interests. Although this latter fact has its disquieting dies for the future, his influence doubtless contributes at present to the maintenance of order. It is a long time since anyone in power in Barcelona has possessed the popularity and authority which he enjoys, and this is a favourable factor.

George Grahame

5. Què destaca l'ambaixador d'en Macià? Ho considera positiu? Per què?

Fitxa 17

EL REFERÈNDUM SOBRE L'ESTATUT D'AUTONOMIA (AGOST DE 1931).

14 d'agost de 1931

Carta de l'ambaixador britànic (Sir G.Grahame) al secretari del *Foreign Office* (Arthur Henderson).¹⁹

Sir, The final figures of the plebiscite in favour of the Catalan Statute which took place on August 2 have now been published.

(...)

2. This total represents approximately 73 per cent of the electorate and 99 per cent of the votes cast.

3. Sr. Macià, on leaving Barcelona yesterday with the Catalan deputies to present the Statute formally to the Head of the Provisional Government, issued a manifesto in which declared that he and his companions were going to Madrid with open arms and hoped the Government would receive them with the same cordiality. Sr. Alcalá Zamora, on his side, speaking yesterday to the representatives of the press, dwelt on the warmth of his personal friendship for Sr. Macià and his optimism regarding the question of the Catalan Statute.

4. Meanwhile the Government have taken unusual precautions to prevent any demonstration against the Catalan Deputies on their journey to Madrid.

I Have the honour...

George Grahame.

Activitats:

1. Què van votar els catalans el 2 d'agost de 1931? Com s'havia gestat?
2. Quin fou el resultat del plebiscit?
3. Què faltava per a què aquell Estatut fos aplicat? Què va succeir en realitat?

¹⁹ PRO, FO 371/15775, page 17

Fitxa 18
EL DEBAT SOBRE EL VOT FEMENÍ.

5 d'octubre de 1931

Carta de l'ambaixada britànica a Madrid al *Foreign Office*.²⁰

My Lord

The Constituent Cortes in its sitting of October 1st accepted by 160 votes to 121 the principle of equal suffrage for both sexes from the age of 23.

2. The debate was curiously superficial. The Nationalists, mostly adherents of the late General Primo de Rivera, the Progressist, Republicans of the Right led by Sr. Alcalá Zamora, the Socialists and Catalans supported the measure as a point of doctrine.

Opposition, which came from the Republican and Radical groups, was based almost entirely on the fear of clerical influence. Doña Victoria Kent, one of the two women (Radical Republican) deputies, voted against the measure as premature.

3. Sr. Prieto. Socialist Minister of Finance, is reported as having exclaimed that the grant of equal suffrage to both sexes was a stab in the back of the Republic.

*I have the honour to be, My Lord, with great truth and respect,
Your most obedient, humble Servant,*

George Grahame.

Activitats:

1. Què van aprovar les Corts republicanes l'1 d'octubre de 1931?
2. Qui hi estava a favor i qui en contra? Per quines raons?

²⁰ PRO, FO 371/15775, page 140.

Fitxa 19

LA PROCLAMACIÓ DE L'ESTAT CATALÀ (6 D'OCTUBRE DE 1934).

19 d'octubre de 1934

Carta del consolat italià de Barcelona a l'ambaixada d'Itàlia a Madrid.²¹

Signor Incaricato d'Affari,

La strepitosa caduta della Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya e di tutti i partiti ad essa alleati e l'arresto dei loro dirigenti ha provocato, con lo smembramento dei diversi organi del potere autonomico e di quello amministrativo, una situazione talmente caotica per cui risulta difficile, se non impossibile, fare alcuna seria ipotesi circa la sua soluzione.

Paralizzate dal grave colpo ricevuto il 6 ottobre, non si può prevedere se ed in quale misura le sinistre catalane avranno la forza di reagire alla tendenza anti-autonomista già nettamente delineatasi a Madrid e della quale sono principali esponenti il Sig. Gil Robles ed il Ministro Anguera de Sojo. Vero è che la Lliga Catalana, rimasta dopo la disfatta delle forze di sinistra, l'unico partito politico che possa contare con una certa influenza sull'opinione pubblica catalana, ha già cominciato, sebbene molto timidamente, a riprendere le sue antiche posizioni di paladino della catalanità e delle prerogative regionali. La sua azione però appare seriamente ostacolata dal timore di una dittatura militare, timore che in questi momenti è un po' nel cuore di tutti, e soprattutto dal pericolo dei dissidi interni che si sono ultimamente manifestati nel suo seno.(...)
(...)

Activitats:

1. Per què havia “estrepitosament caigut ERC i els seus aliats” i els seus dirigents estaven arrestats?
2. Què havia passat en els ajuntaments i en el Govern catalans? Quina tendència s'esbossa en la política del govern espanyol? Qui mana a Madrid? Des de quan?
3. Què havia representat la Lliga des de 1931? Quin paper podia jugar ara?

²¹ Sèrie *Affari politici 1931-1945, Spagna n°6 (1934)*

Fitxa 20
EL COP D'ESTAT DEL 18 DE JULIOL.

6 de juliol de 1936

Telegrama del cònsol italià a Barcelona al govern italià²².

Comunico ad ogni buon fine e con dovute riserve di aver saputo ieri da capitano Sanjurjo figlio del noto generale residente a Estoril che salvo mutamenti dell'ultima ora avrebbe inizio nei prossimi giorni movimento insurrezionale dell'esercito per rovesciare attuale regime ed instaurare dittatura militare.

Dirigenti del movimento – che sarebe rapido e violento – prevedono avere cinquanta probabilita su cento di riuscita: essi avrebbero preferito rinviarlo ancora per curarne meglio la preparazioni ma pensano che ulteriore proroga renderebbe esito ancora piu incerto.

Capitano Sanjurjo partito oggi in automobile per Estoril ove sara entro dieci corrente. In caso riuscita movimento potere sarebbe affidato a generale Ssanjurjo.

Da altra fonte mi e confermato scoppio movimento insurrezionale per prossimi giorni, che sarebbe limitato a l'inizio a tutte le guarnigioni del nord della Spagna, con attiva collaborazione guardia civile. Formazione della Renovación Española sarebbero largamente implicate nel tentativo insurrezionale.

Bossi

Activitats:

1. Per què és conegut el general Sanjurjo?
2. Quin objectiu es plantejava la sublevació militar? Tenia el suport d'algun partit polític? De cap més, que tu coneguis?
3. Com seria el cop? Què vol dir això?
4. Explica si les previsions expressades en aquest telegrama s'acabarien produint.

²² Sèrie BCN-35/ "Sist. Politico.Dencàs. Partenza consolato".

Fitxa 21

La revolució. Les col·lectivitzacions.

28 d'octubre de 1936
Telegrama del cònsol britànic a Barcelona, Mr.King, al *Foreign Office* via almirallat²³.

Decree published today announcing collectivization of all industries, national and foreign, employing 100 workmen on 30th June 1936. Report follows.

Activitats:

1. Què fa saber al govern britànic aquest telegrama?
2. Completa aquesta informació sobre el decret de col·lectivitzacions d'octubre de 1936.

22 de febrer de 1938
Del Cònsol General en funcions Vaughan a Mr. Anthony Eden, del *Foreign Office*²⁴.

Catalan legislation for the collectivisation of industry.

*British Consulate General,
Caldetas, Barcelona,
16th February 1938.*

*Sir,
(...)*

The Generality continue to intervene businesses on various grounds (...)

Collectivisation in Catalonia has been, up to the present, largely anarcho-syndicalist in its conceptions, but communism is now beginning to assert itself. The idea of each factory being owned and run by its own workmen is anarchist. It becomes syndicalist when all the factories and enterprises in one trade are taken over by their employees and run as a joint concern by the Trades Union or Syndicate itself. Communism begins to creep in when the State asserts itself against the Trade Unions, by claiming ownership of the factories and businesses, or at any rate a large measure of control over them.

Certain trades in Catalonia have since the Revolution been turn on Syndicalist lines, especially those trades where the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union were strongest. The most notorious case of this was the tramways, undergrounds and buses of Barcelona. Other instances are those of the building trades, the entertainment industry (cinemas, theatres and music halls) and the catering or "gastronomic" industry (restaurants, cafes, bars and hotels). There are several other instances, the system of amalgamating various concerns in ons trade under control of the Syndicate being known as "agrupación" or grouping together.

The communist reaction is now setting in, as the Generality have intervened the three last "agrupaciones" mentioned, appointing a Commission to supervise each of them. The building trades appear to have welcomed Government intervention. (...)

²³ PRO, T 160/686, file 14830

²⁴ PRO, FO 371/22670

3. Quants tipus de col·lectivització distingeix el cònsol britànic? Què les distingeix?
4. Quin ha estat fins ara la línia predominant? Què està passant ara?

Fitxa 22
Les Brigades Internacionals.

Mr. William Bogle.
9 Seacroft Road
Knotty Ash.
Liverpool 14.
26/4/1937.

3 MAYO 1937

Dear Sir

I had an interview with the Spanish
Consul in Liverpool and he told me
to write to you straight away without
delay. Dear Sir my son William
John Bogle went out to Spain to
fight in the British International
Brigade there his chap name Aberphy
wrote home to his wife to say my
son William John Bogle his Dead.
I am writing to see if you can find
out any news about my son has we are
in anxiety about him. Dear Sir I
beg of you to let me know has soon
has you can. I don't know what made
him go out to Spain he had a good
home and father and mother I served
in the last war myself in a British
bussie under a gentleman in the name
of Sir Bertram Hayes. Dear Sir I hope
you will not fail me. and I hope you will
make some enquiries about him.

I Remain Yours Faithfully
Mr William Bogle.

~~Mr. Bogle Esq., M.V.O.,
Acting British Consul,
Madrid.~~

Consolat Britànic, València
Registret el 26 de Maig de 1937

17.5.37
5 Hospital Road
Colchester
Essex
England

To Mr. H.C.Brooks

Dear Sir,

Please forgive the liberty I am taking in writing to you, I saw your name as Consul of Alicante, Spain, in connection with the meneral (sic) of the British destroyer Hunter; my object in writing to you is, my boy Michael Patton aged 17 has been serving with the international Brigade since January, a month ago he applied for repatriation, but so far as I can gather from his letters, it seems very difficult for him to get home. Could you as British Consul do anything to facilitate his return, I should explain that when he was sent to Spain he gave his age as 19 to the Communist Party in London who were responsible for sending him to Spain, owing to my sons real age which he only admitted when he was already in Spain, I am told he was given a safe job at the base, My son tells me that he has been in several air raids which does not seem to me to be a very safe place where ever he is, the address I am allowed to write is as follows.

*Michael Patton
Socorro Rojo
Plaza del Altazone (sic)
Albacete
Spain*

Spanish Refugees are leaving Spain for England would it be possible for you to arrange that he should be allowed to leave too with as little delay as possible, I am naturally very anxious for him to return, he is my only child and I am quite alone, I should be very grateful indeed, If you could do anything to help him.

Yours faithfully

M.Weaving

Activitats:

1. Què tenen en comú aquestes dues cartes de particulars?
2. En què difereixen?

Fitxa 23

Els bombardeigs aeris feixistes de població civil (1936-1939).

4 d'abril de 1939
Mesures de protecció de guerra. Lliçons de Barcelona.

Letter

*Sir Philip Game
Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis,
New Scotland Yard,
S.W.1*

4th April, 1939

*Dear Sir Philip Game,
I venture to send you a copy of a short screed which I wrote as a result of my investigations in Spain last spring. I hope it may interest you for although it was written a year ago it still has, I think, a bearing on the colossal problem with which we are all faced here in London.
(...)*

Yours sincerely,

*N.de P. MacRoberts.
Major.
Air Raid Precautions Officer.*

Commissioner's reply to letter letter from ARP Officer, St. Pancras

*Major N. de P. MacRoberts, Dso, Mc,
Air Raid Precautions Officer,
Metropolitan Borough of St.Pancras.*

13th April, 1939

Dear Major Roberts,

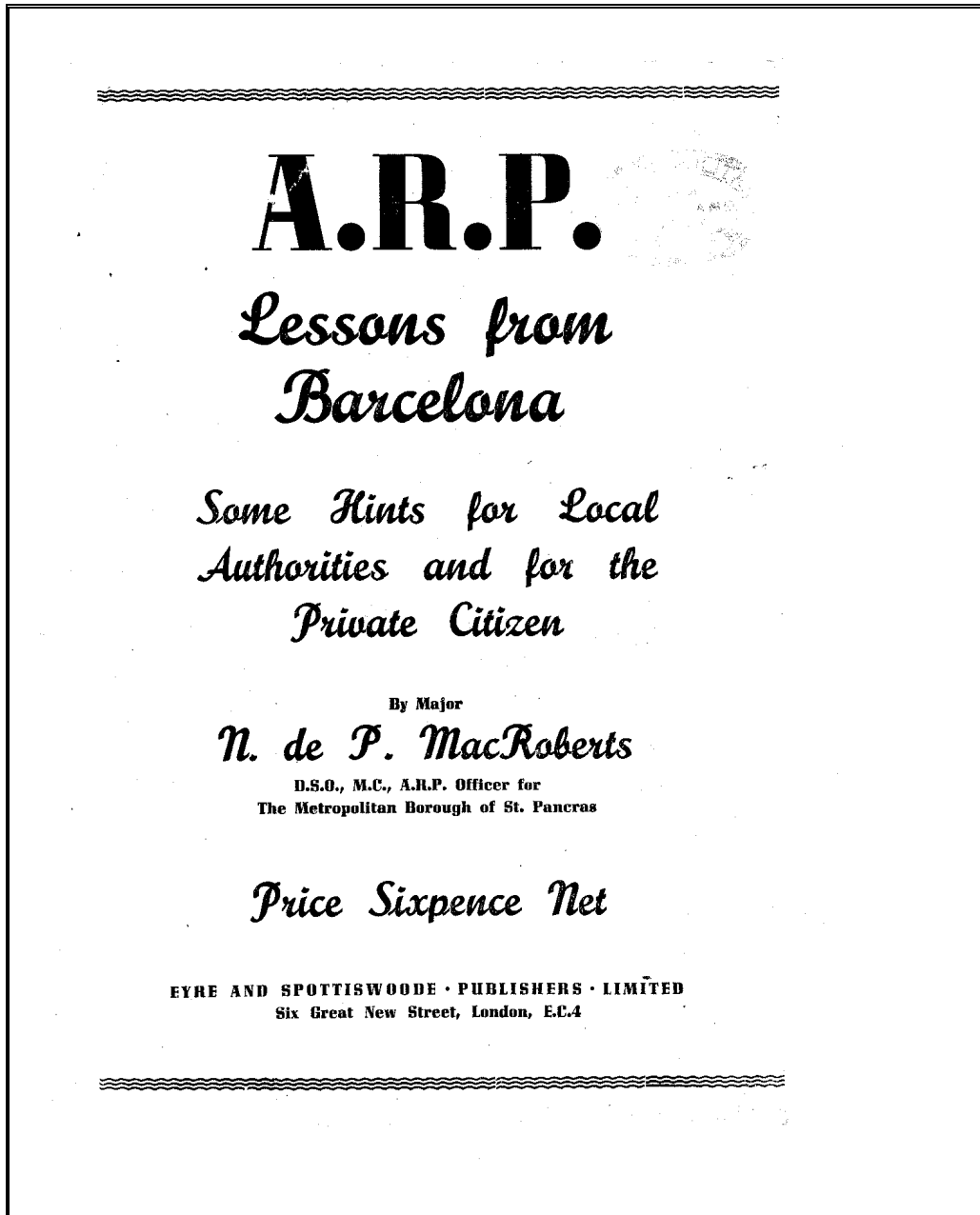
(...)

I was very interested too in your pamphlet on the lesson from Barcelona. (...) Somehow or other we have got to make everybody realise the truth of your final conclusions in Chapter 13 – no easy job.

Again many thanks,

*Yours sincerely,
Philip Game.*

Pamphlet²⁵ A.R.P., Lessons from Barcelona. Some hints for local authorities and for the private citizen. By Major N. de P. MacRoberts. London, s.d., Eyre & Spottiswoode. (*Prefaci signat el maig del 1938.*)



Preface

As one of the Air Raid Precautions officers for the Metropolitan area of London, the writer was accorded the privilege in April of this year of inspecting under actual war conditions the air raid precautions plans of one of the great cities of Spain – Barcelona.

²⁵ Llibret imprès de 31 pàgines. London, Eyre&Spottiswoode, 1938.

Even now as these lines are written Barcelona is being subjected to the terrible ordeal of mass terrorism from the air.

During the course of my visit I was given full opportunity of investigations every aspect of the passive defence measures of the city as organised by the Municipal Authorities to meet the emergency of aerial attack.

(...)

Finally I wish to pay my tribute to the great mass of the non-politically minded, harmless, and peaceful citizens of Barcelona who inevitably have been drawn into this maelstrom of civil war under the terrible conditions imposed upon them by the modern instruments of war. Their courage and fortitude under the mass terrorism of aerial attack will remain a lasting memory.

May, 1938.

Chapter I

Military Objectives

(...) When the Prime Minister recently expressed publicly his horror and disgust at the ruthless and senseless destruction of human life as a result of the aerial bombardment of Barcelona, the reply received from the Nationalist Commander-in-Chief was to the effect that while he recognised the humanitarian motives which inspired this protest and regretted the loss of innocent lives, nevertheless, the city constituted an important military object owing to the number of factories, industrial undertakings, and military concerns. He would continue to endeavour to restrict aerial activity in towns and would employ only such means when military necessity left no alternative.

Such then is the considered opinion of a military commander bent on bringing his campaign to a speedy and successful conclusion.

It will be the endeavour of the writer in these pages to show that the aerial bombardment of great centres of population is not, and never can be, a true military objective, provided the inhabitants have taken adequate means to organise their passive defence and also provided the Nation's Active Defence is of such overwhelming strength as to neutralise such forms of attack.

From recent experience in Spain, the results –the military results achieved from the aerial bombardment- have in no way proved themselves to be worthy of major strategical consideration.

Surely nothing but decisive military results can justify a commander in making a wholesale onslaught on the defenceless population of a great city.

Looking at the problem from the purely military and therefore cold-blooded point of view, no results have been achieved by the bombing of great cities which might in any way be considered as commensurate with the risks a commander takes in detaching part of his air force for an excursion of this description.

If the objective is solely to terrorise the civil population into submission, it has been abundantly proved that no matter how intense the bombardment, the morale of the whole of the population of a city cannot be broken –provided, of course, that passive defence measures have been properly organised. The reason is that an attack of this nature is entirely local and confined to the immediate vicinity of the point of impact of the bombs. The area of attack in the case of Barcelona, covered a potential target of forty square miles. There has been no stampede in mass of the whole of a nerve-racked population. No wild and unreasoned panic. No terrible and uncontrolled hysteria and certainly no thought of beseeching the Government to seek an immediate and unconditional peace.

If these were the military objective aimed at, they have been proved to be unattainable. Humanity is simply not built that way.

If the objectives were those of a military character –munition works, petrol dumps, armouries, and barracks, then in no single instance were any of these targets destroyed. If again the object was the paralysing of industry and the complete breakdown of the essential services of transport, water, electric light, and gas, no success was gained. There has been, it is true, a momentary disorganisation, but owing to the very effective plans which were put into operation by the municipal authorities, temporary repairs of essential services have been completed often in less than an hour after a bomb had dropped.(...)

The organisation of the essential services of Barcelona by the Municipal Authorities is one which calls for the highest praise and will be described more fully in succeeding chapters.

It must be admitted that a great deal of very serious damage has been inflicted by air bombing, but it has been entirely localised and confined to the radius of a few yards of the exploded bomb. There has been no complete obliteration of a whole sector of the town or even of any particular street. (...)

Apart of the mere lust for the slaughter of innocent men, women, and children which no sane man attributes to an astute General Staff intent on bringing the campaign to an end as quickly as possible, the aerial bombardment of a great city has in no way been justified by any tangible military results.

The true objectives of war remain unaltered and unaffected as a results of the experience of the bombing of the civil population in Spain.

The defeat of the enemy's field armies, domination in the air, command of the seas, are and always must be the main objectives.(...)

Chapter II

Barcelona. Aerial attack on a great city.

Material and Psychological effects.

The normal population of Barcelona is about 1,200,000 people, but owing to the steady influx of large numbers of refugees during the early months of 1938, the population has steadily increased until the beginning of April it is estimated that it had reached the altogether disproportionate figure of 1,500,000.

This unexpected and unprepared for inrush of refugees has added untold additional complications and responsibilities to the already much harassed Civic Authorities – especially as regards the provision of sufficient supplies of food and adequate air raid shelter accommodation.

From our point of view in England, this problem of food distribution is of greater importance... (...) More riots and general panic can be started by muddling, disorganisation and consequent breakdown in food supplies than any by an air raid. The shadow of starvation has been hanging over the population of Barcelona for six months, and although the advent of spring has alleviated the situation to some extent, it is still in an acute state and tends to sap the morale of the people.

A well-fed population has little to fear from air attack when properly organised in passive defence measures; it is the ration cards and the long unending queues at the food stores which create a danger in time of war.(...)

Material destruction

(...)

Air raids over the city reached their climax, however, during the period of 16th, 17th, and 18th of last March. Republican resources of active forms of defence were quite unable to cope with the Nationalist attacks. With a limited number of interceptor machines the Republican General Staff was reluctant to dissipate their air force by withdrawing certain of their squadrons from their field armies to come to the support of the sorely pressed inhabitants if this great city lying behind their lines.

In the brief space of forty-eight hours some sixty Nationalist aeroplanes bombed the city intermittently. The attacks were carried out in formation flights in groups of six. They attacked by day as well as by night, and from Majorca in the east as well as from the west.

Frequently the attackers synchronised their attacks to meet over the city and thus increase the force of bombardment. They flew at such great heights –20,000 feet- that the Republican anti-aircraft guns became inaccurate and ineffective.

Again at night, in order to gain the maximum of surprise effect, the attacking aeroplanes shut off their engines before reaching the city and zoomed down silently without warning to launch their deadly missiles. (...), while to produce the maximum of cumulative effect bombs were dropped in pairs and groups of four (...)

It must be remembered that during the whole period of this sustained attack on this helpless city there was no active defence in the air. The Nationalist had seized the initiative in the field, and every Republican aeroplane was required to support their field armies. (...) Many lessons can be drawn from a situation of this kind. The morale of a people is sorely tried when no sign of active defence measures are visible.

(...)

In spite of the incessant raids of 16th-18th March, although death and material destruction was serious, it cannot be conceded as being in any sense decisive.

With every advantage on the side of the attackers and with no active defence to dispute their raids, the results cannot be considered as satisfactory from a military point of view. World condemnation was aroused to such a pitch that no army with chivalrous intent could ignore it, and in the light of history this is by no means a negligible factor. There was no cutting of communications either by rail or road, no arrest of internal traffic save for the periods of the raids, and no serious interruption of the essential services of light, water and gas which could not be temporarily repaired in a short time. The following is a brief summary of damage and destruction during forty-eight hours:

60 attacking aeroplanes dropped 41 tones of explosives, 350 explosions being counted.

1,000 people were killed.

1,700 people were injured.

48 large buildings were totally destroyed.

100 buildings were partially destroyed, including 16 theatres and cinemas.

Neither in material damage nor on the score of morale can any decisive results be credited to the attackers.

Was it really worth while?

Chapter III

Psychological reactions.

It takes a lot to still the life of a great city. It may pause momentarily, but its pulse quickly reasserts itself. During the periods of air attack, and in an abstract sense it is a continual struggling for supremacy. For although death intervenes with grim and

dramatic suddenness, nevertheless men and women must still go on living. Hunger and thirst urge on humanity to survive in spite of all.

(...) They prefer to risk the possibility of death rather than be separated from life as they know it.

In aerial attack death and destruction arrive in an instant. Whether by day or night, without warning men, women, and children are hurled into eternity.

Life verily hangs by a thread.

This is perhaps the supreme characteristic of mass terrorism from the air against the defenceless population of a great city.

Incidents innumerable may be cited to bear out this unanswerable fact.

A queue of people waiting patiently to be issued with their meagre ration of food outside a food store, only to be annihilated by the burst of an unexpected bomb. At the same spot, a fresh queue forming up to await imperturbably their issue of food a few hours later.

AT one cross-road, three public vehicles with their passengers destroyed in an instant. Sitting on the terrace of a particular café, the customers were lifted off their seats by the blast of a relatively distant bomb, the waiters rushed out to politely help them to their feet, and soon drinking and talking were resumed. At another café alas! Waiters and customers perished together.

A married man, loaded with parcels to take home to his wife and family, tried to board an approaching tram; it was too crowded and he was left standing, only to see the same tram further down the street obliterated in smoke and dust.

A great block of flats in the residential quarter, where its occupants on each floor were carrying on their normal occupations. Suddenly the whole of one side of the building was torn away, the stairways as well, to leave men, women, and children clinging precariously to window-ledges, there to be rescued by the fire brigade ladders.

Yet even during the night of the most terrible raids on the city couples were seen sitting on the benches of one of the city squares in tender embrace, oblivious in their happiness to the vileness of mankind. Truly love is stronger than death.

The mental effects of such amazing and terrible happenings varied as they must according to the temperament of the individual. (...)

(...)

The great mass of the harmless and inoffensive citizens of Barcelona, without any bias of strong political views either way or the other-who have only asked to be allowed to continue their natural and legitimate occupations of work and industry, have been drawn helplessly and inevitably into the whirlpool of this terrible form of internecine warfare. And yet they have faced up to the ordeal of air-terrorism with a courage and endurance which should hold the admiration of the world.

Chapter V

Air raids warnings.

(...)

In Barcelona the Military Active Defence Headquarters warns the Municipal Control Headquarters, Electric Power Stations, and Public Utility Companies by telephone of impending attack, special lines being kept clear, with switchboard operators on duty night night and day. The alarm is then sounded on the roof of

Control Headquarters, and this is taken up in turn by the hand manipulated Strombos horns and battery-charged electric sirens which are in position on the roofs of buildings

situated at not more than ten blocks from each other-roughly one mile apart. Men are on duty at these points night and day.

The actual "noise" created is most deafening and quite distinctive, as an alarm it is entirely satisfactory, but it is unreliable because of the delay in initiating the warning from the Military Headquarters. Any delay in the soundings of an alarm has a distinct influence on the whole A.R.P. organisation. Not knowing if a raid has actually started, the inhabitants have no indication of how much time they have at their disposal to reach their underground shelters. In consequence, there has been frequently an unnecessary rush on the part of people caught in the streets.

In Barcelona is considered that the refuge must be reached in a matter of seconds, not minutes. This presupposes the immediate proximity of the air raid shelter to the habitation.

(...)

Chapter VI

Organisation of essential services.

The municipal organisation of Barcelona for the protection of the civil population and the maintenance of essential services during an aerial attack, has been very well organised within the limits of the time and material at the disposal of the municipal authorities. Hasty improvisations have had to be adopted in view of the general state of unpreparedness existing before the outbreak of the civil war.

(...)

Supreme authority for "Defensa Passiva" in Barcelona has been vested in the Lord Mayor of the City, who, in turn, has delegated certain of his responsibilities to his various councillors and officials.

The councillors at the head of the various departments of the organisation are few in number.

One councillor has been placed in supreme charge of the whole passive defence organisation and under him are three councillors, one responsible for the air raid wardens, another for all medical arrangements, and a third for the construction of refugees, rescue work, and the essential services. Under these again are the permanent officials responsible for executive action in each case.

Passive Defence Control Headquarters is situated at the Town Hall. It exercises supreme authority over all civic activities as well as public utility companies during the period of a raid. The military and police are also placed at the disposal of the city as and when required.

Needless to say, discipline of the strictest and most exacting description has had to be observed by all citizens during the period of an alarm. The air raid warden, for example exercises his authority only from the time that the alarm is sounded until the "All Clear"-but during that period his orders are absolute.

(...)

Chapter VII

Lighting and traffic arrangements during an air raid.

The whole city has been in a perpetual state of darkness at night for months past. All road traffic signals and every street lamp has been extinguished. Black blinds and shutters hide the interior illuminations of the buildings. All sky lights are similarly screened. Only at the railway station is any form of outside illumination permitted, and here lamps are subdued by blue glass.

Motor traffic –all of which is under military control (there are no private motor-cars un Government Spain)- train and tram services are permitted, however, to use full illumination at night. There is no attempt to screen head lights. It is felt that the resultant slowing down of traffic and general disorganisation would not merit this additional precaution.

At the same time, it is quite obvious that the stream of illuminated road traffic converging on a great city at night must be a certain guide to aircraft. On an alarm sounding all electric current is switched off, trams remains stationary, and motor-cars dim their lights.

There is another aspect of electricity supply with which the authorities have been faced, which is not directly concerned with passive defence. Owing to the fact that certain power stations at Tremp and in the mountains to the west of Barcelona have fallen into the hands of the Nationalist, electric current has had to be severely rationed. Frequently the military authorities take over the electrical supply as well as the telephone service, But these are merely incidental annoyances which the inhabitants of any large city must expect under war conditions.

Chapter VIII

The air raid wardens

(As in England and in Germany, so in Spain) the Air Raid Wardens plays the leading and most important role in the whole of the voluntary organisation connected with the protection of the population during an air raid.

The police take no part in interfering with the people in this respect. The municipal authorities are adamant on this matter. (...) Experienced has shown that the Air Raid Wardens, when carefully selected, perform their duties of shepherding the inhabitants to their refuges in an emergency quite effectively and efficiently, without the inevitable dragooning which they maintain is associated with police methods. The general public are in no mood for bullying when an air raid is expected. They want advice and help, but it must be given in a friendly and voluntary manner. For that reason Air Raid warden in Spain wear no uniform, although they carry a distinctive brassard on the arm. This does not means, however, that the Air Raid Warden exercises no authority. He does, and in the very strictest sense, but his powers last only from the sounding of the air raid warning until the "All Clear", when he lapses once more to the status of an ordinary citizen. Everyone recognises this brief authority as an essential part of the whole organisation; his word and advice, therefore, are never disputed.

This is an interesting sidelight on the civic organisation of a war-city, and as such it calls for further examination.

The Air Raid Warden service in Barcelona is entirely voluntary, but selective, and there is no dearth of recruits. It is in the hands of men only, women taking no active part. The type of man chosen is usually of middle age, the guiding principle being that he is well known and respected in his own immediate neighbourhood. (...)

As a result of experience, the population are by now thoroughly well trained in the precautions they must adopt. They know the location of their particular refuge and how to get there.

(...) On an alarm sounding, the wardens proceed at once to their respective refuges for duty. The number of Wardens on duty at any public refuge being dependent on the size of this refuge and the number of exits and entrances.

No.1 stands at the entrance guiding people in, while No.2 shepherds the people along to their proper places. A system of patrol of the streets during a raid id also carried out by the Street Wardens. This is a perilous job on occasion, but it is undertaken willingly.

The danger of people being trapped under a building is ever present, and as soon as a message has been received for help at the Town Hall the rescue parties go out at once, air raid or not.

This is indeed the essence of the whole of the air raid precautions of Barcelona. It has become a tradition of service and as such it goes a long way to keep the morale of the people from breaking, for they know that, come what may, help will be brought to them. They will not be deserted in their hour of peril.

Chapter IX

The dominating problem of passive defence: the air raid shelter.

(...)

Judging from the correspondence columns in the newspapers, some very dangerous misconceptions exist in the minds of many of the civil population, who are being led to believe that the supreme menace in an air raid is poison gas.

The question of the poison gas, therefore, can never be separated from the overriding need for protection against the high-explosive bomb.

(...)

The really serious point is that the population at large may be led to believe that if they possess no underground shelter, any room on the ground floor will be suitable as a gas-proof room, providing its windows are protected from the blast and splinter effects of high explosive bombs by means of sandbags or boxes of earth.

If there is one single fact that stands out stark and clear as result of the air raids in Spain it is that there is no protection for a civil population from the blast effects of H.E. unless they are in underground shelters. It means simply this: "Get under ground". There can be no compromise. If we are even one foot below the surface we are safe from blast effects.

(...)

Even to-day, broadly speaking, the knowledge of the effects of high explosives is not an exact science, for although the range of poison gases suitable for war purposes is definitely known, the limit of discovery in the laboratory of new types of high explosives is still an unknown factor.

The violent pulsation of the atmosphere –in others words, the blast effect, which is created as a result of the radiation of pressure waves from the centre of the point of explosion- in our present stage of scientific analysis can only be described as capricious and freakish so difficult is it to estimate the lethal range of action of these pressure waves and waves of rarefaction.

The writer observed a crater made by a percussion bomb in one of the street of Barcelona, and although the walls of a nearby building thirty feet away were severely damaged, yet a lamp-post standing on the lip of the crater remained undamaged with glass intact.

The type of H.E. which has been used with most devastating effect in Spain is a percussion bomb bursting on impact. Made of light metal in weight from 100-250 kilogram, it has no serious crater effects; in many instances the craters were but a few inches in depth, but the blast effect has been such as to demolish the walls of a building in a lessening degree to a radius of as much as sixty yards from the point of explosion. On the other hand, the important and, from our point of view, the vital factor to remember is that the pressure waves –the blast- only radiates over the surface of the ground from a percussion bomb. There is no violent underground tremors –no seismic effects. The damage is all above ground, hence the supreme importance of underground

shelters. Underground we are safe, and a seven-foot deep trench in our backyard is just as effective, and probably more so, than a great strongly constructed basement shelter, because in any form of cellar or basement accommodation there is the additional factor to be taken into consideration of the ability of the roof of the basement to support the weight of the total collapse of the building overhead, and under the very worst conditions the total concentration of a load may reach a maximum of two tons per square yard.

The other type of H.E. bomb which has been used with varying success in Spain is what is known as the armour-piercing delay-action bomb. It must be...

(...)

(...) let us consider the protective measures which have been found effective in Spain and which we in London must consider calmly and authoritatively.(...)

London with its numbers of residential streets each containing a series of basement areas, should well be able to provide ample accommodation; added to this will have to be considered the adaptation of various tube stations and also the construction of permanent underground shelters in our London squares and open spaces which lie in close proximity to the inhabitants who will have to use them.

The provision of shelters in close proximity to the men, women and children who have to use them is a postulation which can concede no argument. People should be able to reach their shelters quickly but without panic. It is matter of seconds not minutes. For that reason shelters in the middle of Hyde Park would be impracticable, yet shelters under the great squares in London would be suitable, but only for those living in the immediate neighbourhood.

(...)

The writer was the privileged in being permitted to inspect many different types of underground shelters which have been constructed by the Civil Engineers in Barcelona. In their early attempts they admit they were in error by constructing concrete partitions as traverses to protect the people in the different sections of the shelter. Concrete no matter how thick in width will not stand up to lateral explosive effect of a percussion bomb or of an armour-piercing bomb which ill luck had cause to pierce the roof of a shelter and explode in one particular section of the area. There is not the same "cushion" resistance to blast in concrete walls as in good old mother earth.

The Barcelona engineers in charge of the construction of the municipal underground shelters consider that the traverse should consist of twenty feet of solid earth. (...)

Two main principles have guided the Spanish civil engineers in the construction of their refugees –conformation of the ground and the proximity of the shelters to those who have to use them. In one particular shelter which was inspected in the working class district near the docks, a great high bank of earth sixty feet high lent itself admirably to conversion.

The necessity for stair-ways did not arise and galleries were simply driven into the face of the cliff from the street level and linked up inside. A constant current of air was possible and so ventilation presented no problem. In this particular shelter it was possible to accommodate 4,000 people.

In the largest shelters which were visited, accommodation was provided for from 3,000 to 4,000 people in each, but provision for such large numbers was only possible because the principle of wide earth traverses was observed, otherwise a direct hit from a bomb would have meant an holocaust.

Many interesting features were noted during my inspection of the various types of shelters which were shown to me by my technical friends.

The solid earth blast cushions at each entrance to a shelter level with the ground – nothing should project above ground level- was an important feature, in order to prevent the explosive wave currents from a bomb bursting at an entrance extending along any of the galleries.

The number of emergency exits –usually four in number- one at each corner of the square. The system of illumination: first main electrical supply, an emergency battery supply, and as a last resort little oil lamps let into alcoves in the walls. Provision for the installation of air locks in the event of poison gas being used.

Porous bricks which were used to face the walls of the galleries and so absorb humidity. Alcoves in the walls for water and food. Special compartments set aside as first-aid posts and latrines. Notice boards, with clear instruction for the behaviour of everyone during their occupation of the shelter.

Iron gates at each entrance to be closed when the shelter was full.

The width of the stair-way entrance was never less than ten feet, while hand-rails down each side were also provided. Then again in some shelters permanent seating accommodation was provided, while in others it was “standing room only”. In one particular shelter it was noted that each occupant had his own definite seat allotted to him –his number being clearly indicated on the wall. Apart from the great public shelters and those which had been dug into the streets in March by the desperate inhabitants who had found themselves without shelter, the whole of the underground basement accommodation of the city has been taken over as shelters each one according to its size, giving refuge to those who required it and who lived in close proximity thereto.

The “Metro” Refugio

The underground railway stations throughout Barcelona were universally used as refuges, although they were barely ten feet below ground level. In many instances, old people, women, and children, who were unwilling to risk living in their own homes, had taken up permanent residence, only leaving the safety of the underground station to cook their food –their men folk joined them there at the conclusion of the day’s work. The main service in the “Metro” ceased at 10 p.m. nightly.

Owing to many unforeseen circumstances the municipal authorities of Barcelona have in certain cases found difficulty in completing some of their shelters. Supplies of cement and iron girders for ferro concrete construction have not always been available. The problem of man-power has interrupted progress, while as has been reported in the Press, the inhabitants of certain of the crowded streets who found themselves without any underground shelters, took matters into their own hands and dug down into the streets. Water mains and cables were damaged, traffic was disorganised and had to be diverted and the authorities were at their wits’ end to control this entirely unexpected phase of aerial bombardment.

The lesson to be learnt from the experience of the Spanish cities is that all these measures of protection which require careful thought and preparatory plans, must not be delayed until we are confronted with the inevitability of war.

If hopeless confusion and panic are to be avoided these things must be done in the clam and considered atmosphere of peace.

Chapter X

The organisation of an air raid shelter

(...)

A notice board is displayed in each shelter giving instructions as to the behaviour of everyone: To speak quietly, not to make a noise, to pay attention to cleanliness and sanitation, to move quietly to the place allotted. The name of the Warden in command is prominently displayed and in the street above, large arrows indicate the location of the nearest shelter.

In many of the large shelters it has been found possible and advisable to actually reserve accommodation for each and everyone who has the right to use the shelter. This has been done by issuing a card with a number to every person entitled to use the shelter. The particular entrance which he must use is indicated on his card, as well as the number of the seat which he must occupy.

There is a lot to recommend such a system. It does away to a large extent with panic overcrowding at any particular point. It also relieves the mind of anyone who for some reason may be late in arriving. He knows that under any circumstances his place will be reserved for him.

In one particular square of the city in the residential quarter, the tenants had engaged an architect to draw up plans for the construction of a shelter under the square. The plans were submitted to the Town Hall for approval and the Municipal authorities assisted by supplying certain material and labour free of charge. A general rate was levied among the tenants of the square to defray their share of the cost.

In this instance also each occupant of the square had his own place reserved for him in the shelter. (...)

If the mass of the population know that they have their shelter, there is little inclination to leave their homes and the problem of an evacuation is reduced to measurable proportions.

Chapter XIII

Final conclusions

(...)

As a summary of the lessons to be learnt from Spain (...) unquestionably the distribution of food must take precedence over everything, and local authorities must embody in their plans the detailed instructions which may affect them in this connection as they are received from the Government.

Again, as has been pointed out in the preceding pages, when air raid shelters are constructed they must be in absolute proximity to the people who have to use them. The organisation of the shelter itself is a most valuable lesson which Spain has taught us and also the fact that the mass of the population who have to use public shelters have each their reserved seats to occupy. Although this may not be a practical proposition throughout the whole of the thickly populated areas of London, nevertheless it is an ideal to be aimed at.

The Warden's Mandate Card with his photo attached is also an interesting and intelligent solution to the problem of spurious identification.

The distribution of power stations into smaller units is an obvious matter which doubtless is being considered by the Central Electricity Board.

Perhaps enough has already been said about the importance of underground shelters, but this cannot be over-estimated; it is fundamental.

(...)

Activitats:

1. Esbrina quin bàndol de la guerra civil bombardejà població civil i si també ho féu l'altra. Busca si hi ha alguns precedents històrics.
2. Per què la policia britànica es preocupa del què havia succeït a Catalunya?
3. Quan van ser els bombardeigs més intensius i mortífers a Barcelona?
4. Opinió i valoració de l'autor sobre el fet de bombardejar ciutats com a objectiu militar.
5. Explica les següents situacions:
 - a. Refugiats
 - b. Distribució d'aliments
 - c. Morts pels bombardeigs
 - d. Reaccions psicològiques
 - e. Guardes en els atacs aeris
 - f. Defensa Passiva
 - g. Alarmes d'atac aeri
 - h. Mesures de camuflatge
 - i. Refugis antiaeris
 - j. Organització dels auxilis

Fitxa 24

Els drames humanitaris de la guerra civil

L'assistència als infants republicans evacuats.

13 GIU. 1938 Anno XVI
International Commission for the Assistance of Child Refugees in Spain
Commission Internationale d'Aide aux Enfants Evacués en Espagne

PRESIDENT:

Judge Michael HANSSON, President, Nansen International Office for Refugees, Geneva.

MEMBERS:

M. E. de NAVAILLES-LABATUT, ex-President, Intergovernmental Advisory Commission for Refugees, Paris;
T. Edmund HARVEY, Esq., M. P., ex-President, Relief Work for Refugees (1920-21), Leeds;
D' Hilda CLARK and Miss Edith PVE, Friends Service Committee, London;
M. Georges THÉREN, vice-President, Save the Children International Union, Geneva;
M^{me} E. CHEVALLEY and M^{me} Suzanne BARRIÈRE, International Migration Service, Paris and Geneva.

TELEPHONE 23.903

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS (PROVISIONAL): SAUVENFANTS, GENEVA (SWITZERLAND)

13 MAG. 1938 XVI
RUE LÉVRIER, GENEVA. 3 mai 1938.

S.E. Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires étrangères d'Italie,
R. M. I.

Monsieur le Ministre,

Nous nous permettons de revenir sur la lettre que nous avons eu l'honneur de vous écrire en date du 10 mars, afin de solliciter le bienveillant intérêt du Gouvernement italien en faveur de l'oeuvre de la Commission Internationale d'Aide aux Enfants Evacués en Espagne.

Cette Commission est heureusement à même de commencer son travail dès maintenant, grâce aux contributions reçues ou promises des Gouvernements de l'Afrique du Sud, de l'Australie, de la Belgique, du Danemark, de la France, de la Gde Bretagne, de la Norvège, de la Nlle Zélande, de la Suède et de la Suisse.

Les premières distributions de repas en Espagne, sur les territoires des deux partis en cause, sont en voie d'organisation pour plus de 15.000 enfants. Les fonds à la disposition de la Commission ne lui permettent actuellement de venir en aide qu'à cette faible proportion de l'immense nombre d'enfants qui auraient besoin aujourd'hui d'une nourriture complémentaire, car les nouvelles reçues d'Espagne montrent qu'il n'est pas exagéré de dire, que malgré tous les efforts des autorités, la santé de milliers d'enfants est gravement compromise par la sous-alimentation.

La Commission a engagé un Suédois, M. de Lilliehöök, pour organiser et contrôler le travail, lequel se déroulera comme convenu sur une base absolument apolitique.

Spagnol - politico

Nous serions extrêmement reconnaissants si le Gouvernement italien voulait bien examiner notre appel avec bienveillance, et nous osons espérer qu'ému par les souffrances imméritées de tant d'enfants, il tiendra à collaborer avec d'autres Gouvernements à l'oeuvre entreprise.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur le Ministre, les assurances de notre très haute considération.



Georges Thelin

Georges Thelin
Secrétaire

Michael Hansson

Michael Hansson
Président

Activitats:

1. Qui escriu aquesta carta i quina organització representa? On té la seva seu?
2. D'on treu els seus fons? A què els destina?
3. A qui dirigeix la carta i què li sol·licita?

Fitxa 25. La caiguda de Barcelona i l'ocupació de Catalunya (gener-febrer de 1939).

	Spedito da L.S. Vanore	TELEGRAMMA IN PARTENZA	Il Capo dell'Ufficio Cifra <i>[Signature]</i>
		Filo/chiaro N. 59 R.	
Destinatario:	S.E. il Generalissimo <i>[Signature]</i> 27/1/39-1111 13 Francesco Franco Bahamonde Capo Governo Nazionale Spagnolo <u>BARCELONA</u>		
Mittente:	U.S. A.S.P.		
Visione:	<p>Popolo italiano è entusiasta per Vostra superba vittoria di Barcellona che anticipa ormai di poco la vittoria finale destinata ad aprire nel mondo l'era della nuova Spagna una e forte. Nel momento in cui l'indistruttibile cameratismo del sangue ha fatto ancora una vol- ta le sue decisive prove, accogliete col mio saluto i miei voti più fervidi per l'avvenire del Vostro popolo.</p> <p>Arriba España .</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Mussolini</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Mace</i> <i>Not</i> <i>in en renza</i></p> <p><i>Spagna I</i></p>		

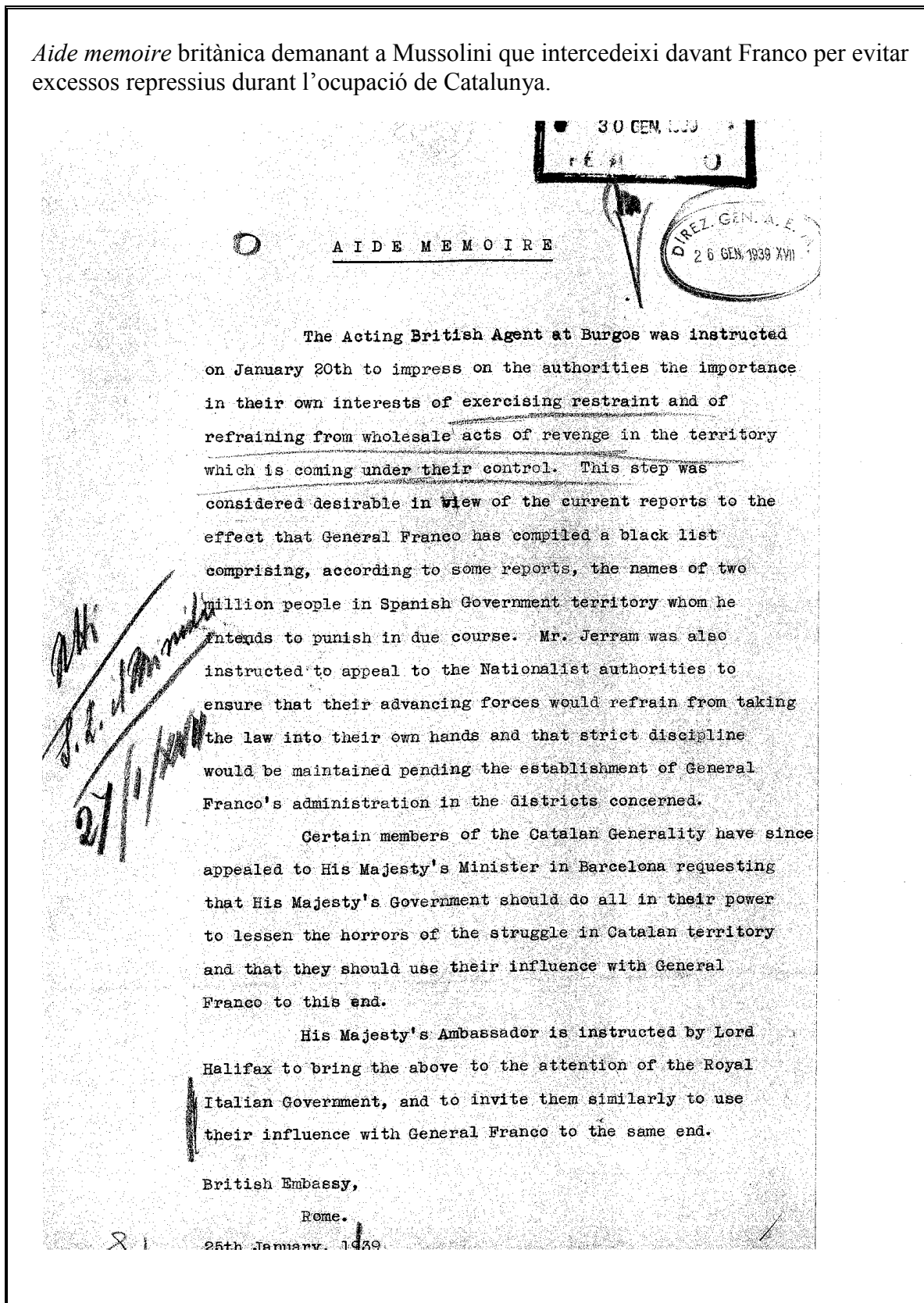
La Torre	Decifrato da	TELEGRAMMA IN ARRIVO	Il Capo dell'Ufficio Cifra
	chiaro	N. 350 R.	<i>[Signature]</i>
Mittente:	GENERALISSIMO FRANCO Burgos li 28.I.39.XVPT		
	<u>BURGOS</u> Roma, li ore		
Assegnazione:	Benito Mussolini - Capo del Governo		
Visione:	<u>ROMA</u> OGGETTO:		
	GAB.US. Telegramma del Generalissimo Franco.		
	GAB/ A.E.M.		
<p>La vittoria di Barcellona coronando le brillanti operazioni della Catalogna è la dimostrazione della vitalità dei popoli quando li anima una dottrina piena di idealità. Come Generale e come spagnolo sono orgoglioso di annoverare fra le mie truppe le magnifiche Camicie Nere le quali al lato dei loro camerati spagnoli hanno scritto queste pagine di gloria contro il comunismo internazionale.</p> <p>Coi miei migliori voti per il Vostro Impero vogliate ricevere il più affettuoso e cordiale saluto.</p> <p>Viva l'Italia.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">GENERALE FRANCO</p> <p><i>Mace</i> <i>nt</i> <i>Spagna</i></p>			

Nota: Documents de la sèrie Affari politici 1931-1945, Spagna n°52 (1939)

Activitats:

1. Entre qui es produeix aquest encreuament de cartes? Amb quin objectiu?
2. Qui eren les *camises negres*? Què hi feien a Barcelona?

Aide memoire britànica demanant a Mussolini que intercedeixi davant Franco per evitar excessos repressius durant l'ocupació de Catalunya.



Lord Halifax has little doubt from what was said in the course of the conversations in Rome, that Signor Mussolini will share the feelings of His Majesty's Government in this matter.

The more magnanimity General Franco can be induced to show the sooner and more easily will the Spanish problem be solved and its menace to international peace be removed.

My Government feel that the proposed cooperation in this matter between His Majesty's Government and the Italian Government would help towards the maintenance of peace and to prevent the Spanish question from endangering it.

3. Què demana el govern britànic al govern de Burgos? Quina informació té al seu poder la Gran Bretanya que li faci témer greus atemptats contra la població catalana?
4. Qui ha apel·lat a la intervenció del govern britànic?
5. Qui volen els britànics que facin d'intermediaris per evitar la repressió feixista espanyola? Què en penses?

6. Per què els preocupa als britànics un agreujament del “problema espanyol?”

Fitxa 26

L'èxode de febrer del 39 i els camps de refugiats a França.

16 de febrer de 1939

Informe d'una particular, Miss E.M.Pye, del *Friends Service Council*²⁶.

The immensity of the tragedy of the flight from Spain must have been seen at first hand to be believed. It takes on the character of a natural cataclysm such as a typhoon or an earthquake when the numbers involved and the rapidity with events followed each other are concerned, but it is, alas, a definite product of a policy conceived and executed by man. Those who are ignorant of the character of the war in Spain and of the method of the Nationalists, have questioned the wisdom of evacuating children's colonies, etc. Our workers who were among them point out that the bombardments from the air which forced the inhabitants to leave the ruins of their houses, leaving them nothing to live in, and the descent of the aeroplanes almost to roof level to machine-gun the fleeing inhabitants, left them no choice. They were bombed out of Gerona, which was packed with refugees who then fled to Figueras. I myself saw the market square there on January 31st, in which people were so tightly wedged that they could hardly move, two days before its destruction in the same way, in a series of raids on the refugees and civilian population in which hundreds were killed.

No doubt is left in any of our minds that a systematic policy of terrorism and destruction, added to prolonged food shortage, succeeded in producing the panic rush towards France which some of us foretold.

For days, while only a meagre trickle of civilians were allowed to pass the frontier, there were literally thousands standing in queues between one village and another, or camped without any shelter on the hillsides on each side of the road to the frontier in deadly fear of bombardment from the air. Of these frontier posts there are three in which there is road through: Port-Bou/Cerbere; Puigcerdà/Boug Madame; and La Jonquera/Perthus, where the greatest number came over. There is also a road on the Spanish side but only paths over the mountain at Prats de Mollo, which is above the snow line, and there were pitiful cases of women and children lost in a snowstorm and being picked up half frozen.

Intellectuals and peasants all alike suffered the same fate –the latter perhaps suffered less since many of them brought their mules and a certain amount of bread with them. Some had a sheep or two tied by a string- here and there one saw a cow or goats, and even hens carried by their leg, as uncomplaining as their owners.

The first three nights there was heavy cold rain in which it was stated that there were many deaths from exposure, especially among the children and the wounded. The frost that succeeded must have been as hard to bear.

On February a last convoy of eleven trucks took in a large consignment of food, and Dr. Audrey Russell, Richard Rees and William Brebner spent the next few days arranging for its distribution by Spanish Government Organisations over the whole area of Catalonia still in Government hands, where food had run very short. In some of the villages there was no milk left at all when the trucks arrived. They were able to see almost the whole amount distributed to the civil population before the rapid advance made closing of the canteens inevitable. They remained until the last, when they brought

²⁶ PRO FO 371/24154, p.71-74

out the transport with the help of our two Spanish chauffeurs, having taken 19 hours to drive the last few kilometres owing to the crush of people. Domingo Ricart came out with a children's colony 24 hours earlier. He had been helping with a children's centre in Figueras. They remained until the opening of the frontiers took place and gave a vivid account of the thankfulness and even joy among the refugees when the sending back of the men from the frontier ceased. They also told us of the disgust of the Spanish people at finding black troupes (senegalais) guarding the frontier. These men were rougher and less understanding, and Dr. Audrey Russell received a blow on the chest from one of them in the course of passing the frontier.

There was an extraordinary state of nervousness and agitation among the French at the frontier and this led to quite unnecessary roughness.

The surging flood of people which came pouring over every frontier found their troubles were by no means over. There was no shelter of any kind available. The French authorities by a tremendous feat of organisation succeeded in getting 45,000 women and children sent into the interior in the first three days. They were brought down after several days at the frontier with no possibility of washing or of proper food in lorries and buses, vaccinated, given something to eat and sent straight off in trainload after trainload to destinations apparently quite unknown. The separation from their men-folk, the shipping of them off to unknown destinations, produced despair among the refugees, but they accepted everything with remarkable dignity and resignation. Obviously with such overwhelming numbers, lists of names and destinations were impossible.

But many thousands more spent another five nights on the hillsides on the French side, where there was some attempt to provide canteens with hot drinks for them, both by the authorities and by private effort. Improvised hospitals, for which we helped to provide equipment, were set up to take cases of illness and childbirth – there were six infants born in one of these wayside shelters – but requests for army field kitchens and hospital tents were refused. The misery and helplessness of these crowds, harried by French cavalry to keep them from straying, is indescribable.

They were finally placed in trains and sent on into the interior, destination unknown, and it must necessarily be a long time before the different parts of a family find each other again, though we understand that the Ministry of the Interior²⁷ is creating a central registrar.

Four canteens on lorries were organised by us, each having a boiler to provide hot drinks, and these followed up the streams of refugees, giving hot milk and bread, with some cases the addition of cheese or chocolate. In all some 96,000 rations were given out in this way on the French side of the frontier, and 100,000 rations through the Spanish Government organisation supervised by us on the Spanish side of the frontiers before they were opened to the refugees. As soon as the streams of refugees dried up the canteens were established near the temporary hospitals, which then began, as first-aid stations, to receive the wounded, and also at the men's camp at Argeles, where a large number of women and small children were discovered and where, thanks to the kindness of the military commander, a villa was provided in which we set up a bath house and washing station for whom, as well as a canteen. The Catalonians are naturally a very clean people, and they suffered horribly from not being able to wash or take their clothes off for ten days. The children after a bath were quite unrecognisable!

(...)²⁸

²⁷ Francès.

²⁸ L'informe segueix parlant de les colònies d'infants i dels esforços del *International Commission Aid to refugee children in Spain* per establir cantines i seguir tenint cura de les colònies de nens amb les quals

Activitats:

1. Fes un llistat dels fets i situacions que presentava aquest informe.
2. Elabora una reflexió personal d'entorn 100 paraules sobre aquesta situació que es va donar fa 60 anys.

23 de febrer de 1939

Nota de Mr W.H.M.Pollock (membre del *Foreign Office*) al Ministre Viscount Halifax (Secretari del *Foreign Office*) per a què pugui respondre la moció a la Cambra dels Lords de Lord Farringdon demanant si el govern britànic enviarà un representant al sud de França per informar sobre la situació dels camps de refugiats espanyols i si col·laborarà amb el govern francès amb mesures d'alleujament²⁹.

There seems to be no doubt whatever that the conditions under which the Spanish Government troops who have been interned by the French authorities in camps in the South of France have been living have been scandalous. On February 8th the representative at Perpignan of the International Commission for the Assistance of Child Refugees in Spain telephoned to say that the troops were herded together in camps with no blankets, no shelter from the rain and hardly any food and that numbers of them were likely to die of starvation and exposure unless something was done for them immediately. Many of them were dead tired and seriously wounded and there were no hospital facilities. The French authorities appear to have been entirely unprepared for developments and also to be unwilling to take any serious steps to remedy the situation. The task of organising camps was, of course, an enormous one, but it seems that the French Ministry of National Defence were unwilling, owing to the international situation, to immobilize any of their tents or other field equipment and also that the French Government hoped, by making conditions as difficult as possible for the troops, to induce most of them to return to Spain.

There were a number of voluntary organisations in the neighbourhood with money, food and medical equipment anxious to help, but they were refused permission to enter the camps. The International Commission's representative urged that something should be done to induce the French Government to take immediate steps to remedy the situation. On the same day the French Ambassador called on Sir George Mounsey and asked...
(...)

3. Quina és la situació en els camps de refugiats del sud de França, segons reconeix aquest funcionari del *Foreign Office*?
4. Quina conducta ha seguit l'estat francès, segons ell?

havien travessat la frontera, bo i treballant conjuntament amb el Friends Service Council i el National Joint Committee.

Annexa dades estadístiques d'aquesta International Commission Aid to Refugee Children in Spain sobre les cantines establertes i les racions lliurades, així com dels subministres efectuats a hospitals improvisats en els camps de refugiats. Finalment, annexa una altra llista de la mateixa International Commission de les colònies d'infants a Catalunya que van haver d'evacuar per escapar dels bombardeigs i metrallaments (n' esmenta 21).

²⁹ PRO FO 371/24154, page 16

25 de febrer de 1939

*Confidential. Not for publication*³⁰.

Memorandum on conditions in concentration camps.

*E.M.Pye*³¹.

(...)

There was no means of communicating with the outside world, as most of the men have neither paper nor pencil. Intellectuals, writers, artists, workers in the government, all are herded together with the others. One of them, who had escaped, said that he had had nothing to eat for 4 days, since he first arrived. The men were treated as prisoners of war, ridden down by the Algerians if they strayed beyond their beat, and given none of the facilities of civilised life. There are a certain number of wounded and sick (dysentery chiefly) for whom practically nothing can be done. They are lying in the sand, though the serious cases are now being evacuated as places are found for them.

(...)

Copy of a letter from Dr. Audrey Russell.

21.2.39.

Dear Miss Pye,

(...)

The conditions in the camps here have not materially altered except that the men get two issues a day of dried vegetables or rice and a little meat which they have to cook themselves. You can imagine the difficulties with so little fuel and a strong wind blowing, and the fact that the most of the civilians at least have no cooking equipment. I went to the medical tents with Mr. Rodd and Richard Rees and there we saw some men cutting up a dead mule in the sand and the sick men in the tents were holding lumps of raw meat in their hands without any means of cooking. Some were chewing the raw flesh. There was one man lying in the sand moaning, with a sub-phrenic abscess (I think, from a very hasty examination that I was able to do) from an appendix that had been removed in Barcelona ten days ago.

The Spanish doctor was in despair as he had asked fifteen times for a stretcher to take him up to the main medical station. Fortunately, our young friend the French M.O. came along, and although he was very annoyed with us for being there at all he was suitably contrite and said an ambulance would be sent at once.

The medical service is still practically non-existent, except that the very sick are removed to the hospital ships. But the ordinary camp routine is appalling, still no proper latrines –there no spades to dig them with- and the water comes from shallow pumps, said to be about 12 feet deep, directly under the filth and garbage of the camp.

(...)

For instance, I went to see the civilian camp at Argeles as there appeared from the outside to be a number of women there. I went to the Spanish administration of that section, and found a very capable administration under the leadership of an ex-magistrate of Madrid. They were trying to compile a list of refugees in that section, on bits of paper blown in by the wind, with no ink, and a typewriter full of sand with ribbon tied together every few inches. We bought them paper, pens, typewriter ribbon and files to keep their lists out of the sand, as well as medicaments.(...)

³⁰ PRO FO 371/24154, pages 30-38

³¹ Friends Service Council.

Here are some photographs, some from a post-card shop and some that Charlie Sevetsco took. I think Mr. Pilkington should have the one of his lorry and I have written its record on the back. In the postcard of the signpost LE PERTHUS you can just see yourself, at least your black hat with the point, and me just to the right of it. In the foreground is a man with both legs amputated. How can he have managed to get there?

(...)

*Yours sincerely,
Audrey Russell.*

5. Qui escriu aquestes cartes? Què reflecteixen?

28 de febrer de 1939

De Lord Cecil a Sir A. Cadogan.

(Nota manuscrita i informe mecanografiat)³²

4th March 1939.

My Dear Alec

I venture to trouble you with this horrible paper given to me by a young woman just back from Perpignan. Is there nothing that can be done? We seem to be taking elaborate pains by every means in our power to throw Spain and Spaniards into the arms of Hitler and Musso.

Forgive violence!

Yours ever,

R.C.

“Report on conditions in Spanish refugee camps near Perpignan.

I left Perpignan on the night of February 24th. There are 200,000 men in these camps. The conditions in the camps of Arles-sur-Tech and St. Cyprien were as follows:

Arles-sur-Tech is about seven kilometres from the frontier, the camp lies three kilometres from the town and half-way to Amelies-les-Bains. It is situated under the high snow mountains of the Pyrenees on a piece of bare stony ground which descends sharply at one end to a stony river. It is surrounded by barbed wire and palings and guarded by armed soldiers and garde mobile. On this stony place one sees sitting and standing thousands of men. They have been sitting and standing there like that for weeks. There are no shelters of any kind, except here and there a tiny tent made of a blanket and four sticks.

Across the road were several small tents. Three of them were for the sick and wounded. (one tent was given by the International Joint Committee and two by the Anciens Combattants) – none of the tents were supplied by the French Government. The sick and wounded men were lying on the ground in straw and crowded as close as possible down both sides of the tents which were of the long kind in which one can only just stand upright when in the very middle.

(...)

³² PRO FO 371/24154, pages135-143

A doctor I talked with told me that illnesses were increasing very rapidly, he told me that the worst cases were taken to the Hospital at Arles-sur-Tech and that their places in the tents were immediately filled by others from the camp. He said forty-three had been taken to the Hospital the day before.

Men who had stood all the trials of a retreat, first under fire and then over high snowy mountains, and who arrived in a state of health are now falling ill in hundreds from internal complaints (caused by insufficient and bad water, lack of shelter and cold and wet) skin diseases of a most virulent kind caused by lack of all sanitation and washing facilities.

(...)

St.Cyprien is camp on the beach by the sea. It is on sand. The same barbed wire, but here the guards are Senegalese. The wind is very cold and strong. The men try and dig holes to shelter in, but they come to water very quickly. There are some huts but only enough to hold a few hundred men, whereas there are somewhere near 50,000 in the camp, 15,000 of which are said to be ill.

The conditions here are worse than at Arles-sur-Tech. Water is almost non-existent and what there is, very contaminated. Water could be obtained from the town, but the permission to go and get it could not be obtained.

Argeles is another camp of this kind on the sea shore. The death rate is very heavily. There seems to be no organised burial ground, the dead are being in holes scraped in the sand by their companions. Seventeen had died during the night before I left.

(...)

The general impression I got was that a great deal of unnecessary suffering had been and was being caused by bad organisation. That there was increasing danger of some grave epidemic breaking out, and also that there might be danger of mutinies and riots if the conditions were not improved, quickly.

The Spaniards seem to have behaved with the greatest courage and patience, but they have had a long dose of suffering. Few people would have stood it for so long.

Wouldn't it be possible for the English to take over some at least of the camps and run them, in co-operation with French Authorities?

Speed is to be recommended as the weather broke the night before I left and it had rained for twenty four hours. Perhaps it is still raining. Rain is what Spaniards fear most as there is no shelter or means of changing their clothes, or drying them. The Authorities must fear the rain just as much.

The problem of where these men are to go looks like being a long affair. The feeling I had was that Franco doesn't want them at the moment, he has enough to think about. Neither do the French want them. But something must be done to improve their condition until the problem of their future is solved, otherwise there will be no problem because they will all be dead.

It would almost seem as though that is what both sides would consider as the best way out of a difficult situation.

The lack of organisation and inefficiency of the Military staff and Authorities. The closing up of all entries and exits for outside help, whether financial or otherwise. The silence of the French press. The difference between it and the English papers was striking. No criticism in the French papers for days now. Only praise for the "New Plans" and camps."

6. Què considera Lord Cecil que s'ha fet amb els republicans espanyols?
7. Quins camps de refugiats són descrits en la carta?
8. Com es tracta el tema en la premsa francesa?

Fitxa 27

Franco, Hitler i Mussolini, lligams estrets.

6 de febrer de 1939

Telegrama del consolat britànic de Barcelona al seu govern a Londres³³.

Several German Jews who had called on their Consulate General on business have been arrested and sent to prison on orders of that Consulate General. Reasons for arrest are not known. Information is given me by the German Jews who desire to apply for British visas but do not now dare to apply to their Consulate General to have their passports renewed.

Activitats:

1. On eren aquests jueus alemanys? Qui creus que els va detenir materialment?

28 de juliol de 1939

Carta del cònsol britànic a Barcelona (Mr. Rodgers) al ministeri d'afers estrangers britànic (Lord Viscount Halifax), amb còpia a l'ambaixador britànic a Espanya³⁴.

*British Consulate General
Rambla de Catalunya, 35,
Barcelona
28th July, 1939.*

My Lord,

With reference to my telegram N°36 of 6th February the following particulars have recently come to my knowledge regarding the closing of the Hebrew Synagogue in Barcelona.

Shortly after the entrance of the Nationalist troops into Barcelona, agents of the Gestapo broke into the Synagogue and destroyed the vestments, etc., used in worship and carried off the silver vessels. They also committed various other desecrations in the premises which are better not described. Some of the silver vessels have since been noticed as offered for sale. The Synagogue is still closed.

The above silver articles were insured for a substantial sum but the Spanish insurance company which issued the policy has declined to pay.

A delegation of members of the Jewish Community presented themselves at police headquarters to make a formal complaint, but they were refused a hearing and told that the police were already aware of the matter.

The Committee of the Jewish Cemetery has suddenly been presented with a demand for immediate payment of a large surcharge in addition to the annual rent. Failing payment, the Cemetery is to be closed.

I am informed that the Jewish Community consists of about 800 persons of various nationalities mainly Spaniards, Poles, Turks, Germans and French. A number of them

³³ PRO-FO 371/24154, pags 402-403

are refugees from Germany who arrived here before the Civil War and became Spanish by naturalization. I am told that a Jewish person who recently applied for naturalization was told that he must first be baptized before this request could be considered.

*I have the honour to be,
With the highest respect,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient,
Humble servant,*

(Signat: Rodgers)

2. Qui va assaltar la sinagoga de Barcelona? Com va actuar la policia espanyola?
3. Què van respondre les autoritats franquistes a un jueu que demanà la nacionalitat espanyola? A quina lògica respon, aquesta contestació?

M. L.	Decretato da	TELEGRAMMA IN ARRIVO	Il Capo
		98 P.R.	dell'Ufficio Cifra
		N.	
		Serrano Sunier Madrid 1.1.42.XX	16.00
Mittente :		Ministro de Asuntos Exteriores	ere
		de Espana - MADRID - Roma, li	2 " " 16.30
Assegnazione:		Su Excelencia el	
		A.E.M. Conde Galeazzo Ciano: Ministro de	
Visione:		Negocios Extranjeros de Italia - ROMA.	
		Gab. Cerim.	

Con motivo del ano nuevo te envio mi mas afectuosas felicitaciones deseandote todo genero de venturas y formulando al propio tiempo mi deseo de la prosperidad del pueblo italiano con toda cordialidad te saluda tu amigo y camarada.

SERRANO SUNER

Ministro de Asuntos Exteriores de Espana



Mapa 1-2

MINISTERO
DEGLI
AFFARI ESTERI

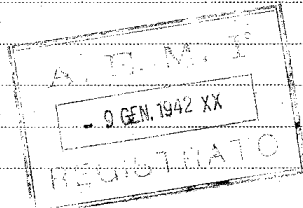
U.S. A.E.M.
GAB.
CERIM
OGGETTO

TELEGRAMMA IN PARTENZA N. 12 P.R.

indirizzato a
Eccellenza
Don Ramon SERRANO SUNER
Ministro degli Affari Esteri
del Reich di Spagna
MADRID

Roma li 2 - GEN 1942 ore 17.30 Spedito da
P.R.

(Testo) Grazie, caro Ramon, del tuo affettuoso telegramma. Ho molto gradito i tuoi auguri e li ricambio con l'antica amicizia formulando i voti più sinceri per la tua persona e la tua opera.



Spagna 1-2

DIREZIONE
UFF. TELEGR. 13

	Spedito da	TELEGRAMMA IN PARTENZA	Il Capo dell'Ufficio. Cifra
M.I.	Papa	Chiare N. 38 P.R.	<i>[Signature]</i>

Destinatario: Roma, li 2.1.42.XX ore 17.30
Generalissimo Francisco Franco

OGGETTO:

Bahamonde -
 Capo dello Stato MADRID
 Gab.

Mittente: ~~A.F.M.-Cerim.-~~

Visione:

Vogliate accogliere i miei vivi ringra-
 zamenti e i voti più sinceri che a mia volta
 formulo per la Vostra felicità personale e per
 la prosperità e l'avvenire della Nazione Spagno-
 la.

MUSSOLINI

A.F.M. I.
 - 9 GEN. 1942 XX
 REGISTRATO

[Handwritten signature] 1-2

Nuove Grafiche S. A. - Ord. 28 - 21-9-940-XVIII (1.000.000)

4. Qui són els emissors i els destinataris respectivament d'aquestes tres correspondències? Amb quin objectiu? Què significa això?

PARTITO NAZIONALE FASCISTA
DIRETTORIO NAZIONALE

PALAZZO LITTORIO
ROMA

CENTRO STRANIERI

SM.

N. 5/1480/122

Roma, 2 maggio 1942 XX° 194 - Anno

Risposta al N.

del

OGGETTO

MINISTERO AFFARI ESTERI

A.E.M. I°

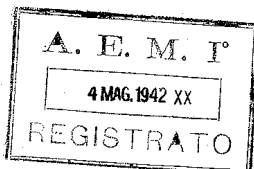
R O M A

Invito delegazione Frente
Gioventù spagnola per il
24 maggio.

Il Comando Generale della GIL prega di voler cortese-
mente inoltrare alla R.Ambasciata a Madrid, per farlo pervenire al
Delegato del Frente della Gioventù, il seguente telegramma:

"REGIA AMBASCIATA D'ITALIA MADRID

"PER JOSE' ANTONIO ELOLA DELEGATO FRONTE GIOVENTU' ALT OCCASIONE
FESTA GINNICA NAZIONALE 24 MAGGIO SAREI VIVAMENTE LIETO SE DELEGA-
ZIONE FRONTE GIOVENTU' SPAGNOLA DA VOI GUIDATA VOLESSE ACCOGLIERE
INVITO VISITARE ROMA ET NOSTRE ISTITUZIONI ALT TALE PROSSIMO INCONTRO
CONFERMEREbbe ANCORA INTIMA FRATERNITA' NOSTRE FORZE GIOVANILI ALT
CAMERATESCAMENTE VICE COMANDANTE GENERALE GIL ORFEO SELLANI";



IL CAPO DEL CENTRO STRANIERI
(C. Leonini)

E. Leonini

Spagna 1-2

La corrispondenza sia indirizzata impersonalmente ad evitare disguidi e mancate risposte.

5. Què era el *Frente de Juventudes*? Quina invitació rep el 2 de maig de 1942? Amb quin objectiu?



Ministero degli Affari Esteri

A. P. M. Uff. I°

TELESPRESSO N. 219323

Indirizzato a.

R. MINISTERO CULTURA POPOLARE

H 50

Posizione Spagna 1

Roma add. 11/11/39

(Oggetto) Documentari cinematografici.-

(Riferimento)

(Testo)

Si ha il pregio di trascrivere, per opportuna conoscenza e norma, quanto ha riferito in data 6 giugno corrente la R. Ambasciata a S. Sebastiano:

"Mi onoro trascrivere, qui appresso, per opportuna conoscenza, quanto ha riferito il Console Generale a Barcellona nei riguardi della proiezione di film italiani in Spagna:

"Il 15 scorso ebbe luogo al locale Pubbli-Cinema una serata italo-tedesca con la presentazione delle seguenti pellicole.

"Titani del mare" documentale U.F.A.

"L'Armata aerea" " " "

"Viaggio del Duce in Germania"

intercalate da due giornali speciali Luce per la Spagna.

Ho avuto in tale occasione, modo di constatare che il pubblico spagnolo (ad eccezione degli applausi iniziati dagli invitati italiani e tedeschi all'apparire sullo schermo delle Persone di S.M. il Re Imperatore, del Duce e del Führer, applausi tepidamente seguiti per pura cortesia) ha accolto con glaciale ostilità le dimostrazioni di potenza bellica germanica e particolarmente quanto concerneva l'aviazione.

Non vi può essere dubbio alcuno, infatti, che a coloro che hanno vissuto per due anni e mezzo nella zona ex-rossa e conservano tuttora un tragico ricordo dei bombardamenti aerei, non possa arrecare certamente piacere il rivedere scene di apparecchi che lancia-

ISTITUTO PUGNANICO DELLO STATO

Allegati N°

Spagna 1

././.

6. Quin tipus de pel·lícules itaianes i alemanyes es projectaven als cinemes de Barcelona? Creus que se'n podien veure d'altres països del mateix tipus?
7. Per què havia escrit el cònsol italià a Barcelona a l'ambaixador? Què recomana?

Nota: Els documents italians procedeixen de la Sèrie Affari Politici 1931-1945, Spagna 61.

Fitxa 28

LES INSTITUCIONS DE L'EXILI CATALÀ.

3 de setembre de 1940

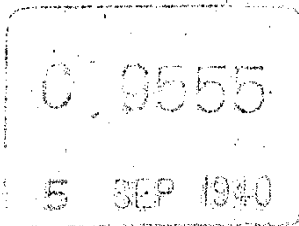
Carta del Dr. Batista i Roca al *Foreign Office* britànic³⁵:

Formation of Catalan National Council

³⁵ PRO FO 371/24527, page 335-336



CATALAN DELEGATION



49, WENTWORTH ROAD.
N.W.11.
SPEEDWELL 3878.

31

3rd September, 1940.

Your Excellency

The Catalan Delegation in London has the honour to inform His Britannic Majesty's Government that the body in direction of Catalan affairs has been reconstituted as the Catalan National Council.

Since the French collapse, the members of the Catalan Government resident in France, who along with those resident in Great Britain were responsible for the conduct of Catalan affairs, find themselves no longer free to carry on their duties. These duties have therefore fallen wholly upon the Catalans resident in Great Britain, as the only Catalans in Europe who find themselves in a free country, and as representatives of Catalans all over the world.

The members of the Catalan Government who were already in London - Sr. Carles Pi Sunyer, Professor P. Bosch-Gimpera and Dr. J. M. Batista i Roca (Catalan Delegate in London), together with Dr. Josep Trueta, Srs. Ramon Perera and Fermi Verges - will therefore continue to represent and conduct Catalan affairs as the Catalan National Council.

There will not be any change in Catalan policy, which has already been outlined in the various notes submitted to His Britannic Majesty's Government. They must rest assured



CATALAN DELEGATION

336

49, WENTWORTH ROAD,
N.W.11.
SPEEDWELL 3978

- 2 -

of our constant efforts to maintain under all circumstances the traditional friendship between Great Britain and the Catalans within and beyond the frontiers of our country.

Dr. J. M. Batista i Roca has been confirmed in his office as Catalan Delegate in London.

Professor Bosch-Gimpera, who since the formation of the Catalan National Council has gone to South America, will remain a member and will act as its representative there.

I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration

Your Excellency's most obedient servant

J. M. Batista i Roca

*The Right Honourable
The Viscount Halifax
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
The Foreign Office
Whitehall*

Activitats:

1. Què fa conèixer Batista i Roca al govern britànic? Què ha passat al govern català exiliat a França?
2. Busca informació sobre les personalitats catalanes que dirigiren el nou Consell Nacional Català.
3. Quina serà la política de la nova institució catalana respecte la Gran Bretanya?

Fitxa 29

ADHESIÓ DE L'EXILI CATALÀ I BASC ALS ALIATS - 1940.



CATALAN DELEGATION

49, WENTWORTH ROAD, 264
N.W.11.

SPERDWELL 3978

Central depts.

LR

24/4

C 6314
30 APR 1940

23rd April, 1940.

Excellency

On the occasion of St. George's day - patron saint of England and Catalonia - I beg to express again to Your Excellency the sympathy of the Catalans with your country, and their wish for the speedy and complete victory of Great Britain and her Allies.

This represents the feelings not only of the Catalans now in this country, but of our compatriots still living in the Catalan countries (Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands.) Whatever the situation in the Mediterranean, the Catalans are united in their sympathy with the Allies in their defence of small nations against aggression and in their resolution not to cease their efforts to win freedom for their country.

I beg to take this opportunity of renewing the expression of gratitude of the members of the Catalan Government and all the other Catalans who have been privileged to enjoy the hospitality of this country.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, with the highest consideration

Your Excellency's obedient servant

M. Basteria

*The Right Honourable
The Viscount Halifax K.C., P.C., G.C.I., G.C.I.E., D.C.L.
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
Whitehall*

Activitats:

1. Quin és l'objectiu d'aquesta carta?
2. Busca informació sobre Josep Maria Batista i Roca.

4 de maig de 1940.

Carta de la Delegació basca a la Gran Bretanya al diputat Mr. Atlee³⁶.

Euzkadi Ordezkaritza

Basque Delegation,
14, Eccleston Square,
London, S.W.1.

Dear Mr. Atlee,

On behalf of the Basque people, I have been instructed by my President, His Excellency Don José Antonio de Aguirre, to congratulate you upon your appointment to the high office which you have been called upon to fill in these grave hours of crisis, both for your own country and for the future of all peoples of the world. May God guide you in your great task.

We are following events in Spain very closely, particularly in view of the Mediterranean tension and the possibility of a further German blow in another area. On the outbreak of the present war, we Basques immediately offered our services in any required capacity to the British and French Governments, whose cause is our own. It was for the same principles which to-day inspire the peoples of Britain and France and their Allies, that we waged our own struggle against totalitarianism, and the prisons and concentration camps of Spain are filled with Basque citizens who defended the ideal of Basque national liberty.

During the Peninsula war and since its close, I have been privileged to convey information to His Majesty's Government regarding regarding the dangerous extent of German influence in Spain. In spite of General Franco's continued declarations of neutrality, this influence is increasing. According to French reports there are now more than 60,000 Germans in Spain who might use Spanish neutrality for the special purposes of the Nazis. They are in close touch with Serrano Suñer and extremist members of the Falange, who are exerting great pressure on the Madrid Government.

Although, naturally, I cannot discuss this matter fully, on account of the necessity not to raise diplomatic difficulties with the Franco Government, I feel that present tendencies make it my duty once more to state that the Basque and Catalan nations are absolutely united in their adhesion to the Allied cause. The future of our country and of the Basque people and our Government lies parallel with that of the Allies, and it seems to me essential that should events necessitate military action, there should be the closest collaboration between the Allied staff and the Basques and the Catalans, whose national spirit is determined to resist any attempt to use their countries as a base for attacks against the Allies.

Yours very sincerely
José I. De Lizaso.

2. Què ofereix la delegació basca al govern britànic? Com ho justifica?
3. Quina anàlisi fa de la situació d'Alemanya i Espanya en el conflicte europeu i de les seves relacions?

³⁶ PRO, CAB 118/16

28 d'octubre de 1940

Repudi del dret del General Franco a representar Espanya.

Presented by the Basque and Catalan Delegates in London To His Excellency the Rt. Hon. Viscount Halifax, KG, GCSI, GCIE, TD, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to His Britannic Majesty's Government.

The London Delegations of Catalonia and Euzkadi, acting in the names of their respective National Councils, desire to request Your Excellency to lay before His Britannic Majesty's Government the following Note, which reaffirms, in the light of recent events, their attitude as expressed in the previous Notes which they have had the honour of presenting to Your Excellency.

The recent exchanges of views between the German and Italian Governments and the Government of the Spanish State, culminating in the conference of last Wednesday between Herr Hitler and General Franco, have, it is understood, taken place for the purpose, among others, of defining the future position of Franco Spain in relation to the plans of the Totalitarian Axis; and of determining certain territorial advantages and compensations to be derived by the Spanish State in return for co-operation in these plans.

These projects for yet a further reconstruction of the present imperialistic and totalitarian Spanish State compel us to record the following statement.

1. The Basque and Catalan National Councils, as the free and faithful interpreters of

the true sentiments of their respective Peoples, deny the right of General Franco to speak for them, and repudiate any undertakings already entered or to be entered into by him which may affect their respective Countries.

2. The Catalans and the Basques are, firstly, men and Democrats; secondly, they are Basque and Catalan nationals; and only lastly - and by force of circumstance - are they technically citizens of a totalitarian State at present ruled by General Franco.
3. Their primary concern in the present world conflict, and in the European situation in general, is universal, and is based on the inalienable right - denied by the totalitarian Dictators - of the individual, and of all Peoples, to live freely. They will permit nothing to separate them from this fundamental principle.
4. The Catalan and Basque peoples are determined to stand by the fundamental principle of universal freedom, which is diametrically opposed to any form of dictatorial seizure and apportionment of territorial gains. They

...therefore completely reject any transaction of this nature which may be contemplated as an inducement to General Franco actively to join the Axis in its fight against the democratic cause represented by Great Britain.

Activitats:

Resumeix les idees bàsiques d'aquesta carta.

Fitxa 30

La repressió política franquista.

1 d'abril de 1940.

Carta de la Delegació basca a la Gran Bretanya al membre del parlament Mr. Attlee.

Euzkadi Ordezkaritza

*Basque Delegation,
14, Eccleston Square,
London, S.W.1.*

Dear Mr. Attlee,

I hesitate to encroach still further upon your time, but I feel myself obliged to take advantage of every possible opportunity to save the lives of my compatriots who are in danger of immediate execution. On this occasion it is the urgent situation of Sres. Victor Huarte Razquin and Fermin Vega de Seoane which is causing us anxiety.

Sr. Huarte was a teacher from Alsasua (Navarre), and is now in Pamplona prison. He was arrested before the end of the Civil War, and condemned to death solely on account of his political views. I should point out that, since Navarre was immediately overrun by General Franco's forces, there was no military opposition to the Nationalists. It is now feared that the death sentence on Sr. Huarte will be carried out without delay.

Sr. Vega de Seoane, a member of a prominent Basque family of San Sebastian, is a well known and respected lawyer and President of the Union Republicana, the Moderate Republican Party of San Sebastian. He has just been condemned to death for his political opinions by the Tribunals of Granada, where he has been living, and his execution is likely to take place very shortly.

I have already put these details before the Foreign Office and appealed for the intervention of His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador in Madrid on behalf of these innocent men, and I can assure you that any action which you yourself may feel able to take in the interests of humanity and justice, to support this appeal, will be very deeply appreciated by us all.

Yours very sincerely,

José I. de Lizaso

Activitats:

1. Qui escriu aquesta carta i per què? Per quins motius han estat condemnades a mort aquestes persones?

25 d'octubre de 1940

From M.I.9.b. to Sir Harold Sarow (FO), No. M19b/XII/4

Ill treatment of British prisoners of war in Spain.

(...)

1. PSM Fullerton states:

“At this Camp (Miranda) we were made to work, carrying stones, etc., and those who fell behind were lashed with thorns and sticks. Our heads were shaves; although I protested that this could not be done to British Officers.”

2. L/Cpl. Garden states:

“At the camp (Miranda), on 28th July, we refused to go to Mass and were told to wait for the Sgt. Outside the barracks; he told us to turn round with our backs towards him and hit us with a stick. I was hit three times. After two or three days at the camp, we were made to work with the political prisoners”.

3. L/Bdr. Connolly states:

“At Miranda they made me have my head shaves: I was put in amongst all the political and other prisoners of which a number were Spanish Republicans. So long as the latter were there, we did not work, but when they left we were put on to potato peeling and then on stone quarry work. If ever we had need to leave our work, to ask to go to the latrine or to get water, the guards used to hit us with sticks or leather thongs. We were put on to extra guards at night if we did anything wrong, two hours at a time”.

(...)

M.I.9.

War Office

2.10.40.

Ce que j'ai vu dans les prisons espagnoles.³⁷

Le 24 septembre 1940 à 12.40 je quittais l'Ambassade de Grance Bretagne en vue de me rendre 67 Nuñez de Balboa, où se trouve l'Ambassade de Belgique. A deux cents mètres à peine de la porte de l'Ambassade, je fus accosté par deux individus, au physique nettement germanique, et qui me demandèrent mes papiers.

(...)

Ils me conduisèrent un peu plus loin (...) dans un commissariat de police « Distrito del Congreso », où l'on me demanda à nouveau mes papiers. J'exhibais alors un sauf-conduit espagnol au nom de « Federico Casa Campos » (...)

(...) on me pressa de questions afin de savoir où et comment je m'avais procuré le sauf-conduit dont j'étais porteur, alors qu'il ne répondit pas à l'identité que j'avais déclaré lors de mon entrée au commissariat (...).

Je fus donc rappelé devant le commissaire qui devant ma persistance à nier les rapports de la Police de Bilbao, me fit rouer de coups de matraque en cellule.

Je reçus plus de trente coups, jusqu'à perte compète de connaissance, et , je ne sais

³⁷ Testimoni preservant l'anonimat.

comment, j'ai été transporté à la Tcheka de Fomento où je me retrouvai l'un des allemands qui m'avaient arrêté et qui me pressa de déclarer que j'étais sujet anglais et que le document que je possédais m'avait été remis par le consul d'Angleterre à Bilbao. Je niai énergiquement et fus roué à nouveau de coups beaucoup moins que la première fois cependant. Mais le lendemain matin on me sortit de ma cellule et fus emmené dans une chambre de tortures où l'on me fit asseoir sur un fauteuil auquel on me lia par les poignets au moyen de baques de fer, reliées au courant électrique. On me posa alors les memes questions de la veille.

Devant ma persistance à nier, on lança le courant graduellement.

Heureusement pour moi j'ai une grosse habitude des courants, même de tension assez eleveée, et je resistai jusqu'au bout de la course du rhéostat.

La tension que l'on m'appliquait ainsi doit être de l'orde de deux cents cinquante à trois cents volts alternatifs.

Voyant que ce procedé n'avait aucune prise sur moi, ils relièrent à chacun de mes poignet deux electrodes en forme d'aiguille et m'en piquaient une à même la chair (dans les bras), et onfonçaient l'autre à quelques millimètres de la première jusqu'à obtention de l'étincelle provoquant dans les tissus une brulure interne tres douloureuse.

Je porte ainsi une vingtaine de marques.

Devant mon mutisme on me réintegra en cellule.

Le soir venue, le gardien vint me dire que je ne pouvais me coucher et que je devais rester debout toute la nuit et que je n'aurais rien à manger tant que je n'aurais par déclaré toute la vérité. Le sol de ma cellule était recouvert de dessous de bouteilles de detritus de toutes sortes, meme à certain endroits d'excrements humains car il n'y avait pas d'endroit prévu pour satisfaire ces besoins les plus élémentaires ; une odeur in supportable d'urine règnait dans le reduit où je me trouvais.

Il me serait impossible d'en décrire toute la promiscuité.

Le lendemain matin je fus appelé. Et réinterrogé ; je niai toujours, fus reconduit dans ma cellule et roué à nouveau de coups.

A midi l'on vint me chercher et je fus conduit à la Prison de las Comendadoras et enfermé au secret pendant deux jours, puis envoyé dans un département appelé « Sotano » (Cave) dans un endroit infect ou vivaient plus de 300 détenus, voleurs, pederastes, bandits, enfin la lie de la population madrilène.

Dans la prison de las Comendadoras ou je suis resté 12 jours, je fus mieux traité masi toujours sans manger sinon ce que l'un pu l'autre détenu voulait me passer.

La vie dans cette prison ets indescriptible ; il y règne une saleté repoussante, une odeur infecte, une promiscuité inimaginable, les coups y pleuvent et les gifles des gardiens sont courantes.

Voilà succinctement ce que j'ai vu pendant la periode de mon arrestation.

Ce jour 10 octobre on vint appeler Fréderico Casa Campos, on me conduisit de nouveau à la Drection Generale de Securité d'ou je fus liberé à 11.20.

Je suis très heureux de ce séjour ; il a renforcé ma décision de combattre pour être libre ; je suis heureux d'avoir souffert pour une cause juste et suis prêt à souffrir encore.

Sense signatura

28th November, 1940.
British Embassy, Madrid.
(To London, to Viscount Halifax, FO)

My Lord,
(...)

2. All the British prisoners mentioned in these reports have been released and repatriated via Gibraltar, (...)

3. Conditions at the military concentration camps at Miranda and Cervera are a great deal better than those in the provincial prisons. (...) I have, however, no reason to believe that British prisoners have been treated any worse than Spaniards. The treatment of any prisoners in Spain is harsh; the Spaniard is naturally insensitive and cruel, and in addition has what Mr. Whitfield calls a "cattle-complex" which leads him to lump all prisoners together into one group and to treat them all with equal harshness whatever the different reasons for the detention of the various individuals.

(...)
Samuel Hoare

Report on British prisoners in the Province of Gerona, Spain.³⁸
August to October 1940.

1. Figueras

a. Origin.

Most of the British soldiers who crossed the mountains from France into Spain between Port-Bou on the East and Puigcerdà on the West during the month of August, had made their way direct from the battlefields of Northern France: either on foot, or on stolen bicycles or other chance methods of transport. Arriving by night in groups of two or three, few had any idea that they would be arrested on crossing the Spanish frontier after their 800 kilometre journey. The Civil Guards patrolling the frontier roads have several times reported that British soldiers have actually come up to them and asked directed to the nearest British Consulate.

(...)

All these men from France report that they were always given every assistance and material aid by French civilians, and in many cases by the French authorities, even at the French frontier post at Le Perthus for example. Unfortunately the attitude of the Spanish frontier authorities by forbidding British subjects to go further than La Junquera, followed by the arrival of German Commissions at Perpignan, closed this avenue by which great help could have been given to our men escaping from France. Recent arrivals here given the names and home addresses of men who are still being hidden away by the French peasants on farms in Northern France. (...)

J. Gardiner Whitfield - British Vice Consul
Gerona, 5th November, 1940

³⁸ Llarg informe de 7 pàgines, sobre comissaries i presons de Figueres i Girona.

TW



CATALAN DELEGATION

②

Central dept. 200

To advise re. copy, please.

49, WENTWORTH ROAD,
N.W.11.
SPEEDWELL 3978.

C11242 KO HI

25th October, 1940.

29/10
235

For Excellency

The Catalan National Council in London deeply regrets to confirm the execution in Barcelona by General Franco's authority of His Excellency the President of Catalonia, Sr. Lluís Companys.

Sr. Companys, having been elected President by the Catalan Parliament in January 1934, in accordance with the Constitution of Catalonia and the laws of the Spanish Republic, was the legal representative of the Catalan nation, and even in exile he never lost this status.

He was seized by the Gestapo in the German-occupied part of France, and handed over to General Franco's Government. The Germans would not have acted this were they not in agreement with the policy of suppression of Catalan nationality.

The execution of His Excellency the President of Catalonia, which has no parallel even with anything done by the Germans in the countries they have occupied, is one more step by the present Government of Spain in their attempt to destroy everything Catalan, and one that will have its inevitable consequences. Relations between Catalonia and Spain are only further strained by this policy; and particularly by this deed, which will only make it more difficult to find a basis for harmonious relations between the various nationalities in the Spanish State when the task of its reconstruction comes to be attempted.

The President's policy regarding Catalonia, and particularly the necessity of maintaining a loyal



CATALAN DELEGATION

49, WENTWORTH ROAD,
N.W.11.
SPEEDWELL 3978

-2-

friendship with Great Britain, was clearly laid down in the various notes which, under his instructions, I had the honour to submit to His Britannic Majesty's Government, both during and after the Civil War.

The loss of our President will not cause any change in this policy, which the Catalan National Council is determined to continue as being favourable to the Democratic Cause and that which has the support of the Catalans both at home and in exile.

I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration

Your Excellency's obedient servant

J. B. Sabstanyer

(PRO, sèrie FO 371/24508, pags. 235-236)

M. I.



EUZKADI ORDEZKARITZA

11/13

11272 40 41

3

See reply in file 12/10
John Excellency

Central dept. (S/Sw)

BASQUE DELEGATION,
7/8, HOBART PLACE,
EATON SQUARE,
LONDON, S.W.1.
TEL: SLOANE 4359.

26th October, 1940. 239

I regret to have again to express to Your Excellency the anxiety of the Basque National Council regarding political persecution in Spain, which, far from decreasing since the end of the Civil War, appears to have become intensified and to be acquiring a new form.

It seems that Basque and other democrats, who had fought for the universal ideals of democracy and had sought refuge in countries which are now overrun by the German aggressors, are being sent back to Spain to be handed over to the Nationalist authorities, in direct contravention of international law.

It has, for instance, recently been reported that Sr. Zugazagoitia, Minister of the Interior in the Republican Government, Sr. Rivas Cherif, former Consul-General in Geneva and a brother-in-law of ex-President Azaña, Sr. Cruz Salido, Sr. Montilla and Sr. Salvador Carreras have been sentenced to death.

The execution in Barcelona of the President of the Catalan Government, Sr. Companys, has been a further sad event, in which we share the indignation and sorrow felt by the Catalan National Council. The President of the Basque Government, Sr. Jose Antonio de Aguirre, on the other hand, according to information which has reached us, is imprisoned in a castle in Berlin, and his life is in increasing danger.

We also fear that the recent arrival of Herr Himmler in Spain may presage a still greater intensification of the policy now being pursued regarding political prisoners.

In these circumstances, therefore, the Basque National Council feel that they would be failing in their duty as democrats, and above all as humanitarians, did they not once more

/draw

draw attention to the unhappy situation of their compatriots and all Peninsular democrats. I have therefore been instructed to approach Your Excellency on their behalf and to state how deeply they would appreciate any demarches which His Britannic Majesty's Government might be generous enough to request their representatives in Spain to make with a view to obtaining some mitigation of the prevailing severe conditions.

I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration,

Your Excellency's obedient servant

José E. de
isaso

His Excellency Viscount Halifax, K.G.
G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., T.D.
The Foreign Office,
Downing Street, S.W.1.

(PRO, Sèrie FO 371/24508, pags. 239-240)

Activitats:

Resumeix les diferents situacions presentades en aquests textos i fes una redacció sobre el caràcter de la repressió franquista.

Fitxa 31

SUBSISTÈNCIA I DESCONENT POPULAR A LA POSTGUERRA.

17 de novembre de 1939

Telexpress del consolat d'Itàlia a Barcelona a l'ambaixada a Madrid de l'Itàlia feixista:

Situazione in Catalogna

(...)

Queste e mille altre voci che circolano hanno creato uno stato d'animo generale di profonda depressione e di sorda ostilità verso il Governo che si mostra ogni giorno più palesemente. Non v'è classe sociale in Catalogna che non sia oggi all'opposizione e se pure fra di esse possono discordare nelle rivendicazioni particolari, esse sono tutte unanimi nel dichiararsi colpite e defraudate nelle proprie aspirazioni.

I ricchi sostengono che "si va troppo a sinistra" e che la guerra l'hanno fatta e vinta loro.

Il mezzo ceto protesta per la lentezza delle pratiche ufficiali nel ripristinare il ritmo normale del commercio e della vita.

I lavoratori (di cui migliaia hanno le braccia incrociate) si dichiarano nell'impossibilità di sostenere più a lungo il caro-vita e ricordano come sotto la dominazione rossa, pur scarseggiando i viveri non erano essi che ne mancavano ma le classi borghesi.

Tutti infine sono assolutamente concordi nel difendere lo "spirito della Catalogna" che abili manovre -forse oltrapiroinaiche- tendono a presentare come oppresso dal "centralismo madrilenno". È l'eterno problema che riaffiora. Ed esso trae spunto d'ogni occasione per mostrarsi vivo, palpitante e dissenziente.

Parlavo nel mio telexpresso (...) del silenzio glaciale col quale viene accolta la figura del Generalissimo sugli schermi barcellonesi.

(...)

Activitats:

1. Quines són les idees principals d'aquest text?

23 d'agost de 1940

Informe de l'ambaixador britànic a Madrid al seu ministre d'afers estrangers³⁹:

Labour conditions in Spain

(...)

The worker's standard of life is now decidedly lower than it was in 1936. And although the avowed policy of the present regime has been to improve the conditions of the working man—one of the primary objects of the Fuero del Trabajo (Labour Charter)—it has nevertheless failed up to the present to establish a satisfactory ratio between wages and prices. In fact, both are in a fluctuating state, but the rise in prices tends to keep steadily ahead of such increase as there may be in the wages.

(...)

In general wages have increased by 25% to 30% in the case of industrial workers, and by 30% to 40% in the case of office workers since 1936.

But the cost of living has gone up at least 100% since that date.(...)

Labour situation in Catalonia

(...)

As a rough guide it may be said that in 1936 a man who earned 300 ptas a month was able to provide a moderate standard of comfort for himself and a family, whereas now a family would be poorly clad and fed on 600 ptas a month. On the other hand, the local population are by now resigned and inured to a much lower standard of living that they enjoyed in the past, and neither expect nor hope to attain it again in the near future.

(...)

Barcelona, 22nd July 1940

2. Quines variacions hi ha hagut en salaris i preus des de 1936, segons l'ambaixador britànic?
3. Quines expectatives tenia la població catalana davant el nivell de vida d'aleshores?
4. Què era el *Fuero del Trabajo*? Quin sindicalisme hi hagué durant la dictadura?

³⁹ PRO FO 371/24508, pages 141 and 145.

10 AGO 1942 XX

REGISTRATO TELESPRESSO N. 6429 / 2107

Indirizzato a

R. MINISTERO AFFARI ESTERI

ROMA

7 AGO 1942

CONSIGLIO

OFFICIO CORRISPONDENZA
MINISTERO ESTERI

RISERVA AGO 1942

Pervenuto dal Gabinetto
di S. E. II MIN.

TIP. NAZIONALE S. S.

Posizione: Madrid addì -3 agosto 1942 Anno XX

Oggetto: Manifestazioni di scontento popolare a Barcellona.

Riferimento:

Esito:

In data 27 luglio u.s. il R. Console a Barcellona ha riferito sull'argomento in oggetto quanto qui appresso si ha l'onore di trascrivere:

"Il 24 corrente nei quartieri popolari di Barcellona (Horta, San Martín, Pueblo Seco e Barceloneta) vi sono state delle agitazioni perchè nei giornali non era stato annunciato per il 25 la distribuzione a prezzo di calmiera di generi alimentari.

Da molto tempo a questa parte ogni sabato venivano messe in vendita determinate quantità di generi di prima necessità (a turno olio, riso, legumi, baccalà, pesce in conserva, zucchero, caffè, sapone, ecc.) a prezzo di calmiera.

Tali distribuzioni settimanali diminuivano il quantitativo di generi alimentari che la popolazione deve acquistare rivolgendosi alle borse nere.

Di qui, il chiasso inscenato specialmente dalle donne le quali, in alcuni mercati, si sono lasciate andare a grida di carattere prettamente "antifascista".

La Polizia non ha reagito".

hym

(LEQUIO) REGISTRAZIONE GENERALE

8 AGO 1942 XX

Alleg.

Archivio Storico Diplomatico- Roma, Sèrie Affari Politici 1931-45, Spagna 61

5. En quines zones de Barcelona hi van haver protestes el dia 24 de juliol? Què tenien en comú aquests barris? Per què eren les protestes?
6. Què era el mercat negre? Qui protestà especialment?

Fitxa 32

LA RESISTÈNCIA ANTIFEIXISTA A L'INTERIOR (1939-1945).

MISSIONE MILITARE ITALIANA SPAGNA

li 13 dicembre 1939.XVIII°

-Sezione C.S.-

N.I2679-8I7/45 di prot.

OGGETTO: Propaganda sovversiva a Barcellona.

ALLA REGIA AMBASCIATA D'ITALIA

S E D E

Negli ambienti popolari di Barcellona viene svolta una propaganda subdola, fatta il più delle volte a mezzo di foglietti volanti che riportano versi inneggianti alla rivoluzione, all'ex governo rosso ed ai suoi ex componenti.

Allego, per conoscenza, copia dei versi di uno di tali foglietti.

P.IL COLONNELLO DEI CC.RR.
CAPO DELLA SEZIONE C.S.

F/TO CAPITANO FORMICA

Volveran las milicias de Francia
cantando la internacional,
y llevaran prendidas en el pecho
la flor de la igualdad.

Volverà Companys y Caballero
y Negrin con todo su dinero.
Arriba rojos a vencer
que el fascismo empieza a fallecer.



Am

TELESPRESSO N. 6812
2243

R. Ambasciata d'Italia

Indirizzato a

1) R. MINISTERO DEGLI AFFARI ESERI = ROMA
e, p.c.:

2) R. CONSOLATO GENERALE D'ITALIA

BARCELLONA

UFFICIO CORRISPONDENZA
MINISTERO ESTERI
7 2 AGO 1942
Permane del Gabinetto
di S. E. il Ministro

2 2 AGO 1942

Posizione Sp-I

Madrid, addi 8 Agosto 1942 *Am*

Oggetto: Manifestazioni di scontento popolare a Barcellona.-

Riferimento: 1) Telespresso R.Ambasciata n. 6429/2107 del 3 luglio
2) Telespresso R.Consolato Generale n. 3804 del 27 luglio

Esito:

Si ha il pregio di informare che ~~le~~ notizie pervenute da
altra fonte a questa R.Ambasciata hanno confermato i fatti esposti
dal R.Consolato Generale in Barcellona nel suo telespresso in data
27 luglio u.s.

Am

Secondo queste ulteriori notizie risulta inoltre che la
Polizia ha provveduto ad intensificare il servizio di vigilanza
ed ha scoperto una organizzazione clandestina del P.S.U.C.(?) che
disponendo di una propria tipografia stampava opuscoli e periodici
tra i quali "L'ora de Catalunya" e "Catalans Dempens" di propaganda
anglo-comunista.

REGISTRATO
IN AMM.
N. 24 AGO 1942 XX

Am

25 AGO 1942 XX

(LEQUIO)

Alleg.

Spagna 1

Activitats:

1. A què fan referència els versos del fulletó subversiu reproduït pel cònsol de la Itàlia feixista?
2. A quin partit polític pertanyien els diaris i la impremta descoberta per la policia feixista?

7 de desembre de 1945.

Telegrama de l'ambaixada britànica a Washington al *Foreign Office* (ministeri d'afers estrangers) britànic⁴⁰.

(This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on.)

(CYPHER)

Member of my staff had long conversation today with Mr. Culbertson, head of Western European Division of the State department, regarding the future policy towards Spain. Culbertson showed him informally a memorandum (...). The gist of the memorandum was that no action towards the Franco regime could hope to be effective unless close Anglo-French-American co-operation and identity of views was first assured. It went on to suggest that the Spanish Government-in-exile in Mexico City, while no doubt largely composed of honest and sincere men, was totally unrepresentative of existing political feeling in Spain, and could not hope to command much popular support even though it should succeed in returning to Spain.

Memorandum pointed out that while Western Allies were prodigal of denunciations of the Franco regime they had so far failed to translate their words into action and on this score were open to criticism. It then suggested that an early approach be made to His Majesty's Government and the French Government with a view to breaking off relations with the Franco regime, and at the same time issuing a statement which would make it clear that no future Spanish Government would be recognised unless it assured,

a. final disappearance and exile of General Franco

b. dissolution of his Government, outlawing of Falange

c. freedom of the press and abolition of internal censorship

d. an immediate political amnesty which would permit the return of all political exiles

e. right of free assembly and right to organisation of political parties

f. the holding of early communal and national elections with a view to summoning

Constituent Assembly which would decide on the future organisation of the Spanish State.

(...)

Activitats:

1. Impressió que tenen els autors de l'esmentat memoràndum del govern espanyol a l'exili a Mèxic i de la seva acceptació a Espanya.
2. Per quina causa han estat criticats els aliats occidentals en relació a Espanya? Què suggereix el govern nord-americà de fer?

⁴⁰ PRO, PREM 8/353

12 de desembre de 1945.

Telegrama de l'ambaixada britànica a París al *Foreign Office*⁴¹.

(This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on.)

(CYPHER)

(...)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs have just handed me note drawing attention to the attitude of General Franco during the war as revealed in his correspondence with Hitler and Mussolini and the increased hostility which is bound to be aroused by his political regime and the absence of any effort to return to democratic principles. France as a neighbour of Spain is directly concerned. The French Government accordingly feels it difficult to continue normal diplomatic relations. They consider, however, that rupture of relations would only create real effect if joint decision were taken by France, United States and Great Britain. Only such action might lead to change in regime in Spain.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs would be grateful to learn the views of His Majesty's Government on the above proposal and in the event of rupture of diplomatic relations to know what attitude they would adopt towards the Giral Government.

Similar communication has been made to my United States colleague.

(...)

3. Actitud del govern francès respecte el govern de Franco. Proposta que fa als seus aliats britànic i nord-americà.

Desembre de 1945

Carta del *Foreign Office* al seu ambaixador a París.

Sentit de la resposta que ha de donar al govern francès, responent a telegrama seu del 12 desembre en què França suggeria la ruptura de relacions amb el govern espanyol.

(...)

H. M. Government are grateful to the French Government for consulting them in this matter. They entirely share the feelings of the French Government regarding the present Spanish Government and, as many public statements have made clear, are anxious to see the early disappearance of General Franco. (...)

But they consider that before any action is taken with a view to precipitating the fall of General Franco and his regime, it is most important to consider whether the proposed action would, in fact, lead to the desired result and whether it might not in fact have certain consequences (...) as for example, the outbreak of disorders, and renewed civil war in Spain

(...) in view of the absence of any alternative administration which could assume power. His Majesty's Government do not, for example, consider that the Giral Government would be able to return to Spain and assume office. Quite apart from the fact that the Giral Government does not even enjoy general support among the exiled Spanish politicians the information in the possession of H. M. Government goes to show that it

⁴¹ PRO, PREM 8/353

does not command any real support in Spain, and that in fact its return would not be acceptable to the Spanish people. Nor is there as yet sufficient agreement among Spaniards inside Spain on any alternative Regime to replace the present Spanish Government.(...)
(...)

4. Explica l'actitud de Gran Bretanya en relació al govern de Franco i la seva possible caiguda.

25 de febrer de 1946

C.M. (46)18th Conclusions⁴².

*Extract
Secret*

*Trial and execution of Cristino Garcia and other Spanish republicans and the trial of 37 Spanish socialist in Spain.
Closed until 1977*

*The Prime Minister drew attention to reports of the execution in Madrid of certain Spanish Republicans, including some who had fought in the French Resistance Movement. Reports had also been published of the results of the trial at Alcala of 37 members of the General Union of Workers, a Spanish socialist organisation. Five of the defendants had been sentenced to 30 years imprisonment. This action by General Franco's Government would give great offence to public opinion in this country and in France.
(...)*

5. Quins dos fets de repressió feixista recull aquesta carta? Quina reacció provocaran en la opinió pública britànica i francesa?
6. Quines mesures finals es van prendre a nivell diplomàtic i internacional contra el règim feixista del general Franco?

⁴² PRO PREM 8/354

Fitxa 34

CATALANS I BASCOS DEMANEN LA RUPTURA DIPLOMÀTICA AMB FRANCO.

18 de gener de 1946

Tramesa de diversos documents del vice-president del govern d'Euskadi a l'exili, Sr. Leizaola, al ministre d'afers estrangers britànic, Mr. Ernest Bevin, sota el títol de *Appeal from Basque Resistance Movements that relations be broken with Franco Government*.
N'escollim un:

5th January, 1946

Solidarity of Basque Workers, General Union of Workers in Basque Country, and National Confederation of Labour in the Basque Country,

Being the only syndicates which functioned in Euzkadi (i.e. the Basque Country) at the time when syndicates enjoyed freedom and which represent today the unanimous views of the Basque workers organised in secret, with all respect,

REQUEST of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, England and United States, that they adopt a decisive solution against the Franco-Falangist regime and in favour of republican democracy.

The institution of this regime constitutes not only a matter of the most transcendental determination insofar as the importance of the workers is concerned, but is also a matter of the greatest urgency because it is the only means of restoring the economic life of the working classes, who are the principal victims of the regime of oppression from which we suffer.

Bilbao, 5th January, 1946

Signed by

(dues signatures per cada un dels tres sindicats)

Activitats:

1. Qui emet aquesta sol·licitud? Què demana? Per què?

13 de novembre de 1946

Carta de la comunitat catalana exiliada a Mèxic a la delegació britànica davant l'ONU⁴³.

Plea for action by Victor Nations against Franco

*The Catalan Community of Mexico
Uruguay, 49
Mexico, D.F.*

17th October 1946

Hon. Ernest Bevin, Chief of the Delegation of the United Kingdom.

UNO

Lake Success, Long Island,

New York, NY.

The Catalan Community of Mexico, in view of the new meeting of the Assembly of the United Nations, takes the liberty of insisting on the breaking off of relations on the part of all democracies, with the fascist regime of general Franco, so as to bring about, in this manner, the fall of the Spanish tyrant and the reestablishment of the republican democracy in all the Hispanic peoples.

Franco, the oppressor of Catalonia and of all Spanish democrats, Basques and Galicians, must be considered as a war criminal, because of his having headed a rising of falangiste against the Republican regime of Spain, a rising made with the obvious help of Hitler and Mussolini because of his numerous assassinations, committed after our war had ended with the defeat of the democratic forces; a struggle which began in July of 1936 and terminated in 1939, and which was the beginning of the Second World War, with the victory of the United Nations.

The persecutions and tortures which are being suffered, under the terror of peoples who heroically persist in their fight for liberty and democracy, merit not only the contempt of the democrats of the whole world, but call for the institution of a trial, similar to that of Nuremberg. Because, as was so well said by Robert H. Jackson, illustrious Magistrate of the United States supreme Court and chief of the American prosecutors, in the trials against the Nazi chief: "Tyranny, in whatever part of the world it arises, should be a matter of international concern, because it always has disturbing consequences for the peace of peoples". And the peace of European peoples cannot become a reality, if there persist in the Iberian Peninsula the Spanish falangist regime, the totalitarian state of general Franco, the prison-land which nazified Spain actually is.

(...)

Honourable Sir:

The exiled Catalans, in their own name, and in that of those who within Catalonia, cannot make their free voice heard by the democratic world, revindicate the right of our people to the exercise of their national sovereignty, champion the building up of the Peninsula on the basis of the equality of the various nationalities which make up the actual Spanish State. We are struggling in order that the formula which establishes this unification shall be that of a confederation of nations; and that the governmental regime shall be eminently democratic.

(...)

(...)

International justice must make itself felt against Franco and his more immediate collaborators; against the chiefs of the Blue Division, which was sent to the fronts of the

⁴³ PRO FO 371/60420, File Z 9621/524/41.

*Soviet Union, in the service of Hitler's armies; against those responsible for the crimes committed by the Spanish Falange, an authentically fascist organisation;
The peace of Europe demands the immediate the immediate liberation of the Hispanic peoples and the establishment of the republican democracy;
Catalonia demands, from the victorious democracies, their active solidarity, in favour of its people, oppressed and harassed by the Franco Regime.*

*Dr. Salvador Armendares
President*

*Miguel Ferrer
Secretary of Relations*

2. Què demanen els exiliats Catalans a Mèxic? A qui ho sol·liciten?
3. Què va ser el “judici de Nuremberg”, del qual en demanen una repetició contra el règim falangista espanyol?
4. Quines acusacions llencen contra el dictador Franco?
5. Què reivindiquen per a Catalunya?

15 de març de 1946

Nota del *Foreign Office* a l'ambaixador britànic a Madrid (Mr. Victor Mallet⁴⁴).

Dear Victor,

You will, I think, be interested to know that I had a long talk the other day with Senor Lizaso, the representative of the Basque Delegation here (...)

Senor Lizaso said that he was going over to Paris on the following day to see Senor Giral and Dr. Aguirre, the President of the Basque Community. He wished to see for himself how the situation was developing as he was convinced that the Spanish Government must be broadened. What the Basques and the Catalans, who were working on close terms wanted, was a federal republic in which the Basque and Catalan elements would counterbalanced the Spaniards. The latter was poor, ill-educated and unbalanced, whereas the Basques and the Catalans had almost a monopoly of industry, political experience and commercial wealth. He wished therefore to encourage the idea of the Spanish Republican Government being under three Presidents or one President and two Vice Presidents drawn from the three communities. The dominance of Castille and Southern Spain had been a curse like that of Prussia to Germany, because it meant that the Government of the country was completely out of touch with realities.

I told senor Lizaso that I has often heard these views expressed by Dr. Trueta, the famous Catalan surgeon, and that they seemed to me eminently sensible.

(...)

6. Esbrina qui van ser els Srs. Giral, Aguirre i Trueta.
7. Què demanen bascos i catalans en relació a l'estructura de l'estat espanyol? Amb quins arguments ho havia fet el Sr. Lizaso?

⁴⁴ PRO FO 371/60420, Z 2487/524/41

Fitxa 35

PERSECUCIÓ DE LA LLENGUA CATALANA

2 d'agost de 1946

Del Centre Català del PEN Club al ministeri d'afers estrangers britànic⁴⁵.

Message on occasion of recent PEN Club International Congress at Stockholm

Catalan Centre of the PEN Club
49, Wentworth Road,
London, NW11

July 19, 1946.

Dear Sir,

It is ten years to-day since the Spanish garrison in Catalonia revolted against the Catalan Government, as part of the rising led by General Franco against the Spanish Republic. Though the Catalan Government in three days' fighting quelled the rebellion in their own country, it was in the end invaded and occupied by General Franco's rebel army in 1939.

I am sending you herewith a Message received on the occasion of the recent PEN Club International Congress at Stockholm, from our fellow-writers within Catalonia, describing the Francoist persecution in connection with the Catalan language, literature and culture. Signatures must be withheld, to prevent reprisals by General Franco's Government.

We were the first to suffer the joint onslaught of German, Italian and Spanish Fascism, and now, after war has ceased over almost the whole world, we have been left alone to continue single-handed a struggle which has now gone on for ten years.

(...)

Trusting your sympathy will not fail us,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

J. M. Batista i Roca

Secretary

Activitats:

1. Què és el Pen Club? Què envia el Sr. Batista i Roca al *Foreign Office*?
2. Quina situació denuncia? De què es lamenta, a més?

⁴⁵ PRO FO 371/60420, File Z 6897/524/41

M E S S A G E
from the
WRITERS OF CATALONIA
to the
P.E.N. CLUB INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
(Stockholm, June 2-6, 1946)

On behalf of the writers and the people generally of Catalonia, after long years during which force has sealed our lips, we send with deep emotion our heartfelt greetings to the P.E.N. International Congress. We address our fellow-writers, meeting for the first time after the tragedy which has scourged the world, to tell them how Catalan letters fare under General Franco's Government. For eight years implacable persecution has been waged against Catalan language and culture. You, writers of the world, must lend your moral support to help re-establish the freedom necessary for the normal development of our spiritual life.

After a century of renaissance, the Catalans had revived their language as an instrument of literature and culture. We had succeeded in organising great centres of learning - the University of Barcelona, and the Institute of Catalan Studies, with its branches for research in History, Archaeology and Philology; and we were proceeding with the publication of Greek and Latin classics with Catalan translations, and a new edition of the Catalan Bible. We had our press, our theatre, and our books, which, although Catalan is spoken by only some 6,000,000, were published in editions as large as or larger than Spanish editions.

Suddenly we were thrown under a regime of terror, in which everything that was Catalan in thought or word was automatically deemed worthy of insult or punishment.

We had to look on at bonfires of Catalan books in the streets; thousands more were pulped. Public libraries were systematically cleared of them; gangs of Falangists broke into the homes of our most representative intellectuals and sacked their libraries; and books useful for research, if not destroyed, were confiscated and have not reappeared. All signs in Catalan, starting with street names, were smashed and had to be rewritten in Spanish. The persecution, aided by a stringent censorship, swept from the press and books to the smallest and most intimate printed matter such as notices of marriages, births and deaths, Christmas and Easter cards, and religious tracts.

All Catalan cultural institutions were suppressed or perverted, their names and staffs changed. Plays in Catalan were banned, all but popular, traditional religious plays, or rather objectionable sketches inserted into plays in Spanish, in derision of Catalan. Catalan has been banned in all municipal councils and other official bodies, in the law courts, the University, and schools and colleges of all types. Strong pressure has been brought to bear even in the matter of religious education, and Catalan children are now forced to receive Christian teaching in an alien tongue.

This state of things has continued for eight years. Fundamentally nothing has changed. The hatred of things Catalan is as strong now as in the first days of the occupation. If some

of its outward signs seem less pronounced, it is either because the persecutors have realised the futility of their efforts (as in the matter of the spoken language), or because, under pressure of foreign criticism, they are trying to show aliens ignorant of the true conditions here, that Franco Spain is a free country. That is why they have allowed a few books to be printed in Catalan, to show to foreign travellers sympathetically enquiring about the fate of Catalan; and occasionally a Catalan play is given on the stage. But apart from these propaganda gestures, the ban persists in all its rigidity, and the aim of eventually reducing the Catalan language to a patois, and Catalan culture to a mere provincial reflection of the official culture of the Spanish State, still remains the idée fixe of the Spanish rulers.

Such is the situation in Catalonia. We have been very sad to think that practically no voice has been heard abroad denouncing these facts. General Franco has been allowed, without any serious protest from abroad, to carry on one of the most terrible campaigns of persecution in history against the soul of a country and against a language which has taken shape through centuries of cultural development. Perhaps, in subtle poetic justice, the only similar case is the Japanese campaign against the Spanish language in the Philippines.

We, the Catalan writers, address our fellow writers from every country in the world, asking your sympathy and your help. We are convinced that a collective protest by all foreign writers, categorically expressed, could be of help towards restoring normal conditions - the FREEDOM to which we aspire. In secret, and encompassed by danger, we have never given up working, and the secret or camouflaged editions of this period will bear witness in future to our will to resist and subsist. But a country, particularly a small country like Catalonia, cannot endure indefinitely such ruthless injuries as we have suffered ever since the Francoist armies, reinforced by Mussolini's Fascist and Hitler's Nazi troops, invaded us.

We suggest that the International P.E.N., in which before the war we were proud to cooperate, and which has given such a friendly and generous welcome to our writers in exile, should take the initiative in a movement to protect Catalan literary production and help to bring it to fruition. Because we trust you, we come to you. We can only offer our gratitude, the gratitude of a whole country.

Barcelona, May 1946.

Activitats:

3. Resumeix la situació de persecució de la llengua i la cultura catalanes que retrata el missatge dels escriptors de Catalunya, fent un llistat de les prohibicions i atacs que denuncia.
4. Per què la dictadura ha permès l'edició d'algun llibre en català?
5. Què sol·liciten els escriptors catalans als seus col·legues estrangers?

R E S O L U T I O N

PASSED BY

THE 18th CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL P.E.N. CLUB,
Stockholm, June 1946.

THE 18th CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL P.E.N. CLUB

considering that the progress and perfection of human civilisation and solidarity, transcending racial and national frontiers, can only be achieved by the unfettered pursuit of intellectual activities and by men of all races and languages freely making their own contributions;

taking into account that General Franco's Government, the last Fascist regime in Europe, deliberately denies its subjects the fundamental freedoms, limits and controls the activities of their minds, censors and bans the publication of books of both Spanish and foreign writers, thus preventing the access of readers in the Spanish State to the literary creations of other men, isolating the Spanish peoples from the comity of nations and working therefore against international moral solidarity;

noting in particular that General Franco's Government has banned the public use of Catalan, Basque and Galician, the languages of nations representing 40% of the population of the Spanish State, has forbidden the printing of books, newspapers and reviews, and the acting of plays in these languages, as well as the teaching and study of them both in elementary schools and universities, and has abolished the cultural research institutions of these peoples, thus attempting to destroy the languages, soul and civilisation of nations who in the past and in our own day have made remarkable contributions to Art, Letters and Science;

the CONGRESS, therefore resolves

to state its unanimous moral condemnation of methods aimed at abolishing freedom of thought and freedom of expression, which are essential for intellectual and artistic creation, and of the policy which attempts to suppress the Catalan, Basque and Galician languages, their literature and culture;

to send a message of sympathy to all democratic writers of the Hispanic nations, whether in exile or under General Franco's Government, encouraging them to continue their fight for Freedom and human rights, in which we, writers of the world, find inspiration for our work;

and

to express our hope that the day is not far off when our fellow writers, Castilian, Catalan, Basque and Galician, liberated once and for all from an oppressive régime, will be able to bring forth their contributions, from their own countries and out of their own hearts and souls, to foster human solidarity and civilisation.

6. Què té en compte el 18è congrés del PEN Club Internacional respecte el règim franquista?
7. Què nota en particular?
8. Què resol?

Fitxa 36

LA RESISTÈNCIA ANTIFRANQUISTA: EL MAQUIS.

19 de juliol de 1949

Telegrama del consolat de Barcelona al *Foreign Office* a Londres⁴⁶.

Bomb in Plaza Catalunya caused two deaths and many injuries as the square was full of people. There was no damage from the bomb in the Plaza Calvo Sotelo and the bomb placed outside the Ritz Hotel was discovered in time to prevent the explosion. All the bombs were of plastic material. The outrage took place about midnight July 17th-July 18th and are attributed to the same members of the resistance who placed the bombs during F's visit. No arrests have yet been made.

Activitats:

1. Quantes bombes s'havien posat? A qui s'atribueix la seva col·locació? Per què en aquella data?

24 d'agost de 1949

Telegrama del consolat de Barcelona al *Foreign Office* a Londres

There has been grave recrudescence of robberies, armed attacks and sabotage. Security Police have been reinforced from Madrid and barracks have a number of troops confined in readiness. It is not believed that any organised political movement is afoot and incidents are ascribed to terrorists infiltrating from France; but authorities are clearly extremely worried and nervous.

2. A què s'atribueix l'increment d'atacs i sabotatges? Com afecta les autoritats franquistes?

⁴⁶ Els documents continguts en aquesta pàgina provenen del PRO, FO 371/10154

26 d'agost de 1949

Carta del consolat britànic a Barcelona a la cancelleria de l'ambaixada britànica a Madrid.

Restricted.

Dear Chancery,

With reference to my recent letters about the situation in Barcelona, I write to report another hold-up in which two British subjects were involved. The incident took place on the evening of the 23rd when a car driven by its owner, Edgar Neville, well-known cinematograph director and a member of the Spanish Foreign Service, was stopped by

bandits on the road from Gerona to Barcelona at Malgrat. In the car, in addition to its owner who has title of Conde de Berlanga, were the Marquesa de Quintanar and her daughter, Mr. Peter Brook from Covent Garden and Mr. Berkeley Owen who is a member of Lloyds. The Conde de Berlanga and Mr. Owen had been spending the week-end in the same house as myself on the Costa Brava.

When the bandits realised that they had held-up British subjects they were somewhat dismayed and, although they took away the documents of the Spanish citizens, returned the British passports to their owners. Apparently they also took money from Mr. Berkeley Owen but on the other hand returned to Mr. Brook some sketches which Salvador Dali had given to him to take to London in connection with a forthcoming performance at Covent Garden. No luggage was stolen and very few personal belongings. The victims of the attack were then bound and conducted to a nearby wood. The bandits in conversation admitted to the Conde de Berlanga that they were members of the Anarchist Organisation of the F.A.I. and come from Toulouse. The Conde de Berlanga was able after some time to get free and the party proceeded on foot to the nearest station of the Guardia Civil where they were accommodated for the night and sent on to Barcelona. The car was recovered the next day at Figueras near the frontier in perfect condition and with its documents intact. Clearly then the object of the hold-up was merely to obtain transport.

(...)

*Yours ever,
H.A. Hobson.*

26 d'agost de 1949

Carta del consolat britànic a Barcelona a la cancelleria de l'ambaixada britànica a Madrid.

Dear Chancery,

With reference to my letter of 26th August reporting the hold-up of a car in which two British subjects were travelling, I write to report that according to the press, the Security Police have been able to run this particular band to earth. They had apparently also been responsible for the hold-up mentioned in my letter of 19th August (H/79/49) and the burning of the petrol wagons reported in my letter of 24th August (H/80/49). In a fight just on the frontier the Civil Guard killed two of the band and it is thought that the others, who are being actively pursued, will be unable to escape.

(...)

*Yours ever,
H.A. Hobson*

3. qui eren els anomenats "bandits"? d'on van dir que venien? Quin era el seu objectiu? Què els va succeir, posteriorment, segons la premsa?
4. Tant els comunistes com els anarquistes van acabar renunciant a la lluita armada. Esbrina quan va ser això i per què. Foren ells els darrers guerrillers en actiu? Esbrina-ho també.

Fitxa 37

FER VAGA SOTA LA DICTADURA

18 de novembre de 1949

De l'ambaixada britànica a Madrid al govern de Londres:
Confidencial.

*Report on a strike of textile workers in Barcelona.
Encloses a copy of a report received from Barcelona.
(Minutes: A pretty black story)*

Dear Department,

(...) This is the first report we have had of an organised protest of this kind against labour conditions, and is interesting as an indication of the way in which troubles are handled by the authorities.

Yours ever, Chancery.

Memorandum

Strike in a Barcelona cotton textile mill.

It has reported from a reliable source, which must not be compromised, that a two days' strike, involving 2,000 employees, most of whom are women, occurred in the mill of TRINXET INDUSTRIAL S.A., Santa Eulalia, 172, Barcelona. The dispute arose over an increase in wages which the Delegado de Trabajo refused to sanction. The strike took place on September 8th and 9th, and the premises were occupied by military from September 9th to September 14th. The outcome was that no increases were granted and all the workers went back to duty on September 15th, but they were fined one day's pay and received no wages for the period the factory was seized.

There has been a great deal of agitation by textile workers for an increase in wages since the publication of the decree of 24th June de-controlling prices of finished textile goods. This decree made no provisions for any increase in wages. This agitation came to a head when workers in the dye-houses, of which there are a considerable number in Catalonia, received an assurance by the Government that they would receive an increase.

As soon as this news was promulgated, the workers in the weaving plant of MANUFACTURAS BALET & VENDRELL S.A., of Badal, 157, Barcelona, consisting of about 500 women, on the advice of the Social Section of the Provincial Textile Syndicate petitioned the management for an around increase of 100 Ptas a month per worker. The management replied that they were prohibited by the Ministry of Labour to grant any increases in wages. But after a threat of strike action, they agreed to an increase of Ptas 50 a month per worker, to distribute one share of dress-making cloth to each female worker three times a year and to increase food rations.

The news of this wage increase then precipitated a similar demand from the workers of TRINXET INDUSTRIAL S.A., who are cotton weavers. (...) The Delegado de Trabajo suggested that the weavers join forces with the dye-houses and put up a concerted plan for wage increase to the Ministry of Labour. He promised to endorse this plan.

(...) the management of TRINXET received the workers' representatives and explained that they were not permitted to take an independent course of action in the question of wage increases and that a proposal for a general increase was being submitted to the Ministry. The workers' committee then intimated that, unless their demands were met, they would be powerless to hold back the mass of the workers who were threatening strike action. On the morning of September 8th, the strike commenced. The machines were started, but the workers refused to operate them. The strike spread to the afternoon shift and continued on Friday morning. A meeting was then called at noon, on September 9th, by the Delegado de Trabajo, who addressed the workers and explained the position to them. He stated that, unless all workers returned to duty by 4:00 p.m., Government troops would occupy the premises, and threatened that, unless all strike activities ceased immediately, all would be dismissed. He labelled the strike movement as "anti-governmental".

But it was obvious to the Delegado de Trabajo that the use of troops to oust 2,000 women would give rise to an extremely serious social and political problem in the area. He therefore ordered the management to pay, on the afternoon of September 9th, the second shift their wages for the week. This gave the workers the impression that the Delegado de Trabajo had been bluffing and that the strike was won, and confident of victory they left at the end of the second shift at 11:00 p.m. At midnight, troops occupied the premises and told the management to close the factory. Notices were nailed to the plant entrances stating that "as the workers had continued their anti-Government conduct, they were all dismissed with the total loss of their rights and that the plant had been seized by military forces". The works remained under military occupation over the week-end. On Monday, September the 12th, blank lists were posted at factory entrances to be filled in by all workers who wished to enrol anew in TRINXET, but, by the end of the day, only two workers had enrolled. The next day the workers' committee requested a meeting with the Delegado de Trabajo, who refused unless all the workers filled in the posted lists. The committee replied that they could not force their fellow workers to do this. However, on Wednesday, the 14th, a meeting was held, attended by the Chief of the Social section of the Provincial Textile Syndicate, and it was agreed that all workers could return to work without loss of seniority rights, etc., but that they would be fined one day's pay each and that they would receive no pay for the period of September 8th to the 14th. Normal working operations began at TRINXET INDUSTRIAL the following day.

As a result of this strike, the Balet & Vendrell labour management agreement was made void and the firm fined Ptas. 180,000.

There is no evidence whatsoever of political influence behind the strike movement, which was dictated purely by economic necessity of the workers.

*LJS/FRB
4.11.49*

Activitats:

1. Surten victoriosos d'aquesta vaga, els treballadors? Per què?
2. Quin mètode fa servir l'autoritat del govern, en aquest cas el *delegado de trabajo*?
3. Qui no acceptava augmentar els salaris dels treballadors, els amos o el govern de Franco?
4. Quines diferències trobes amb com es resoldria aquesta situació en una democràcia?

Fitxa 38

ESDEVENIMENTS OFICIALS, PROPAGANDA I COERCIÓ, I FESTES DE MONTSERRAT DE 1947.

11 de juliol de 1947

De l'oficial d'informació del Consolat General britànic de Barcelona al *Information Department del Foreign Office*⁴⁷:

Part I-Appreciation

During this quarter, purely Spanish affairs have largely absorbed the attention of Barcelona...the Victory Parades, Franco's Law of Succession, Franco's visits to Valencia, Palma and to Barcelona itself, the great Catalan festival at Montserrat and finally the visit of "La Presidenta" of the Argentine.

With the exception of the Montserrat pilgrimage, these have all been reflected in the press in thousands of inches of superlatives, the amount of regime propaganda having exceeded in both quantity and adjectives anything seen in the Barcelona papers since the end of the war.

With regard to Franco's visit, the most spectacular of the above incidents, it should be recorded that although it was well known that coercion of every type was exercised to make the visit a success and his welcome appear spontaneous, there is no denying the fact that the visit was a success and that the Caudillo himself was agreeably surprised. Even so, this must not be taken to imply that opposition to Franco has weakened or that he has become a popular figure: on the contrary it seems to show despite their opposition the Catalans are not an unruly or savage crowd and that the falangist bogey of communist and anarchist strength in Catalonia is not a real issue. One might add in support of this, that the Montserrat celebration, the second most important local event, and one entirely unsupported by official funds, coercion and propaganda, drew a crowd of over 60,000 to the mountain-top, and was only a thinly-disguised demonstration of anti-Franco Catholic Catalanism (akin to M.R.P.) and that this again passed off with an orderliness and decorum not often seen in a Latin political demonstration.

(...)

Activitats:

1. Com descriu el cònsol britànic la propaganda franquista dels esdeveniments oficials d'aquest 1947 a Barcelona?
2. A què atribueix el cònsol britànic el fet que tradicionalment les visites de Franco semblessin un èxit? Quina considera que és l'actitud majoritària dels catalans cap a Franco?
3. Busca informació sobre la *Cel·lebració de Montserrat* de 1947. Quin caràcter va prendre, segons el cònsol britànic?

⁴⁷ B/215/47

Fitxa 39

CENSURA EN LA PREMSA I EMISSIONS EN CATALÀ DE LA BBC (1947)

4 de juny de 1947.

De l'oficial d'informació del Consolat General britànic de Barcelona al *Information Department del Foreign Office*⁴⁸:

(...)

Part II-Channels

A. Press

(...)

The principal factor governing our relations with the Barcelona press is the strong official censorship, unrelaxed after eight years of Franco's "peaceful" regime. Indeed it appears that this censorship, both as regards the imposition of directives and the expurgation of material is more rigid than in Madrid both because (at least according to local opinion) Madrid refuses to allow Catalonia liberties she herself enjoys and because the papers here are more afraid of incurring official wrath. It is worth adding that the chief censor himself is afraid of his superiors in Madrid and hence is more careful to see that no paper transgresses. (...) When censorship directives are disobeyed or papers "fail in their honour" by publishing contentious material, the papers are warned, punished by fine or their quota of newsprint is withheld. (...) Most papers satisfy themselves with disparaging allusions to minor personalities, or groups who fail to carry out the Government's plans and hence can be blamed with impunity although readers know full well it is the Government and not the individuals named that are being criticised.

(...)

H. Radio.

(...)

Audibility and Audience of BBC Transmissions to your area. Suggestions of improvement.

(...)

Programmes in Catalan.

A special word of praise and thanks should be given to the BBC for its programmes in the Catalan language and those dealing with Catalan music and Arts. All shades of opinion (except the Falangists) concur in their appreciation, since this language is still virtually forbidden. We have received over 100 letters of congratulation, many of which have been passed to the BBC.

Activitats:

1. Per què l'informador britànic posa entre cometes l'expressió "règim de pau" de Franco?
2. En quins dos sentits actua la fèrria censura oficial, segons aquest informe? Per què és més rígida a Catalunya que a Madrid? Com

⁴⁸ PRO, FO 953/75

es castiga la premsa que desobeeix les directives de la censura?
Com s'encobreixen les crítiques al règim en el llenguatge dels diaris?

3. Què era (i és) la *BBC*? Per què rep tantes cartes d'agraïment de ciutadans catalans? Qui són els únics que no ho troben bé?

Fitxa 40

LA FI DE L'ÀILLAMENT INTERNACIONAL DE LA DICTADURA FRANQUISTA.

7 de juliol de 1951.

Telegrama del *Foreign Office* (Ministeri d'exteriors britànic) al govern dels EUA⁴⁹

(This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on.)

(Cypher/OTP and by Confidential Bag)

Foreign Office and Whirehall Secret Distribution

Repeated for information to Paris and Saving to Madrid No.55

(...)

Cabinet have decided that United States Government should be informed of our strong opposition to the closer association of Spain in the defence of Western Europe and should be urged to abandon their policy of promoting the association of Spain with the Western democracies.

2. This decision has been reached after very careful weighing of the arguments of both sides. It is admitted that the strategic arguments in favour of United States policy are very strong but in view of Cabinet these are outweighed by other considerations. I need not set the latter out in detail since they are known to you.

3. Briefly, our view is based on the fact that there are two aspects of European defence – material and moral- and that the latter is at least as important as the former. The purpose and unity of the Western association, and so Western defence potential, would suffer from the admission to Western ranks of Franco Spain. The ideological foundations on which the Atlantic Pact is based would be dangerously weakened. What is needed, in this `phase of the cold war, is a steady build up of both the moral and the material force if the Atlantic Treaty countries. The Scandinavians, Belgians, Dutch and possibly Italians, as well as we and the French, would be severely shaken by any decision by the Americans, by unilateral action , to treat Franco as though he were eligible for the Western Club.

(...)

Activitats:

1. El govern britànic és contrari a les intencions dels EUA respecte l'Espanya franquista. Quin és aquesta política dels EUA?
2. Amb quins arguments s'oposa Gran Bretanya a l'entrada d'Espanya en una aliança militar occidental?
3. Què se signa el 1951 entre Franco i Eisenhower? Quins altres fets marquen la fi de l'aïllament internacional de la dictadura franquista i la seva consolidació?

⁴⁹ PRO PREM 8/1531, telegrama n°2900.