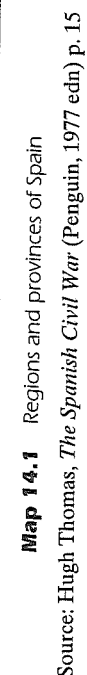


The Japanese success story was symbolized by a remarkable engineering feat – a tunnel 54 kilometres long linking Honshu (the largest island) with Hokkaido to the north. Completed in 1985, it had taken twenty-one years to build and was the world's longest tunnel. Another new development which continued into the 1990s was that Japanese manufacturers were beginning to set up car, electronics and textile factories in the USA, Britain and western Europe; her economic success and power seemed without limit.

- Catalonia and the Basque provinces (see Map 14.1) wanted independence;
- the Roman Catholic Church was bitterly hostile to the republic, which in return disliked the Church and was determined to reduce its power;
- it was felt that the army had too much influence in politics and might attempt another coup;
- there were additional problems caused by the depression: agricultural prices were falling, wine and olive exports declined, land went out of cultivation and peasant unemployment rose. In industry iron production fell by a third and steel production by almost half. It was a time of falling wages, unemployment and falling standards of living. Unless it could make some headway with this final problem, the republic was



2 Right-wing opposition

The left's solutions to these problems were not acceptable to the right, which became increasingly alarmed at the prospect of social revolution. The dominant grouping in the *Cortes* (parliament), the socialists and middle class radicals, began energetically:

- Catalonia was allowed some self-government;
- an attack was made on the Church (Church and state were separated, priests would no longer be paid by the government, Jesuits were expelled, other orders could be dissolved, and religious education ceased);
- a large number of army officers were compulsorily retired;
- a start was made on the nationalization of large estates; and
- attempts were made to raise wages of industrial workers.

Each of these measures infuriated one or other of the right-wing groups (Church, army, landowners and industrialists). In 1932 some army officers tried to overthrow the Prime Minister, Manuel Azana, but the rising was easily suppressed, as the majority of the army remained loyal at this stage. A new right-wing party, the *Ceda*, was formed to defend the Church and the landlords.

3 Left-wing opposition

The republic was further weakened by opposition from two powerful left-wing groups, the *anarchists* and the *syndicalists* (certain powerful trades unions) who favoured a general strike and the overthrow of the capitalist system. They despised the socialists for co-operating with the middle-class groups. They organized strikes, riots and assassinations. Matters came to a head in January 1933 when some government guards set fire to houses in the village of Casas Viejas near Cadiz, to smoke out some anarchists. Twenty-five people were killed, which lost the government much working-class support, and caused even the socialists to withdraw support from Azana, who resigned. In the following elections (November 1933) the right-wing parties won a majority, the largest group being the new Catholic *Ceda* under its leader Gil Robles.

4 The actions of the new right-wing government

The new government aroused the left to fury. They

- cancelled most of Azana's reforms
- interfered with the working of the new Catalan government and
- refused to allow the Basques self-government.

This was a serious error, since the Basques had supported the right in the elections, but now switched to the left.

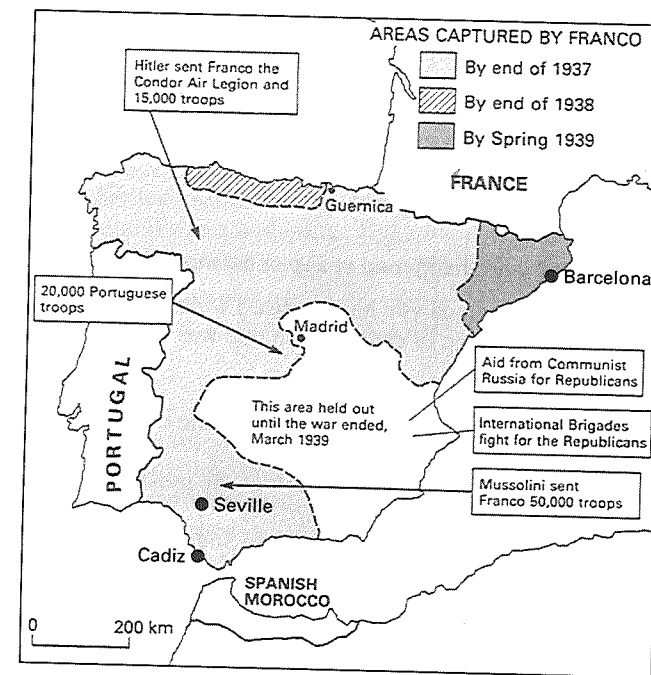
As the government moved further right, the left-wing groups (socialists, anarchists, syndicalists and now communists) drew closer together to form a *Popular Front*. Revolutionary violence grew: anarchists derailed the Barcelona-Seville express, killing nineteen people; there was a general strike in 1934 and there were rebellions in Catalonia and Asturias. The miners of Asturias fought bravely but were crushed ruthlessly by troops under the command of General Franco. In the words of historian Hugh Thomas, 'after the manner in which the revolution had been quelled, it would have required a superhuman effort to avoid the culminating disaster of civil war. But no such effort was forthcoming'. Instead, as the financial, as well as the political situation deteriorated, the right fell apart, and in the elections of February 1936 the *Popular Front*

5 The new government turned out to be ineffective

The socialists decided not to support it, hoping to seize power when the middle-class republican government failed. The government seemed incapable of keeping order, and crisis point came in July 1936 when Calvo Sotelo, the leading right-wing politician, was murdered by police. This terrified the right and convinced them that *the only way to restore order was by a military dictatorship*. A group of generals, conspiring with the right, especially with the new fascist *Falange* party of José Antonio de Rivera (Primo's son), had already planned a military takeover. Using Calvo Sotelo's murder as an excuse, they began a revolt in Morocco, where General Franco soon assumed the leadership. The civil war had begun.

(c) The civil war 1936-9

By the end of July 1936, the right, calling themselves *nationalists*, controlled much of the north and the area around Cadiz and Seville in the south; the *republicans* controlled the centre and north-east, including the major cities of Madrid and Barcelona. The struggle was a bitter one in which both sides committed terrible atrocities. The Church suffered horrifying losses at the hands of the republicans, with over 6000 priests and nuns murdered. The nationalists were helped by Italy and Germany, who sent arms and men, together with food supplies and raw materials. The republicans received some help from Russia, but France and Britain refused to intervene, merely allowing volunteers to fight in Spain. The nationalists captured Barcelona and the whole of Catalonia in January 1939, and the war ended in March 1939 when they captured Madrid (Map 14.2).



Map 14.2 The Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939

Reasons for the nationalist victory

- Franco was extremely skilful in holding together the various right-wing groups (army, Church, monarchists and Falangists);
- The republicans were much less united, and anarchists and communists actually fought each other for a time in Barcelona;
- The extent of foreign help for the nationalists was probably decisive: this included 50 000 Italian and 20 000 Portuguese troops, a large Italian airforce, and hundreds of German planes and tanks. One of the most notorious actions was the German bombing of the defenceless Basque town of *Guernica*, in which over 1600 people were killed (see question 2 at the end of the chapter).

(d) *Franco in power*

Franco, taking the title *Caudillo* (leader), set up a government which was similar in many ways to those of Mussolini and Hitler. It was marked by repression, military courts and mass executions. But in other ways it was not fascist: for example, the regime supported the Church, which was given back its control over education. That would never have happened in a true fascist state. Franco was also shrewd enough to keep Spain out the Second World War, though Hitler expected Spanish help and tried to persuade Franco to get involved. When Hitler and Mussolini were defeated, Franco survived and ruled Spain until his death in 1975. During the 1960s he gradually relaxed the repressiveness of his regime: military courts were abolished, workers were allowed a limited right to strike, and elections were introduced for some members of parliament (though political parties were still banned). Much was done to modernize Spanish agriculture and industry and the economy was helped by Spain's growing tourist industry. Eventually Franco came to be regarded as standing above politics. He was preparing Alfonso XIII's grandson, *Juan Carlos*, to succeed him, believing that a conservative monarchy was the best way of keeping Spain stable. When Franco died in 1975, Juan Carlos became king, and soon showed that he was in favour of a return to all-party democracy. The first free elections were held in 1977. Later, under the leadership of socialist Prime Minister *Felipe Gonzalez*, Spain joined the European Community (January 1986).

Questions

- 1 Section 14.1 described what happened in Japan between the wars.
 - (a) Make a list of things which you have noticed which changed during this period, and say what type of change each one was – political, economic, social. 1.4a, 5a, 7a
 - (b) What things stayed the same? 1.4a
 - (c) Why did some people welcome the changes while others saw them as a disaster? 1.6a, 6c–8c
 - (d) Do you think the world economic crisis was the most important reason for Japan becoming a military dictatorship? 1.4b–9a
- 2 *The bombing of Guernica, 26 April 1937* Study Sources A to D and then answer the questions which follow.

Source A

Extracts from an eye-witness account of the bombing

Until the past week, thought IGNACIA OZAMIZ, with the exception of food

affected Guernica. Lying to the north-east of Bilbao, Guernica, a town of 6000 inhabitants, was a symbol of liberty and tradition for the Basques. In a few hours it became the universal symbol of fascist terror. They hadn't taken adequate precautions against air-raids, though there were some crude shelters. First a solitary Heinkel flew over and dropped half a dozen bombs. Then she saw another nine planes appear, flying low, and she threw herself on the ground as the first bombs fell. Some crashed on the nearby hospital. Then fighters dived down and machine-gunned people trying to flee. After the high explosive bombs, successive waves of planes dropped incendiaries. The town was beginning to burn, the wooden rafters catching alight and a pall of smoke was rising into the sky ... when we left the shelter we saw that our house and everything in sight was burning. ... How could they say the Reds had done it when they hardly had a single plane, poor souls?

Source: Ronald Fraser, *Blood of Spain* (Penguin, 1979)

Source B

The Nationalists maintained that Guernica had been blown up by Basques themselves, in order to discredit the blameless Nationalists. A later version said that Republican planes dropped bombs to detonate charges of dynamite placed in the sewers. Twenty years later it was still a crime in Franco's Spain to say that Guernica had been destroyed by the Nationalists.

Source: David Mitchell, *The Spanish Civil War* (Granada, 1971)

Source C

A statement by Juan Sangroniz, a Nationalist

Our consciences were uneasy about it. After living through the raid we knew only too well that the destruction had come from the air. The Reds had hardly any planes, we knew that too. Amongst our own, we'd admit the truth: our side had bombed the town and it was a bad thing. 'But what can we do about it now?' we'd say. It was better simply to keep quiet.

Source: quoted in Ronald Fraser, *Blood of Spain* (Penguin, 1979)

Source D

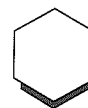
A Nationalist officer admitted to a reporter from *the Sunday Times* in August [1937] that Guernica had been bombed by his side ... Years later, the German air ace, Adolph Galland, admitted that the Germans were responsible. He argued that the attack was an error, caused by bad bomb sights and lack of experience. The Germans, he said, were trying for the bridge over the river, missed it completely, and by mistake, destroyed the town. The Germans said the wind caused the bombs to drift westwards. In fact Guernica was a military target, being a communications centre close to the battle line. Retreating republican soldiers could only escape with any ease through Guernica because the bridge over the river was the last one before the sea. But if the aim of the [German] Condor Legion was to destroy the

of the aim must have been to cause maximum panic and confusion among civilians as well as soldiers. The use of incendiary bombs proves that some destruction of buildings and people other than the bridge must have been intended.

Source: Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War* (Penguin, 1977, 3rd edn)

- (a) Using all the sources, make a list of the various suggestions made about who was responsible for, and what methods were used in, the attack on Guernica.
3.4 8 marks
- (b) Why do you think there are so many different interpretations of what happened?
1.6c–9c, 2.4–10 5 marks
- (c) What are the strengths and weaknesses of each of these sources? Which one do you think is most useful for the historian trying to get at the truth?
3.5–10 12 marks

Total: 25 marks



PART III

Communism – rise and decline