

The Spanish Civil War.  
Belfast. 1st September.

- The importance of the Spanish civil War lying in  
a/ foreign intervention on the one side and the other.  
b/ that this intervention happens in the name of Ideas of world wide relevance (whether Fascism and Democracy or Bolshevism).

These two facts make it so important and threatening.

*What was the true character of the Sp. R? Why did it fail?*  
I. Social and political background.

**SOCIAL.** Roman Catholic /society of the backward type.  
Lead by the Roman ~~clergy~~ clergy, the army and landed aristocracy.  
School system underdeveloped, illiteracy, agrarian destitution. 67% of the land owned by 2% of the owners. although 75% of the population living on the ~~land~~ wages 7d- maximum 2/6 a day. soil of 24 million inhabitants 3 millions ~~less~~ less. extensive agriculture, 60% of the soil in South. uncultivated.

-Education: 1931 half of the school children educated by the Church.  
March 1933, Bill closing Catholic schools. still 500,000 children at Catholic Schools.  
Army: A general for every 18 soldiers.

**POLITICAL.**  
1923 -1931 Primo de Rivera 's dictatorship. Failed.  
1931 ( 14 April) King Alfonso yields the throne.  
(28th June ) Cortes Constituyentes .  
(9th December) ~~new~~ New Constitution adopted.  
(10th December , ) Niceto Alcalá Zamora President.

I. WHY DID THE REPUBLIC FAIL?  
a/ Parties: 291 136 42 . ( neither Communists nor Fascists)  
b/ Zamora: a good Catholic. incl.  
Chief tasks: New constitution ( 1876)  
Separation of Church and state. ( inc. education)  
Land reform, *Antonomias (regionalism)*  
Reform of the army  
Chief obstacles: Illiteracy, lack of democratic tradition of the masses; no politic. educ.  
Deliberate sabotage of the clergy, the generals, the big landowners (mon).  
Chief struggle: Land reform and Church laws. Substantial difficulty of both

2.

# Programmes

Problems of land reform:

Land Reform Bill passed Sept. 1932.

expropriation of feudal estates, badly cultivated land, and land near towns and villages with indemnification. i.e. confiscation of the land of the grandes terres, splitting up of large estates among small holders.

Mixed Juries, to arbitrate on work contracts to improve starvation wages. (for share croppers).

Law of municipal districts, aimed at bosses village caciquismo, enslavement to local village bosses; prohibit admission of workers district as long as there is unemployment there.

Under monarchy: aa/ putting pressure on local voters unless they will reflect their bosses.

bb/ putting pressure on wages.

accusation against Lerroux

Sept 33: maladministration

a/ of mixed juries law

b/ suspending municipal districts law.

40,000 priests lost their state allowances Dec. 33

1,7 mill. acres taken over from sabotaged landowners.

Complete sabotage of confiscation of property of Jesuits.

Centre: Lerroux programme: end of the liquidation of the power of the Church and the Landlords.

a/ continuation of subsidies to the rural clergy,

b/ no further closing of primary and second schools of religious orders;

c/ abolition of Municipal District law to incr. mobility of labor

d/ reform of electoral law;

e/ political amnesty to pre-November 19th, 1933 offenders.

Azanza: the Right would use the Centre as a tool and then overthrow them. Febr 11th, 1934

Right: Back to monarchy, Church rule etc.

Tactics: sabotaging with the help of the Centre, and continuing to do so, when members of the government.

The main method: making the Left dependent on the workers support and denouncing the government as Socialist or Communist, in order to frighten the middle classes back into dependence on the Roman Church.

note: "N.B." Dec 1933.

June 31 - 33

First "Biennio" . Left government. Azanna leadership.  
 Biennio negro: Lerroux leadership. (THE TWO WINGS OF THE MIDDLE  
 CLASS PARTY: called radicals) *Oct 24 1936*  
 Herriot and Daladier.  
 Lloyd George and Asquith.  
 Should the public accept the support of the  
 Labour: Yes or No?

Azanna	Lerroux	Gil Robles.	
291	136	42	28 June 1931
98	162	212	19th Nov 1933
265	64	144	16th Febr 1936.

The political dilemma after the Nov. 1933 elections.  
 Gil Robles statement-Quote.

When Left victorious Catalonia reintroduces agrarian laws.  
 peasants begin distribution of land in  
 March Andalusia.  
 March 9th outrages, assassinations started  
 April 17 Fascist Party dissolved.  
 May 18th two cavalry regiments unity. at Alcañiz 27 officers  
 arrested.  
 May 29th strikes in Madrid and Barcelona.  
 July 12th Jose de Castillo / Lt of shock police murdered.  
 July 13th Caro Sotelo murdered.  
 July 14th Gil Robles indicted government. (leaves the  
 country).  
 18 Insurrection breakout.

The Fascist - Communist legend.

No Fascist party of any account. 40 F. 20 Comm. elected.

Febr Azanna: Fascism in Spain of no importance. endemic  
 Communist: No headway. The arch-enemy in Spain  
 a/ Up to 1935 they were without influence.  
 b/ after 1935 they had to comply with the new  
 Communist line of moderation.  
 c/ pure anti-clericalism declared to be Bolshe-  
 hevism.

There is a tendency to identify democracy with Bolshevism.  
 This is the Fascist tendency. It even avails itself of  
 genuine religious feeling, and uses it for its purposes.  
 We should guard against being abused in this way.