

**THE FAILURE OF CATALANIST OPPOSITION TO  
FRANCO (1939-1950)**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D IN THE UNIVERSITY  
OF LONDON**

**BY**

**CASILDA GÜELL AMPUERO**

**SUPERVISOR: PAUL PRESTON**

**DECEMBER 2004**



UMI Number: U613448

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI U613448

Published by ProQuest LLC 2014. Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.  
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against  
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.



ProQuest LLC  
789 East Eisenhower Parkway  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

THESES .

F.  
9514 .



1278492 .

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Like any academic enterprise, this thesis benefited from the assistance and support of many people and institutions.

I am indebted to my supervisor, Paul Preston, for his patience and support throughout the whole project. The discussions with my friends and colleagues at the Cañada Blanch Centre for Contemporary Studies were very helpful. In particular, I would like to thank Beatriz Ansón.

Jonathan Oates and Natasha Muslih helped me enormously with their proofreading of the entire thesis. Their hard work was admirable. Finally, I would like to thank all of those friends who put up with my difficult moments during this project: my parents, David, Mirta, the Marías, Duncan, Roberto, Vinz, Francesc and all the friends in Spain, London and France.

Without the support, help and encouragement of all these friends and colleagues, my thesis would have never been completed. Of course, any errors of the text are entirely mine.

## ABSTRACT

This thesis accounts for the failure of Catalan opposition to Franco between 1939 and 1950. Catalan opposition was part of a wider external opposition to Franco that developed after the Spanish Civil War, both inside Spain and in exile, and which ultimately had as its aim a degree of self-determination for Catalonia. In 1950, the international community made clear its acceptance of Francoism, dashing the hopes of Catalan both at home and abroad.

In the aftermath of the Civil War, many Catalans moved to France, trying to establish an infrastructure of opposition there, only to see it occupied by the Germans. Seeking refuge in the UK, in the USA and Latin America – Mexico in particular – Catalans of all stripes tried to overcome those difficulties imposed by their dispersion, amongst other problems, in order to mount an effective opposition to the dictator. The situation in a newly liberated France in 1944 took centre stage once again. Anticipating that a victorious Allied side would assist in their struggle, Catalan groups instead watched the ambassadors return to Madrid, in November 1950.

In previous accounts, it is argued that Catalan opposition to Franco failed, at least in part on account of such factors as lack of resources, Franco's effective establishment and maintenance of control, and a lack of support for the anti-Francoist movement within the international community. Whilst these factors were no doubt important in determining the course of events, it is argued here that the Catalan element of external opposition to the regime was more significant than has generally been acknowledged. In addition to difficulties of communication and economy, the Catalans suffered internal divisions, recurrent clashes of leadership and poor relations with other opposition groups, and failed to establish either a unitary political programme or governmental institutions, at a cost to legitimacy. Therefore, their failure was partly due to their incapacity to organise themselves.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</i> .....	2
<i>ABSTRACT</i> .....	3
<i>TABLE OF CONTENTS</i> .....	4
<i>INTRODUCTION</i> .....	9
<i>HISTORIOGRAPHY</i> .....	16
<i>STRUCTURE</i> .....	18
<i>CHAPTER 1 - THE CONTEXT AND ANTECEDENTS OF CATALAN</i>	
<i>OPPOSITION BEFORE 1939</i> .....	24
1.1 <i>INTRODUCTION</i> .....	24
1.2 <i>THE CONTEXT AND ANTECEDENTS OF CATALAN OPPOSITION (1875-1936)</i> .....	24
1.3 <i>THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR 1936 – 1939</i> .....	41
1.4 <i>THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FRANCOISM</i> .....	46
1.5 <i>THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ANTI-FRANCOIST OPPOSITION</i> .....	50
1.6 <i>CONCLUSION</i> .....	60
<i>CHAPTER 2 - CATALAN OPPOSITION TO FRANCO FROM APRIL 1939 TO</i>	
<i>JUNE 1940: THE FRENCH EXILE</i> .....	62
2.1 <i>INTRODUCTION</i> .....	62
2.2 <i>THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR - THE SITUATION IN CATALONIA</i> .....	63
2.3 <i>EXODUS TO FRANCE</i> .....	66

<b>2.4 CATALAN EXTERNAL RELATIONS.....</b>	<b>72</b>
<b>2.5 THE IMPACT OF THE BEGINNING OF WWII ON CATALAN NATIONALISM.....</b>	<b>78</b>
<b>2.6 CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>80</b>
<b><i>CHAPTER 3 - CATALAN OPPOSITION TO FRANCO FROM JULY 1940 TO AUGUST 1942: THE BRITISH EXILE.....</i></b>	
<b>3.1 INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>83</b>
<b>3.2 THE IMPACT OF THE GERMAN OCCUPATION OF FRANCE ON THE FRENCH EXILE.....</b>	<b>83</b>
<b>3.3 THE IMPACT OF WWII ON THE BRITISH EXILE .....</b>	<b>87</b>
<b>3.4 EXODUS TO BRITAIN.....</b>	<b>88</b>
<b>3.5 CATALAN EXTERNAL RELATIONS.....</b>	<b>99</b>
<b>3.6 CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>109</b>
<b><i>CHAPTER 4 - THE CATALAN OPPOSITION TO FRANCO FROM JULY 1940 TO AUGUST 1942: THE ATLANTIC EXILE.....</i></b>	
<b>4.1 INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>111</b>
<b>4.2 CATALAN OPPOSITION IN THE UNITED STATES.....</b>	<b>112</b>
<b>4.3 CATALAN OPPOSITION IN LATIN AMERICA .....</b>	<b>115</b>
<b>4.4 CATALAN RELATIONS WITH OTHER GROUPS IN OPPOSITION IN LATIN AMERICA.....</b>	<b>120</b>
<b>4.5 PROBLEMS OF ORGANISATION IN LATIN AMERICA .....</b>	<b>125</b>
<b>4.6 SANTALO'S ARRIVAL IN MEXICO .....</b>	<b>126</b>
<b>4.7 CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>128</b>

<b><i>CHAPTER 5-CATALAN OPPOSITION TO FRANCO FROM AUGUST 1942 TO OCTOBER 1944: THE CRISIS OF CATALAN NATIONALISM IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.....</i></b>	<b><i>130</i></b>
<b><i>5.1 INTRODUCTION.....</i></b>	<b><i>130</i></b>
<b><i>5.2 DISSOLUTION OF CNC OF LONDON, FAILURE OF SANTALO’S CONSELL IN MEXICO AND RECONSTITUTION OF CONSELL OF LONDON.....</i></b>	<b><i>131</i></b>
<b><i>5.3 CATALAN DEVELOPMENTS IN FRANCE AND SPAIN.....</i></b>	<b><i>137</i></b>
<b><i>5.4 LATIN AMERICA DEVELOPMENTS .....</i></b>	<b><i>143</i></b>
<b><i>5.5 CONCLUSION.....</i></b>	<b><i>144</i></b>
<b><i>CHAPTER 6 - CATALAN OPPOSITION TO FRANCO FROM AUGUST 1944 TO JUNE 1945: THE WAR’S END.....</i></b>	<b><i>146</i></b>
<b><i>6.1 INTRODUCTION.....</i></b>	<b><i>146</i></b>
<b><i>6.2 THE LIBERATION OF FRANCE .....</i></b>	<b><i>146</i></b>
<b><i>6.3 DEVELOPMENTS IN FRANCE, CATALONIA AND BRITAIN.....</i></b>	<b><i>153</i></b>
<b><i>6.4 CATALAN EXTERNAL RELATIONS.....</i></b>	<b><i>164</i></b>
<b><i>6.5 CONCLUSION.....</i></b>	<b><i>169</i></b>
<b><i>CHAPTER 7 – CATALAN OPPOSITION FROM JUNE 1945 TO NOVEMBER 1950: THE RETURN OF THE AMBASSADORS.....</i></b>	<b><i>171</i></b>
<b><i>7.1 INTRODUCTION.....</i></b>	<b><i>171</i></b>
<b><i>7.2 THE SPANISH QUESTION .....</i></b>	<b><i>172</i></b>
<b><i>7.3 THE FORMATION OF CATALAN GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE .....</i></b>	<b><i>179</i></b>
<b><i>7.4 PLATFORMS OF OPPOSITION.....</i></b>	<b><i>183</i></b>



<b>7.5 THE ATLANTIC EXILE .....</b>	<b>186</b>
<b>7.6 CATALAN EXTERNAL RELATIONS.....</b>	<b>187</b>
<b>7.7 END OF CATALAN HOPES.....</b>	<b>192</b>
<b>7.8 CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>194</b>
<b>APPENDICES.....</b>	<b>203</b>
<b>Appendix 1. Main Catalan Parties pre-1939.....</b>	<b>204</b>
<b>Appendix 2. Main Catalan Political Organisations between 1939-1950 .....</b>	<b>205</b>
Appendix 2A Right Wing.....	205
Appendix 2B Left Wing .....	206
Appendix 2C Independent Groups .....	207
Appendix 2D Non-Catalan nationalist as Main Objective, but related to Catalans .....	208
Appendix 2E Catalan Unitary Platforms.....	209
Appendix 2F Non-Catalan nationalist Unitary Platforms, but related to Catalans .....	211
<b>Appendix 3. Geography, Time-framework &amp; Strength of main Catalan Organisations</b> <b>.....</b>	<b>212</b>
Appendix 3A From April 1939 to June 1940 .....	212
Appendix 3B From July 1940 to August 1942.....	213
Appendix 3C From September 1942 to October 1944.....	214
Appendix 3D From November 1944 to June 1945 .....	215
Appendix 3E From July 1945 to December 1950 .....	216
<b>Appendix 4 Catalans in Latin America.....</b>	<b>217</b>
<b>GLOSSARY .....</b>	<b>218</b>
<b>CHRONOLOGY.....</b>	<b>221</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>230</b>
<b>PRIMARY SOURCES .....</b>	<b>230</b>

Unpublished sources .....	230
<b>Published sources .....</b>	<b>233</b>
<b>SECONDARY SOURCES .....</b>	<b>235</b>
<b>Books .....</b>	<b>235</b>
<b>Unpublished theses .....</b>	<b>245</b>
<b>Articles .....</b>	<b>246</b>
<b>Interviews .....</b>	<b>248</b>

## INTRODUCTION

There is still much historical work to be done on the early period of exile. On the one hand, the traditional texts of Joan Sauret, Felip Calvet i Costa and J M Rosich and some of the Spanish classics are still referred to frequently. On the other hand, the most recent studies of Daniel Díaz Esculies, Josep Benet or Miquel Caminal, amongst others, have shown us that there is still a long way to go in terms of exhausting primary sources and confirming of lines of research. The existing bibliography demonstrates that there is great fragmentation and division in studies about the Catalan exile of 1939. In other words, we are still lacking an integrated panoramic, general and structured view of this period of contemporary history.<sup>1</sup>

This thesis addresses the historiographical gap relating to the Catalan exile of 1939 to 1950 that Francesc Vilanova and others have identified. A complete account of Catalan opposition to Franco must include a general and comprehensive work on the Catalan exile of 1939 through to 1950. Such a work is presented here.

The dispersion of Catalans in exile necessarily had historiographical as well as historical consequences, making its study relatively difficult. Francesc Vilanova has emphasised the difficulty of researching Catalan opposition in this particular period due to the various experiences of the exile. With each local population came a specific set of cultural, social and political circumstances, each following a particular course, according to a unique set of currents. The result, for Vilanova, militates against establishing an overall or integrated vision of the period.<sup>2</sup>

The focus of the study is the failure of Catalan political groups both inside and beyond Spanish borders to organise effective political opposition to Franco in the 1940s. The thesis offers improved understanding of both the phenomenon of Francoism and of opposition to it. It seeks to provide insight into the origins of Catalan political parties, and their development, which casts more light on present day Catalan political culture and organisation.

Two key insights are suggested by the study. First, it shows that the failure of Catalans to organise cohesive opposition to Franco between 1939 and 1950 was not

---

<sup>1</sup> F. Vilanova, *Als dos costats de la frontera*, (Barcelona, Abadia de Montserrat, 2001) p.10.

<sup>2</sup> Vilanova, *Als dos costats*, p.16.

simply attributable to international factors, as existing accounts have suggested, but was, in some measure, due to divisions within Catalan nationalism itself. The thesis also investigates the extent to which the failure of Catalans was due to internal or external factors.

A second claim of the thesis is that Catalans could have effectively opposed Franco only through an alliance with the left wing groups in opposition – in other words, by presenting a common front against Franco. It is the contention of the author of this study that as an isolated political force, Catalan nationalism could achieve little more than local irritation of the regime. With a restoration of the republic offering the sole realistic means of overthrowing Franco<sup>3</sup>, and given the extent to which this was recognised by members of the Catalan movement, it is possible to point to a failure to focus sufficiently on the necessary alliance and the consequent failure to orchestrate a common front against the Francoists as a principal cause of the failure of Catalan opposition.

Opposition to the regime was both extensive and varied. Following the Spanish Civil War and in some cases, prior to its conclusion, many decided to leave the country and to go into exile. A number remained, organising domestic forms of opposition. It is useful to distinguish internal and external opposition to the regime. In this study, internal opposition to the regime refers to those internal dissident elements within Francoism. External opposition instead refers to forces outside the boundaries of the regime, in particular, the forces of the Left and the regional nationalists. Internal and external opposition could be found both inside and outside the Spanish territory. Internal opposition included members of the Falangist rank and file, dissatisfied with Franco's monopolisation of power, and disaffected monarchists, who had expected the dictator to restore the Spanish throne but soon realised that this was not going to happen.<sup>4</sup> Among the external groups, it was the left-wing parties – the losing side in the Civil War – that led a varied and divided community of anarchists, Communists,

---

<sup>3</sup> PRO FO 371/34821, C11/665. In 1943, Gil Robles claimed that if the Allies overthrew Franco, a left wing government could be installed in Spain. José María Gil Robles y Quiñones de León was the CEDA leader. He spent the war in Portugal. He was the leader of the legalist Right, later shunned by Franco.

<sup>4</sup> Monarchist opposition has been treated by numerous authors such as J. M. Toquero, *Franco y Don Juan*, (Barcelona, Plaza y Janés, 1989). A fundamental work concerning monarchist opposition is J. Tusell, *La oposición democrática al franquismo, (1939-1962)*, (Barcelona, Planeta, 1977).

Republicans,<sup>5</sup> Socialists and regionalists (Galician, Basque and Catalan nationalists<sup>6</sup>), amongst others. For the most part, the external opposition hoped to restore democracy in Spain. The various regionalist claims were based on a desire to obtain more autonomy for Galicia, the Basque country, and Catalonia. These three regions had historically enjoyed a greater or lesser degree of sovereignty and looked to recover it.

Catalan opposition was then a part of the external opposition to Franco, both domestically and abroad. Catalonia had a distinct culture, ethnicity, language and history.<sup>7</sup> The Catalan nationalist objectives were to overthrow Franco, secure autonomy within a Castilian Spain, and ultimately attain complete self-determination within an Iberian federation. Overthrowing Franco was a necessary priority for Catalan nationalists since the dictator would never accept their demands for autonomy. Two central principles described the ideology of those Catalan nationalists opposed to Franco: the commitment to democracy and the principle of self-determination.<sup>8</sup> The failure of Catalan opposition to Franco must be assessed then both in the context of the Catalan project, and in the wider context of its place in a more generalised failure of external opposition to Franco.<sup>9</sup>

Opposition to Franco took one of four political forms. Cultural opposition was based on the defence of the Catalan language and traditions, carried out through

---

<sup>5</sup> To avoid confusion, Republican will be used for specifically Republican, i.e., liberal bourgeois parties (like Izquierda Republicana) and republicans will be used for all those forces that opposed the military rebels throughout the Spanish Civil War, (which includes Communists, anarchists, Socialists and liberal Republicans). The most important publication to date is H. Heine's *La oposició política al franquismo de 1939 a 1952*, (Barcelona, Editorial Crítica Grijalbo, 1983), whose coverage of the republican and monarchist opposition, both in Spain and in exile, is as yet unsurpassed. Heine's coverage of Catalan nationalism is good, but brief. Another work of note on the opposition in the 1940s is D. J. Dunthorn's "Britain and the Spanish Anti-Franco opposition 1940-1950", (Bristol, thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of West England, July 1999). Once again though, the focus is republican and monarchist opposition, rather than Catalan nationalism. Dunthorn's book has been published. David J. Dunthorn, *Britain and the Spanish anti-Franco opposition, 1940-1950*, (London, Palgrave MacMillan, 2000).

<sup>6</sup> The term Catalan is meant to include political parties other than Catalan nationalist ones. The term Catalan nationalist refers to all the Catalans with regional aspirations. It should not be confused with the term nationalist which was attached to the Francoist side during the Civil War. Catalan nationalism Catalan nationalism Catalan 'Basque nationalist' here however refers to Basque regionalism, and 'Galician nationalist' similarly is intended to represent Galician regionalism.

<sup>7</sup> For an explanation of nations without a state see M. Guibernau, *Nacionalisme Català*, (Barcelona, Pòrtic, 2002), p.27 and for the reasons of the emergence of Catalan opposition to Franco see Guibernau, *Nacionalisme Català* p.48

<sup>8</sup> APSG, 1943, *L'hora de Catalunya, 'Per la pàtria i per la llibertat'*.

<sup>9</sup> P.Vilar, *Història de Catalunya*, (Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1988).

propaganda and a system of secret presses both inside Spain and abroad.<sup>10</sup> Direct action was organised by youth groups, confronting the Francoist apparatus head-on and attempting to stage local and general strikes.<sup>11</sup> Also, a certain amount of political lobbying had to be done in the international political arena. It was believed that, by supporting the Allied effort in World War II through the cooperation of secret agents and sharing networks of secret information, Catalan nationalism would, in return, receive support from the international community. Catalan institutional opposition, in the event, remained meagre, with no institution of government from 1939 to 1945, and all attempts to resuscitate the *Generalitat* (the main Catalan governmental institution) ending in failure.

The aspiration to regional autonomy was shared by other groups in Spain. In this, the Catalan nationalists felt very close to the Basque nationalists. Unlike the Catalan nationalists, the Basque nationalist groups united under the aegis of a single party, the Partido Nacionalista Vasco (Basque Nationalist Party, PNV), which coordinated Basque nationalist activity both at home and abroad. Better funded, Basque nationalism provided a major ally with strategic interests in common.<sup>12</sup>

The Basque nationalists were better organised than the Catalan nationalists, yet achieved relatively little more, except perhaps a higher intensity of reaction from Franco. Less organised, the Catalans were taken to present less of a material threat to the dictatorship. The Galicians were a third group to express demands for regional autonomy in the period. Despite a comparable historical claim however, the Galicians did not achieve a comparable level of political organisation, and carried much less weight at the national level.<sup>13</sup>

A certain amount of realpolitik would have its influence on policy. Thinking that the Western powers would favour restoration of a republic after the war, an effort was

---

<sup>10</sup> A good definition of cultural resistance may be found in M. Guibernau, *Los Nacionalismos*, (Barcelona, Ariel, 1996), pp.119-120.

<sup>11</sup> A. Viladot i Presas, *Nacionalisme i premsa clandestina, (1939-1951)*, (Barcelona, Curial, 1987), pp.192-194.

<sup>12</sup> The Basque exile is not directly in the scope of this study, except insofar as it impacts on the issues at hand. The works of J. C. Jiménez de Aberasturi Corta, *De la derrota a la esperanza: Políticas vascas durante la II Guerra Mundial (37-47)*, (Bilbao, Instituto Vasco de Administración pública, 1999) and S.P. Pablo, L. Mees, J.A., Rodríguez Ranz, *El péndulo patriótico, Historia del Partido Nacionalista Vasco, Vol. I and II (1895-1975)*, (Crítica- Contrastes, Barcelona, 2001) provide a full account of the Basque regionalists in this period.

<sup>13</sup> The Galicians, like the Basques, will be examined only insofar as they have influence on the Catalans.

made to make common cause with the republican groups.<sup>14</sup> There were attempts to form alliances with the groups of the left, in the main, the Socialists, as well as the Republicans, but these were never more than sporadic and did not endure.<sup>15</sup>

The period 1939-1950 is very significant for the development of Catalan nationalism. Though winning the Civil War, which had ended 1 April 1939, the Francoist regime had not yet fully taken root. As Francoism began to consolidate, a basis of opposition developed. The Catalan side was expectant and hopeful of assistance from the international community. Between 1939 and 1950, the Catalan opposition passed through several stages of development.

Though many refugees left Spain after 1 April 1939, a huge number had already begun to seek refuge abroad from the beginning of that year, fearing a Francoist victory in the Civil War. The majority of Catalans that left Catalonia did it before the fall of Barcelona. It is calculated that around 300,000 Catalans left during this period. Once Barcelona fell to Francoist hands<sup>16</sup>, borders were closed and it became progressively more difficult to leave the country. The situation for Catalans under Franco became very difficult. It is estimated that Catalonia's population in 1939 was approximately 1,300,000 people, and that some 300,000 Catalans went in exile after 1939. Among these, very few Catalans participated in the anti-Francoist Catalan parties (perhaps between 10 and 15 per cent) since the majority were largely preoccupied with the question of their own survival.<sup>17</sup> Up to 1940, opposition was halting, doubtful and somewhat anaemic after the Civil War. With fascism on the march and an expectation that Hitler would prevail in World War II, it seemed that the Francoist hold on power would be confirmed. During 1939-1940, Catalan activity

---

<sup>14</sup> Some voices from the British Foreign Office confirmed that the most likely option in case of the overthrow of Franco would have been a restoration of the republic. PRO File FO 371/49582, Joan Ventosa's documents, Victor Mallet to Sir Bevin, London, 30-10-1945, PRO, File FO 371/39744, Letter Lizaso to Aguirre, Basques relations with the left, London, 10-12-1944.

<sup>15</sup> The left-wing opposition to Franco will be considered in this study insofar as it related to the Catalans.

<sup>16</sup> The fall of Barcelona to Francoist hands is very well documented in AT, Poblet, Box C1579, 'El fina de la república'. For some secondary literature on this topic, see R.Carr, *The Republic and the Civil War in Spain*, (London, McMillan, 1971), E.Ucelay da Cal, *La Catalunya populista: Imatge, cultura i política en l'etapa republicana (1931-1939)*, (Barcelona, Magrana, 1982), A.Aranzazu, *Ve y cuenta lo que pasó en España*, (Barcelona, Planeta, 2000); F.Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l' any 1939*, (Barcelona, Fundació Pi i Sunyer, 2000); M.Risques, F.Vilanova and R.Vinyes, *1939 Barcelona any zero. Història gràfica de l' ocupació de la ciutat*, (Barcelona, Edicions Proa, 1999); J. Villarroya i Font, *1939 Derrota i exili*, (Barcelona, Generalitat de Catalunya, 2000).

<sup>17</sup> *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana Vol.IV*, (Barcelona, Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1973).

focused on France. 1940-1942 was a more successful period for Catalan nationalism that was organising in the UK, USA and Latin America.

If the preceding years appeared to offer promise, 1942-1944 was a period of crisis and scant activity for Catalan nationalism. The anti-Francoist opposition expected that, after a victory of the Allies over the Axis powers and the overthrow of Hitler and Mussolini, collaboration with those forces seeking to overturn the Francoist regime would be a natural next step. During the period lasting from 1944 to 1946, the Catalan opposition perhaps reached its zenith. Both the international and Spanish framework of the period is central to understanding the development of Catalan nationalism. The experience of the Civil War (1936-1939) took a huge toll, morally and materially. The violence and repression of the Civil War in Spain had been ferocious, and the loss of life severe. The anti-Francoist opposition found itself in no position to enter another conflict, lacking the will, the resources, and the unity required for it. Although Spain remained neutral when World War II broke out in 1939, the prevailing atmosphere of threat and insecurity affected the Spanish psyche, further weakening the will to fight against the Francoist regime, all the more so whilst an Axis victory seemed in prospect. At the beginning of hostilities, Spaniards feared a German invasion of Spain. The ambiguity concerning diplomatic intent and subsequent withdrawal of international support had been problematic. Later on, an Allied victory in Europe proved less propitious to the Catalan cause than had been hoped.

The efficiency of the Francoist repression also had severe effects. Franco successfully established a dictatorship, supported by a very efficient machinery of repression, impeding the formation of solid political opposition. As, in time, he was careful to point out to both the international community and to the Spanish middle and upper classes, Franco could ensure stability.<sup>18</sup> Shrewdly, Franco catered for the interests of the moderates, fought very vigorously against monarchist opposition and presented himself as the only viable alternative to a Communist succession. So much

---

<sup>18</sup> H. Heine, *La oposició*, p.478. J.M. Solé I Sabaté, *La repressió franquista a Catalunya (1938-1953)*, (Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1985); M. Richards, *A time of silence, Civil War and the culture of repression in Franco's Spain, (1936-45)*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998).



is duly recognised in the literature. It is also true that Catalan nationalism may have itself contributed to the set of factors ranged against it.

The present study examines those internal reasons for the failure among Catalans. Their shortcomings and mistakes were various and significant. As has already been indicated, the Catalans lacked the confidence to recover and reorganise after Civil War; whilst aware of the restrictions it imposed, they could not manage to overcome their tendency to faction and dispute. The representative institutional organisations required to legitimise the struggle were not established. A government was not created in exile. Common cause was not made between those at home and abroad, and the strength and effectiveness of the regime was persistently underestimated. In such circumstances, a credible democratic alternative to Franco was not developed.

The Catalan exile posed particular difficulties of organisation. More, those in opposition were insufficiently pragmatic; their personal clashes proved stronger than any desire for unity. In fact, all those opposition groups finding themselves in exile were, in the event, reluctant to make political concessions. By extension, Catalan groups were not able to establish good relations either with the Left or with other opposition forces. If a cohesive bloc was required to overthrow Franco, a lack of clear leadership and certain arrogance on the part of disparate groups prevented its formation. The international powers were not presented with a realistic alternative to Franco. Fresh memories of the Civil War, in which Left and Right had been rivals, had made it hard to reach compromises; it was difficult to accept as allies, those who had been regarded at best with suspicion. Finally, the Catalans relied too much, and arguably a little naively on the help of the Allies, even if it had not been promised formally. Allied diplomacy, particularly British diplomacy in Spain, Europe and around the world was one of anti-fascism and, even more important, one of anti-Communism. If Catalans had united with the rest of the anti-Francoists groups, especially anti-fascist and anti-Communist groups (since they subscribed to these ideologies), and had presented a cohesive bloc to the eyes of the Allies, they would have stood a chance of overthrowing Franco. The evidence that key movers (UK, USA and UN) were not looking to get into bed with Franco, even if covertly, is that they condemned his policies and made some contacts with the anti-Francoists.

Furthermore, the Allies only approved of Francoism when they were pushed to take anti-Communist measures facing the beginning of the Cold War.

## HISTORIOGRAPHY

There are a number of excellent works on aspects of anti-Francoist opposition. The focus tends to be very much on Republican, monarchist and Basque nationalist opposition to Franco rather than on the Catalan nationalism per se. There is also a tendency in the literature to cite external factors for the failure of opposition to Franco, rather than internal factors. A number of writers contend that the principal reason for the failure of the opposition was the lack of international help. By contrast, only in a few works like Jose Borrás' *Políticas de los exiliados españoles 1944-1950*,<sup>19</sup> is it argued that organisation may have been lacking in opposition forces, and that responsibility for that cannot be laid elsewhere. Borrás' treatment however, is not focused on Catalan nationalism.

As has been said, there is as yet no full account of Catalan opposition, as is the case for monarchist, Basque nationalist or Republican opposition. Here, secondary material has been consulted in order to develop an integrated view of Catalan nationalism in the 1940s, such as Francesc Vilanova's *Als dos costats de la frontera, relacions polítiques entre exili i interior a la postguerra, 1939-1948*,<sup>20</sup> and *Les ruptures de l'any 1939*<sup>21</sup>. Again though, Vilanova - albeit explicitly - does not give a comprehensive account of the period. In particular, *Les ruptures de l'any 1939* focuses exclusively on the end of the Civil War and the first exile to France. *Als dos costats de la frontera* surveys a wider period, but focuses on Catalan developments in France and Spain alone.

Montserrat Guibernau's *Nacionalisme Català*<sup>22</sup> points to personal failures in Catalan leaders preventing the movement from getting organised. Guibernau explains the incapacity of Catalan opposition to found a unified bloc, the division between those in exile and those in Spain, and their *naïveté* in relying on unconditional support from the Allies. Guibernau then suggestively indicates several arguments for failure but,

---

<sup>19</sup> J. Borrás, *Políticas de los exiliados españoles 1944-1950*, (París, Ruedo Ibérico 1976).

<sup>20</sup> F. Vilanova, *Als dos costats de la frontera, relacions polítiques entre exili i interior a la postguerra, 1939-1948*, (Barcelona, Biblioteca Serra d'Or, Publicacions de l' Abadia de Montserrat, 2001).

<sup>21</sup> F. Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l' any 1939*, (Barcelona, Publicacions de l' Abadia de Montserrat, 2000).

<sup>22</sup> Guibernau, *Nacionalisme Català*,.

given the wide chronological span of her study, does not set out to provide a full historical account.<sup>23</sup>

Given the poverty of printed sources, public and private archives have provided the principal primary sources for this study. A comprehensive list of sources is given in the bibliography. Several sources have proved of particular value.<sup>24</sup> Concerning primary sources, the memories of Carles Pi i Sunyer are crucial since he was one of the main political leaders of the period and he described every political move he made in detail. Nonetheless, Pi i Sunyer provides only a partial view of the development of Catalan nationalism in the 1940s. Some reference has been made to British archives, particularly those documents of the Public Record Office received by the British Foreign Office from Embassy and Consular staff in Spain. These have proved of use in tracing the British perspective on the creation and development of the Catalan opposition. Furthermore, they have proved useful in order to trace British and Allied diplomacy towards the Spanish question in the 1940s. Two Catalan archives contributed particularly to the study: namely, the Pi i Sunyer foundation and the Tarradellas archive. The Pi i Sunyer foundation, in Barcelona, collects the correspondence between Carles Pi i Sunyer and other leaders of right-wing Catalan nationalism in the 1940s. The Tarradellas archive in Poblet provides a very broad account of the left-wing spectrum of Catalan nationalism in the 1940s through correspondence between Josep Tarradellas and others in the movement. By researching these two archives, an integrated view of both the right- and left-wing Catalan opposition to Franco during the 1940s was built up.

The thesis also makes reference to a number of interviews conducted by the author with some of the relevant figures from the period. Few of those figures are still alive, which is why their testimony becomes very valuable. Finally, it should be noted that the study focuses on European developments (particularly those in Spain, France, and the UK), rather than those in the American communities. The majority of, and

---

<sup>23</sup> Guibernau, *Nacionalisme Català*, p.96.

<sup>24</sup> -Tarradellas archive- Poblet- Catalonia-Spain; -Archive of the Basque nationalist party in Artea- Basque country-Spain; -Pi i Sunyer foundation-Barcelona-Spain; -Personal archive of the *Síndic de Greuges* (Catalan ombudsman), Antón Cañellas-Barcelona-Spain; -Varela's private archive, Cádiz-Spain; -Pabelló Sert, Pabelló de la República, centre d'estudis d'Història contemporània- Barcelona-Spain; -Public Record Office (London), UK.

most significant of Catalan political decisions and developments happened in Europe. This being the case, the American communities are not of such central relevance, but certain aspects of this exile are examined in chapters 4 and 5 and the research in the main concerns the press.

## STRUCTURE

The context and antecedents of Catalan opposition up to 1939 are considered in **Chapter 1**. This heritage was responsible for certain features of the movement of the 1940s. The chapter includes a summary of the impact of the Civil War and the establishment of Francoism, with its efficient repressive measures, as well as the creation of anti-Francoist opposition groups. One of the priorities of the Francoist repressive machinery would be Catalan nationalism precisely because Catalan nationalism had developed politically in the first quarter of the century and was considered a threat for Francoist centralist policy. During the last quarter of the XIX century and the first quarter of the XX century, Catalan nationalism had developed a concrete political programme. Its principal party during the period had been the Lliga, a moderate Catalan political party led by the Catalan businessman Francesc Cambó. Catalans produced the first documents to compile their political aspirations in the *Memorial de Greuges* and the *Bases de Manresa*. Catalans also founded the first institutional embodiment of, and vehicle for their demands, the *Mancomunitat* (1914-1925). Catalan political organisation was backed by economic strength based on the development of the industrial revolution, which had made Catalonia the richest region of Spain. In the cultural domain, Catalan claims were supported by the *Renaixença*, a cultural movement of recovery of the Catalan language, history and identity.

These developments were, to an extent, a response to the centralist policies advocated and imposed under the *Restauración* system of Cánovas, based on an alternation in power of just two parties, the conservatives and the liberals. The system allowed for the monopolisation of power by rural landowners who controlled the vote, and who acted to repress regionalist claims quite severely. At the beginning of the XIXth century, Catalan nationalism had become politically organised. Primo de Rivera's dictatorship between 1923 and 1930 would see the effective suspension of all such developments for seven years. The second republic in Spain

(1931-1936) was welcomed by Catalans. The *Generalitat*, a Catalan government, was founded and presided over by Francesc Macià. After Macià's sudden death on Christmas Day 1933, he was replaced as president by Lluís Companys. The Catalans would also produce an *estatut* (1932). The principal Catalan party of the period was Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC), a radical Catalan party which sought complete independence for the region. The Civil War (1936-1939) once again brought all developments to a standstill. Worse was to follow. Franco's Burgos decree in 1938 suspended the *Generalitat* and the Catalan statute. In the spring of 1939, as the Civil War drew to a close and the dictatorship was established, opposition to Franco began to foment. Catalan nationalism played an important role. Spain had been devastated by the Civil War and the losing side had scant resources and low reserves of morale. Franco moved quickly to capitalise on his victory and established totalitarian measures, including a very effective machinery of repression, which would be targeted against any potential sources or forms of opposition.

The Civil War caused a deep rift in Catalan society. Some sections of the wealthy Catalan bourgeoisie inclined to support Francoism believing that Franco better served their economic interests. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the move was considered a betrayal by hard core Catalans, and the fault line lay across a Catalonian society traumatised by the horrors of a Civil War. During the conflict, the *Generalitat*, conscious of its incapacitation, decided to allocate its remaining available financial resources to the Republican government. The funds would not be repaid, leaving the Catalans impoverished. The overall situation was then precarious in Catalonia. In conditions of great adversity, Catalans founded an opposition to the regime. A great number of Catalans decided to go into exile, seeking both refuge from Francoist repression and a place more conducive to achieving any sort of organisation.

**Chapter 2** provides an account of the first Catalan exile to France from April 1939 to June 1940. The Catalan exodus to France is described, and an account is made of the problems faced by a movement indefinitely displaced and suffering the loss of its leader and primary governmental institution. The first destination for the refugees was neighbouring France, whose government welcomed the first Catalans to escape through the Pyrenees. The *Generalitat* and its president, Lluís Companys also moved to France. After his arrest in 1939 by the Germans, the *Generalitat* effectively ceased

to exist. Catalans in France responded with efforts to found a unitary left-wing platform, the Front Nacional de Catalunya. Yet again, the development of Catalan political organisation met immediately with a severe obstacle, this time the German occupation of France in October 1940. Those Catalans in France were dispersed across a number of nuclei, and, after the arrest of Companys, found themselves without leadership. Due to their financial position, the scattered population relied upon the help of the Republicans and the Basque nationalists, which substantially reduced their capacity to manoeuvre. Policy was muddled and communication was poor between those remaining in Spain and those in exile, owing both to patchy networks of communication and to clashes of leadership.

The main subject of **Chapter 3** is the subsequent Catalan exile to Britain between July 1940 and August 1942. The chapter offers a full account of the Consell Nacional de Catalunya (National Catalan Council, CNC), the leading Catalan organisation at the time, and the challenge made by the French-based president by default, Josep Irla. After the German occupation of France, many Catalans sought refuge in the UK, since it was the last remaining democratic country in Europe ready to receive them. Catalan political activity between 1940 and 1942 settled there, under the leadership of Carles Pi i Sunyer, a member of ERC. An attempt to create a surrogate institution for the *Generalitat* in the UK was made, in the form of the Consell Nacional de Catalunya (CNC).

**Chapter 4** is concerned with the same period as chapter 3. It provides an account of the Atlantic exile from July 1940 to August 1942, taking in events both in the USA and in Latin America. The impact of Miquel Santaló's mission, designed to wrest influence from the CNC is described. In parallel to the UK exile, there was also a significant Atlantic exile by Catalans, going both to the USA and to several countries in Latin America. The USA exile was less significant on account of the much smaller number of Catalans domiciled there. Nevertheless, the Catalan community in New York played a part in trying to lobby the American government and in seeking support from the Allies. By contrast, Catalans in Latin America organised themselves in *comunitats*, quite independent communities, based upon shared cultural and linguistic experience, which were ultimately responsible to the CNC of London. Mexico was the largest of these by some margin, followed by Argentina and Cuba. Not without

difficulties, the period from 1940 to 1942 was quite a successful one for political Catalan nationalism.

**Chapter 5** surveys developments in Catalan nationalism between August 1942 and October 1944, a time of crisis, confusion and disorder for Catalan nationalism. An account is made of the development of the Front Nacional de Catalunya (National Front of Catalonia, FNC), whose core activity was in France, and the Latin American based Junta de Liberación (JL), an attempt to create a unitary platform with the left-wing anti-Francoist forces. In November 1943, the Socialists and a variety of Spanish and Catalan liberal Republican groups joined together in Mexico to found the Junta Española de Liberación. Those Catalans in France did not accept the supremacy of the CNC of London, and Josep Irla, de facto president of the *Generalitat*, decided to send Miquel Santaló, an ERC member of France, to Mexico at the end of 1941 endowing him with presidential powers. The intention was a direct challenge and neutralisation of both Pi i Sunyer's power, and the strength of the CNC of London. The action would create confusion and division among Catalans, particularly amongst the *comunitats* in Latin America, which no longer knew to whom they should report. In response to the new arrangements, Pi i Sunyer decided to dissolve the CNC of London in 1943. If that part of the ERC initiative had succeeded, Miquel Santaló would fail in his attempt to found a new Consell in Mexico and a new Catalan consensus.

**Chapter 6** provides an account of developments of Catalan opposition between August 1944 and June 1945, as World War II approached its conclusion and Allied policy toward the Iberian Peninsula was revealed. The period from 1944 to 1945 was to an extent determined by the circumstances of the war's end. An Allied victory now seemed more than likely, fuelling Catalan hopes of soon obtaining support from the Allies. France, freed from German occupation in 1944, soon recovered its role as Catalan nationalism's centre stage. After the failure of Santaló's mission, Pi i Sunyer reconstituted a radicalised Consell of London in 1944 that would last just a year. In France, Catalan nationalism developed, led by the FNC. Other parties re-established themselves, such as EC and ERC.

The study is concluded in **Chapter 7**, with a consideration of what was, in effect, the onset of the Cold War. The reconstitution of the *Generalitat* and belated achievement of a degree of unity is discussed in the light of the Allies' seemingly have already determined on a policy of conciliation with the dictatorship. After 1947, the

secret presses, which had done so much to support the struggle throughout the war years, fell silent; their ink - formerly the lifeblood of a culture under siege - dried up. A large number of Catalans returned home after the end of World War II. One of the most active Catalan groups, the Mexican one, had come back to Catalonia and had stopped fighting politically for Catalan reasons. Many members of the Mexican group were present in the popular homage to the Virgin of Montserrat on 27 April 1947, a Catalanist cultural and religious gathering. The currents of international politics too played their part. The Western powers did not wish Spain to enter World War II and accepted that Franco would remain in power since he maintained Spanish neutrality. The long awaited help from the Western powers never came. Indeed, it is often claimed that the Allies never seriously considered helping the anti-Francoist opposition. In November 1950, key members of the international community (the USA, France, UK and USSR) instructed their ambassadors to return to Spain, signalling an acceptance of Franco's regime. With the Iron Curtain descending, the Western powers were evidently more exercised by Communist expansionism: a fascist but neutral Spain was seemingly preferred to a Communist one. Recognition of this position caused a significant change in opposition attitudes. Better organisation on the anti-Francoist side could have elicited the desired response from the Western powers. If the anti-Francoist opposition would have presented a realistic solid alternative to Franco, the Allies would have been more prone to help them. The Allies were not pro-Francoists. They were anti-Communists and looked for the best possible means to ensure that Spain would not become Communist. With its former aspirations in tatters, Catalans looked to attempts at reconstituting the *Generalitat*, which was resurrected after repeated tries in 1945, and finally dissolved in 1948, leaving Catalans without their principal institution. Moreover, Catalans made efforts to develop such unitary platforms as the CNDC, (which intended to build a broad coalition including Basque nationalists and the left-wing opposition groups) to restore a sense of progress. It was, to an extent, too little too late: the Allies had already determined not to intervene in Spanish affairs. Anti-Francoists and Catalans alike did not command the resources to organise themselves. Catalans had not presented a credible alternative to the regime in the eyes of Western governments, and had signally failed in their own attempts to overthrow the dictatorship. Acceptance of the necessity of a broad, solid and stable consensus had come at a great cost, in time. For too long, at a critical period in the



course of affairs, internal divisions and leadership clashes, as well as policy disagreements would impede any real collaboration and suffocate any capacity for organisation on the ground.

## CHAPTER 1 - THE CONTEXT AND ANTECEDENTS OF CATALAN OPPOSITION BEFORE 1939

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

*Il est toujours joli le temps passé.  
Une fois qu'ils ont cassé leur pipe,  
On pardonne à tous ceux qui nous ont offensés:  
les morts sont tous des braves types.*<sup>25</sup>

The context and antecedents of the Catalan opposition to Franco that emerged in the 1940s were responsible for certain features of the movement in that decade. It is arguably crucial to an understanding of the configuration of Catalan groups after 1939 that an account be made of their origins and evolution. Thus, the international, Spanish and Catalan background before 1939 is summarised here, as is the impact of the Civil War. The establishment of Francoism, its roots, organisation and apparatus of repression, as well as the development of the anti-Francoist opposition and the stance of the regime toward the Catalan opposition in particular, is also considered.

### 1.2 THE CONTEXT AND ANTECEDENTS OF CATALAN OPPOSITION (1875-1936)

Tensions between Catalans and the central state are centuries' old, and were heightened in the period 1868-1875, which saw the restoration of the liberal regime in Spain, led by a handful of families, dependent on military power, on landowners, and on the power of the Church. It was a period of enormous political instability that impeded a process of democratisation in Spain, while it was happening in the rest of Europe.<sup>26</sup>

In 1874, a military coup restored the Bourbon monarchy in the person of Alfonso XII. The next year marked the beginning of the era of the *Restauración* (Restoration) based on the alternation of Liberal Conservative (led by Antonio Cánovas del Castillo<sup>27</sup>) and Liberal (led by Mateo Sagasta) parties using a method of electoral fraud

---

<sup>25</sup> Georges Brassens: "Le temps passé".

<sup>26</sup> J.M. Soria, 'La politización del catalanismo', *La Vanguardia*, 05-08-2001.

<sup>27</sup> Antonio Cánovas del Castillo was born in Málaga in 1828. He was a politician and writer. As head of the government in 1875, Cánovas set up a political system called *Restauración* based on the *Turno*

(*caciquismo*). The parties were made up of groupings of leaders of sub-factions, which were in the hands of local bosses, the *cacique*, who commanded the local administration as well as the judicial apparatus and secured support by giving jobs. The system came to depend on the rural vote and was based on the manipulation of the elections by the government. Votes were often bought or falsified. The bourgeoisie, the military and the church were the pillars of the *Restauración*. The liberals accepted the 1876 constitution, which implemented the jury system and universal male suffrage, but these parties were artificial constructs from above, held together by patronage. The governing elite mainly formed by landowners were still monopolising power. The succession in government of liberals and liberal conservatives was known as *Turno Pacífico* (Peaceful Rotation).<sup>28</sup>

A conflict between centre and regions was already obvious in the XIX century under the liberal system of Cánovas in the form of the continual repression by the centralist state of both Catalan and Basque regionalist aspirations.<sup>29</sup> The *Restauración* was a centralist-based system that did not make any concessions of autonomy to the Catalans. Thus, the Catalan movement of the XIX century was a reaction to the state modernisation project of the Spanish liberals.<sup>30</sup>

Parallel to Cánovas' *Restauración* was a movement in Catalonia that came to be known as *Renaixença* (Catalan Cultural Renaissance).<sup>31</sup> The *Renaixença* was the Catalan response to the Romantic Movement, which had produced a Europe-wide phenomenon of interest in the past of nations with and without state.<sup>32</sup> In Catalonia, the *Renaixença* was a project of cultural revivalism to restore a broken continuity with the

---

*Pacífico*, including liberal ideas and centralist politics. Cánovas' program of government was based on the rotation in power of the two big parties of the time, the conservatives of Cánovas, and the liberals of Mateo Sagasta, under *caciquismo*. *Caciquismo* refers to a political system based on the power of the corrupt local bosses in the country who manipulated the votes of the population to their advantage. Mateo Sagasta was born in La Rioja (1827). A politician, he organised the Partido Liberal, forming a pact with Cánovas (1885).

<sup>28</sup> F. Romero Salvadó, *Spain (1914-1918) Between War and Revolution*, (London, Routledge, 1999), p.1

<sup>29</sup> S. de Pablo, S.P., Mess, L., Rodríguez Ranz, J.A., *El péndulo patriótico, Historia del Partido Nacionalista Vasco, Vol.I (1895-1936)*, (Barcelona, Crítica- Contrastes, 2001), p.20; R. Carr, *Modern Spain 1875-1980*, (Oxford, Oxford University press, 1982).

<sup>30</sup> M. Keating, *Nations against the state: the new politics of nationalism in Quebec, Catalonia and Scotland*, (New York, Palgrave Mc Millan, 1996), p.30.

<sup>31</sup> J.M. Soria, 'La politización del Catalan nacionalismo', *La Vanguardia*, 05-08-2001.

<sup>32</sup> For more information on the *Renaixença* see M. Guibernau, *Nationalisms. The nation state and nationalism in the twentieth century*, (Cambridge, Cambridge press, 1996); A. Balcells, *Historia contemporánea de Cataluña*, (Madrid, S.XXI, 1977).

past under which Catalan intellectuals studied and promoted the Catalan language, law and folklore. The publication of Carles Aribau's *Oda a la pàtria*<sup>33</sup> (*Ode to the fatherland*) in 1833 was seen as the beginning of the *Renaixença*. The *Renaixença* was linked to the industrial revolution in Catalonia.

The XIX century Catalan economy was reasonably advanced; much more so than that of the central state, which lagged behind the rest of Europe in terms of capitalism and industrialisation. The impact of the industrial revolution in the Basque and Catalan territories greatly increased the economic disparities between these two regions and the rest of Spain, whose economy continued to be dominated by agriculture.<sup>34</sup> The twin processes of Catalan industrialisation and the *Renaixença* boosted Catalan aspirations during the XIX century.

In October 1880, the federalist Valentí Almirall<sup>35</sup> called the first Catalan congress, inspiring the creation of the Centre Català (Catalan Centre), a self-consciously Catalan group. In March 1885, Almirall founded the first newspaper in Catalan, *Diari Català*, and participated in the writing up of the *Memorial de Greuges* (*Report of Grievances*), put before Alfonso XII, a document in which industrialists, farmers and intellectuals alike made the case for Catalan nationalism and for freedom from the Spanish state. The reading of the *Memorial de Greuges* was an important moment for the development of Catalan nationalism<sup>36</sup> since it was the first public commitment to a Catalan nationalist political agenda. The report demanded the maintenance of the Catalan legal code and called for development of Catalan industry. Though moderate, the document provoked a tremendous reaction in Madrid since it was the first time the government of Madrid realised that the Catalans were beginning to achieve political organisation. Even if the *Memorial de Greuges* was not implemented practically, the Catalans continued working toward the concretion of their political agenda.

---

<sup>33</sup> Carles Aribau was born in Barcelona in 1833. He was a writer, an economist and a politician. He wrote *La Pàtria* (1833), a poem which marked the beginning of Romanticism in the Catalan language.

<sup>34</sup> For more information on the development of the industrial revolution in the XIX century in Catalonia and the Basque country see Pablo, *El péndulo patriótico, Vol.1*, , pp.26-27.

<sup>35</sup> Valentí Almirall was born in Barcelona in 1841. He was a politician and a writer.

<sup>36</sup> J.M. Soria, 'La politización del catalanismo', *La Vanguardia*, 05-08-2001.

The Unió Catalanista (Catalan Union) was created in 1891 as a federation of Catalan associations mainly drawn from middle class youth and intellectuals and which marked the beginning of the political organisation of Catalan nationalism. The Unió Catalanista convened a conference in Manresa in 1892, in which a document was drawn up to delineate the Catalan nationalist agenda. The manifesto of the conference was entitled *Bases for a Regional Constitution*, which formulated and declared that only the Catalan language would be accorded official status.

The next significant milestone in the development of Spanish-Catalan relations was the colonial disaster of 1898, in which Spain lost the remnants of her Empire – Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Spaniards did not easily adjust to the loss of their colonies and the *Restauración* party system started to decay, ultimately failing because there was no powerful national organisation and no party discipline. The monarchy could count on very little support during this period, with the events of 1898 strengthening regional claims and left-wing protest. This led to the loss of legitimacy of the central state.<sup>37</sup>

From 1870 until the disaster, Catalan business had benefited from the existence of Spain's colonial empire. In Catalonia, the loss of Cuba and the Philippines in 1898 was taken to demonstrate the failure of Castilian state policy. The Catalan bourgeoisie, mercantile and industrial, moved to defend its economic interests, firstly in a purely economic way and subsequently through developing political Catalan nationalism.<sup>38</sup> After the colonial disaster of 1898, several political forces consolidated in Spain that had been somewhat left out in the cold during the *Restauración*.<sup>39</sup>

For instance, the Catalan bourgeoisie founded Lliga Regionalista (Regionalist League), in Barcelona on 25 April 1901. The Lliga established hegemony in political Catalan nationalism between 1901 and 1923, thereby making the Catalan question increasingly difficult to ignore. It was mainly associated with the ideas of Enric Prat de la Riba,<sup>40</sup> whose program was based on increasing economic autonomy and

---

<sup>37</sup> Pablo, *El péndulo patriótico*, Vol. I, pp.23-24;

<sup>38</sup> I. Molas, *Lliga Catalana*, vol.I, (Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1974), p.36.

<sup>39</sup> F. J. Romero Salvadó, *Francisco, Spain 1914-1918 Between war and revolution*, (London, Routledge, 1999), p.43; Balcells, *Historia contemporánea de Cataluña*, ; D. Agustí, *Historia breve de Cataluña*, (Madrid, Sílex, 2002).

<sup>40</sup> Enric Prat de la Riba was a politician, secretary of Unió Catalanista, and an elected member of the Barcelona council.

intervention in Spanish politics in order to modernise the state. The organisation was created through the merging of *Unió Regionalista* (Regionalist Union) and the *Centre Nacional Català* (National Catalan Centre).<sup>41</sup> The newspaper *Veu de Catalunya* was its principal vehicle of public expression. The *Lliga* would work for Catalan autonomy and was created to contest the national elections of 1901 in opposition to the centralist parties. Given the close links between Catalan industry and the Spanish markets, the *Lliga* did not look for separation from the Spanish state.<sup>42</sup> At the time, the general goal of the Catalan nationalist parties was autonomy rather than separation. The *Lliga* would push the central government of Madrid for economic concessions for Catalonia.<sup>43</sup> Thus, 1901 marked the first time Catalan political groups were taking shape that could win elections and make themselves heard in Madrid with some hope of obtaining state reforms. These groups hoped to obtain some concessions from the government of Madrid. More importantly, the turn of the century saw a number of more radical Catalan groups become active.<sup>44</sup>

The beginning of the XX century was marked by the reign of Alfonso XIII (1902-1917), an era of growing tension whose most serious manifestations occurred in Catalonia, with the growth of the regionalist movement and working class anarcho-unionism.<sup>45</sup> One example was the *Centre Nacionalista Republicà* (Nationalist Republican Centre or CNR), founded in 1906 by a breakaway segment of the *Lliga*, providing a platform for a number of young radicals to make their first moves on the political stage. The CNR supported a Republican, democratic and autonomous regime. The anti-Catalan, anti-clerical republicans of Barcelona also gained strength under the helm of Alejandro Lerroux<sup>46</sup>, leader of the *The Partido Radical* (Radical Party), an

---

<sup>41</sup> For information on the developments of the *Lliga* see B. de Riquer, *Lliga Regionalista*, (Barcelona, Aedos, Vol.I, 1969).

<sup>42</sup> Balcells, *Historia Contemporánea de Cataluña*, p.121; .

<sup>43</sup> Romero, *Spain 1914-1918*, p.43

<sup>44</sup> J. Solé Tura, *Catalanisme i revolució burgesa*, (Barcelona, Ariel, 1967); Charles E.Ehrlich, 'The *Lliga* Regionalista and the Catalan industrial bourgeoisie', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol.33, n.3, July 1998, pp.399-417.

<sup>45</sup> J. Termes, *De la revolució de Setembre a la fi de la guerra civil 1868-1939*, (Barcelona, Edhasa, 1987), p.79.

<sup>46</sup> Alejandro Lerroux was born in Andalusia in 1864. He was a Republican politician who participated in the reorganisation of *Unió Republicana* in 1903. He was a minister under the second republic and presided over several governments between September 1933 and September 1935. The Republican Radical party was created in 1908 in Santander and was led by Alejandro Lerroux. It was anti-clerical, anti-monarchist and a revolutionary party. Lerroux declared his anti-Catalan nationalism. In

anti-monarchist and revolutionary who fought for workers' leadership. The Partido Radical was financed by Madrid to create working class opposition to the Catalan movement. During this period, there were increasing tensions between those Catalans who had radicalised their views (e.g., the CNR), and the Partido Radical of Lerroux, which hoped to put a brake on the development of Catalan nationalism.

Radical street actions at the beginning of the XX century culminated in the burning of the Barcelona offices of the Catalan *Cu-Cut* magazine and the *Veu de Catalunya* newspaper in 1905, by regular officers from the Barcelona garrison.<sup>47</sup> The army officers were offended by what they considered the publications' anti-Spanish editorials and cartoons. This event became a symbol of the growing tension between the centralist state and Catalan nationalist demands.<sup>48</sup>

Between 1907 and 1909, Catalans were united under Solidaritat Catalana (Catalan Solidarity), which included the Lliga, the CNR and other Catalan parties. Solidaritat Catalana was a unitary electoral platform, whose driving intellectual force was Francesc Cambó, the leader of the Lliga.<sup>49</sup> The provincial and legislative elections of 1907 saw Solidaritat Catalana consolidate itself as a political coalition. By the municipal elections of 1909 however, the coalition had already broken down since Solidaritat Catalana had not achieved a satisfactory degree of autonomy.

These three years also saw a strengthening of anti-clericalism in Spain, culminating in the *Setmana Tràgica* (Tragic Week) of 1909. This popular revolt in Barcelona against the sending of Catalan troops to Morocco provided the touch paper

---

1904, the Radical Party won in the electoral meetings due to the support of the immigrant workers and the small bourgeoisie. The Radical party was in close contact with anarchism. J. Álvarez Junco, *El emperador del paralelo: Lerroux y la demagogia populista*, (Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 1990).

<sup>47</sup> J.M. Soria, 'El ultranacionalismo español', *La Vanguardia*, 06-08-2001; J.M. Soria, 'Dialéctica entre centralismo y radicalismo', *La Vanguardia*, 07-08-2001.

<sup>48</sup> Romero, *Spain 1914-1918*, p.44

<sup>49</sup> Francesc Cambó i Batlle was a lawyer, businessman and a politician (1876-1947). When Prat de la Riba died, Cambó became the President of the Lliga and he was minister twice (in 1918 and in 1921). He withdrew from political activity after the Lliga's failure and his failure in Madrid, and returned in 1923 under the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. After failing in the elections of 1936, he left public life to undertake a long trip to Switzerland, the USA and Argentina. A writer, politician, art collector, and businessman, Cambó was the leader of the Lliga and represented the conservative classes. Cambó started off supporting the Francoist cause for economic reasons and would later come to regret the decision once Francoism proved itself anti-Catalan. For information on the biography of Cambó, see J. Pabón, *Cambó, 1876-1947*, (Barcelona, Alpha, 1999) and F. Cambó, *Memòries (1976-1936)*, (Barcelona, Alpha, 1981); B. Riquer i Permanyer, *L'últim Cambó (1936-1947) La dreia catalanista davant la guerra civil i el franquisme*, (Barcelona, Eumo Editorial, 1996).

for a definitive break between moderate and non-moderate Catalans. Moderate Catalans accepted the power of the Church but non-moderate Catalans did not. Religious strife suddenly became a major issue since Catalans associated the Catholic Church with the central state of Madrid, a symbol of the unfairness and intransigence of the central government. Facing a general strike amongst the Catalan reservists, martial law was declared. During the *Setmana Tràgica*, three members of the clergy were killed, and twelve churches and forty convents and religious establishments were destroyed.<sup>50</sup>

In 1914, the first institutional expression of Catalan nationalism, the *Mancomunitat* (Commonwealth) was founded, for the most part by members of the Lliga). The *Mancomunitat* unified Catalonia for administrative purposes, bringing together the four provincial *diputacions* (councils) – Barcelona, Tarragona, Girona and Lleida – and working within the tight legal framework of the bureaucratically governed provinces. The *Mancomunitat* mainly dedicated itself to the improvement of the Catalan infrastructure, promoted Catalan culture and was seen as the first step to greater Catalan autonomy.<sup>51</sup> It was first presided over by Enric Prat de la Riba and then by Josep Puig i Cadafalch<sup>52</sup> and became the vehicle of expression of the Lliga. Roads, telephones and technical installations were the major advances instigated by Prat de la Riba. The *Mancomunitat* (1914-1923) only represented a small step towards decentralisation, falling short of solving the longstanding question of how to integrate Catalonia into Spain.<sup>53</sup>

In the meantime, the First World War erupted. The war (1914-1918) saw all but a few European states – namely Holland, Switzerland, and Spain – involved in the conflict, as well as such nations as Australia, Canada and the United States. Catalanian (and Spanish) society divided itself between those sympathetic to the German interest and those opposed to it, polarising the right and the left of the

---

<sup>50</sup> J. M. Poble, *Història bàsica del catalanisme*, (Barcelona, Pòrtic, 1977); J. Mestre i Camps, *Diccionari d'Història de Catalunya*, (Barcelona, edicions 62, 1995).

<sup>51</sup> Poble, *Història bàsica*, p.389.

<sup>52</sup> Josep Puig i Cadafalch was born in the Maresme in 1867. He was an architect, a historian, and a politician. He was co-founder of the Lliga in 1901, and was second president of the *Mancomunitat* in 1918, 1919 and 1923.

<sup>53</sup> J. De Camps i Arboix, *La Mancomunitat de Catalunya*, (Barcelona, Bruguera, 1968) p.35; R. Olivari Bertrand, *Prat de la Riba*, (Barcelona, Aedos, 1964).



movement. Spain's neutrality in the First World War allowed her to derive economic benefit from both sides. Her non-belligerence put her in the economically privileged position of being able to supply both sides of the war with agricultural and industrial products. Coal mine-owners from Asturias, Basque steel barons and shipbuilders and Catalan textile magnates all experienced a heady boom, which constituted the first dramatic rise of Spanish industry. Even if Spain was neutral in the conflict, it was substantially affected by it.<sup>54</sup> There ensued an enormous debate between the supporters of the Central powers and those of the Allies. The First World War destroyed the Cánovas system in Spain.<sup>55</sup> Whilst the First World War proved very profitable for Spain, the Lliga reinforced its role in its position as the party of the Catalan bourgeoisie, which was benefiting significantly from the economic upturn.<sup>56</sup>

The Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia in 1917 gave succour to the Spanish labour movement, leading to a time of crisis for Catalan nationalism. At first, the anarcho-unionist Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Labour or CNT<sup>57</sup>) aligned itself with the Bolsheviks, but later withdrew its support when the authoritarian nature of Bolshevism became evident. The end of the First World War and its corollary, the end of the economic boom, particularly in Barcelona, sharpened the class conflict of the time.<sup>58</sup> Demands for regional autonomy in Catalonia were linked to a perception that taxation of the industrial profits made during the First World War had not been fair because Catalan interests were not represented in the *Cortes* (parliament). Catalan nationalism was not merely a manifestation of cultural division, but the result of its being the most economically advanced region of Spain, producing a quarter of the country's wealth (with only one-eighth of the population), and receiving just a twentieth of government spending in return.

---

<sup>54</sup> Romero, *Spain 1914-1918* p.179-185.

<sup>55</sup> Romero, *Spain 1914-1918* p.5.

<sup>56</sup> Preston, *The Civil War*, , p.17.

<sup>57</sup> The CNT was an anarchounionist group constituted in Barcelona in 1911, which had a national spectrum. It became the most important workers union of Spain with particular influence in Catalonia and declared itself anarchist. The CNT defended direct action and believed in the use of general strikes to achieve its aims. J. Mestre i Camps, *Diccionari d'Història de Catalunya*, (Barcelona, edicions 62, 1995).

<sup>58</sup> For the political developments in Spain in 1917, see J. A. Lacomba, *La crisis española de 1917*, (Málaga, Ciencia Nueva, 1970); G. Meaker, *The revolutionary left in Spain (1914-1923)*, (Palo Alto, Stanford University Press, 1974).

A general strike in 1917 could not be averted and the Spanish military engaged once again in politics, through the creation of the *Juntas de Defensa* (Defence Councils). From 1917 onwards, workers' unions multiplied. A state of war was promptly declared, and the army was used to restore order under a new government that enjoyed the support and active participation of the Lliga. The overall effect was to consolidate the power of the landowners in Spain. The death of Prat de la Riba in 1917 signified an end to more moderate Catalan nationalism.<sup>59</sup> The Lliga supported the military at this point because on balance Lliga members were most concerned about securing stability in order to safeguard their economic interests.

During the summer of 1917, the industrial bourgeoisie, the armed forces and the labour movement tried to overthrow the ruling liberal oligarchy. The result was a situation of complete chaos. The liberal monarchy barely survived the challenge of 1917. The Allied victory, the post war economic recession and the Bolshevik triumph intensified the class struggle in Spain.<sup>60</sup>

The period 1918-1923 was known for open gun battles in a Barcelona ravaged by overt class conflict. In 1918 the revolutionary atmosphere continued, while the CNT enormously increased its influence in Catalonia. Francesc Macià,<sup>61</sup> a republican leader of Catalan nationalism during these years, believed in Catalonia as a federal state within a federal Spain. Macià channelled his energies through the *Federació Democràtica Nacionalista* (National Democratic Federation or FDN) in 1919, to focus on the armed fight, and afterwards through the platform of *Estat Català* (Catalan State or EC), created in 1922.<sup>62</sup>

Between 1917 and 1923, the Lliga became increasingly conservative, perhaps even close to monarchism, leading to a schism between it and more progressive Catalans. In 1921, a new government was formed, with Francesc Cambó i Batlle as

---

<sup>59</sup> J. Solé Tura, *Catalanisme i revolució burgesa*, (Barcelona, Ariel, 1967).

<sup>60</sup> Romero, *Spain 1914-1918*, pp.179-185.

<sup>61</sup> Francesc Macià was born in Vilanova la Geltrú in 1859. After 1912, he got closer to Catalan radical Republicanism. He tried to group the petit bourgeois and the workers around an independent program, *Federació Democràtica Nacionalista* (1919), from which would derive *Estat Català*, created in 1922. He went into exile in France in 1923 and then to Belgium and America. He returned to Catalonia in 1931. He was the leader of ERC and president of the *Generalitat de Catalunya* until his death on 25 December 1933. For information on the life of Francesc Macià, see E. Jardí, *Francesc Macià, El camí de la llibertat (1905-1931)*, (Barcelona, Aymà, 1977).

<sup>62</sup> E. Jardí, *Francesc Macià, El camí de la llibertat (1905-1931)*, (Barcelona, Aymà, 1977).

its Parliamentary leader. Cambó believed in a moderate Catalan nationalism that would allow for the intervention of Catalonia in the national policy-making arenas. He pressed for the extension of Catalan autonomy, for more at any rate than mere administrative decentralisation allowed. After the death of Prat de la Riba, however, Cambó's political orientation moved to the right and he began to advocate a collaborationist policy with Madrid. Cambó resigned in 1923 failing to both monopolise Catalan nationalism and extract significant gains from the government in Madrid. It was the end of the hegemony of the Lliga. A new party emerged, Acció Catalana (Catalan Action, AC), which had been created in 1922 by a section of the Lliga's youth unhappy with the conservative policies of Francesc Cambó. Acció Catalana was liberal and nationalist. It was radical but non-separatist. It was well organised. Its foundation greatly weakened the strength of the Lliga Regionalista.

In the midst of a political vacuum and political turmoil, the King, the Army and the industrial bourgeoisie determined to support an attempt to take power by Miguel Primo de Rivera y Orbaneja. Primo de Rivera, the Captain general of Catalonia, established a military dictatorship in Spain on 13 September 1923 with the support of the Lliga, who believed he would bring order to the country.<sup>63</sup> Primo de Rivera would govern Spain for seven years, initially defending a coalition of industrialists and landowners that crystallised in 1917. Primo de Rivera's dictatorship contributed to the country's deteriorating situation. After some early successes, the dictatorship made a series of unsuccessful efforts at collaboration with a variety of political groups, including the Socialists, and in a desperate move, implemented more liberal policies, in search of the support of the labour unions and left-wing parties, which also failed. After losing the confidence of former supporters, most significantly, the King and the military, Primo de Rivera left Spain in January 1930, only to die a few months later in France.<sup>64</sup>

During the dictatorship, the Catalan middle classes turned their backs on the Lliga, not accepting it could support a regime attacking Catalan culture. The fact that Primo de Rivera turned out to be a traditional military centralist de-legitimised the

---

<sup>63</sup> S. Ben Ami, *La dictadura de Primo de Rivera*, (Barcelona, Planeta, 1983), pp.33-35.

<sup>64</sup> M. T. González Calbet, *La dictadura de Primo de Rivera*, (Madrid, El Arquero, 1987); J. L. Gómez Navarro, *El régimen de Primo de Rivera, Reyes, dictaduras y dictadores*, (Madrid, Cátedra, 1991).

Lliga. Primo de Rivera annulled the Catalanisation project of the *Mancomunitat* in 1925, re-established public order and dissolved the CNT. The Lliga leaders that decided to support Primo de Rivera had not sensed the centralist ideology of the dictator, who would soon begin to repress Catalan nationalism. In 1926, the Barcelona Football Club was closed, as was *Orfeó Català* (the Catalan choral society). Such cultural repressions of Catalan nationalism under Primo de Rivera resulted in a growth in Catalan claims. The Lliga itself was outlawed. In 1930, General Dámaso Berenguer and Admiral Aznar<sup>65</sup> assumed the government of the country, through Berenguer's weak dictatorship was overwhelmed by labour action.

The August 1930 Pact of San Sebastián had united the republicans and the Catalan left against the monarchy. The Pact of San Sebastián was an attempt to establish a provisional government in waiting. The Catalans' expectation was that once the republic was established, the Catalan councils would draft a statute of autonomy which would be ratified by the *Cortes*.<sup>66</sup>

In the meantime, Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (Republican left of Catalonia or ERC) was created in 1931, which united the Partit Republicà Català<sup>67</sup>, led by the labour lawyer Lluís Companys who had some influence on the moderate sections of the CNT, the Grup d'Opinió,<sup>68</sup> which gathered around *L'Opinió*, a weekly leftist journal, and the separatist group Estat Català (EC). It was founded on recognition of the distinct personality of Catalonia. The first executive included Francesc Macià from Estat Català, and Lluís Companys<sup>69</sup>. ERC was the hegemonic

---

<sup>65</sup> Dámaso Berenguer was a Spanish high ranking officer under Romanones (1918). In 1930, Alfonso XIII asked him to form a government, with the mission of restoring the constitutional regime, but Berenguer resigned a year later, and was replaced by another high ranking officer, Admiral Aznar. Berenguer then became minister of war.

<sup>66</sup> Riquer, *L'Últim Cambó (1936-1947)*, p.17.

<sup>67</sup> The Partit Republicà Català was a political group created in Barcelona in April 1917. It was a federal and left-wing group which integrated both the Catalan aspirations and the workers claims.

<sup>68</sup> One more left-wing group was created by the followers of *L'Opinió*, a left-wing weekly journal, led by the lawyer Joan Lluhí. The Opinió group tried to bring together the various factions of Catalan republicanism.

<sup>69</sup> Lluís Companys I Jover was a lawyer and a politician born in Urgell in 1882. Companys intervened actively in the creation of ERC. He was the first president of the Catalan Parliament (1933) and was elected President of the *Generalitat* in January 1934 after the death of Francesc Macià. Companys tried to reunite the Catalan Republican forces. The political crisis of 6 October 1934 led to the proclamation of the Catalan statute within the federal Spanish republic by Companys who would be put in prison until 1936. During the Civil War, Companys tried to deal with the republican government settled in Barcelona. Once the war was lost, Companys sought refuge in France.

political group in Catalonia after 1931, which hoped to proclaim the Catalan republic. The result was a decisive victory for ERC over the Lliga in the municipal elections of 12 April 1931. On the 14 April, Macià proclaimed the Catalan republic from the balcony of Barcelona town hall. The proclamation stated:

Interpreting the feeling and the wishes of Catalan people, I proclaim the Catalan republican state of the Iberian Federation; Catalonia, as a state, will be federated with other states. (...) Catalonia is constituted as an autonomous region within the Spanish state, arranging the present Constitution of the republic and the present statute. Its representative organisation is the *Generalitat* and its territory the one formed by the provinces of Barcelona, Gerona, Lérida and Tarragona. The Catalan language is the official language in Catalonia.<sup>70</sup>

On 14 April 1931, the Second Spanish republic was proclaimed. The members of the Pact of San Sebastián formed a government and Macià's proclamation would not last. Two days later, the government in Madrid managed to recommit Catalonia to the Pact of San Sebastián.<sup>71</sup>

In June, elections for the Constituent *Cortes* took place. The establishment of a republican state in Spain represented the fulfilment of both liberal and democratic ideals. The coming of the republic saw political power pass from the oligarchy to the moderate Left. The president of the provisional republican government was Niceto Alcalá Zamora<sup>72</sup>. The constitution of 1931 proclaimed by the Spanish state recognised no official religion, announced an end to financing of the clergy, and established lay education. The constitution of 1931 also recognised the rights of women and legalised divorce.<sup>73</sup> The second republic, however, faced political unrest throughout its lifetime. Whilst trying to pursue radical economic and political reforms, the republicans were at the same time attempting to moderate between the revolutionary impetus of left-wing organisations and right-wing pressure. In its first period of office, the republican

---

<sup>70</sup> Poblet, Box G3, 'Document de proclamació de Macià el 14 d'Abril'. P. Preston, *La destrucción de la democracia en España*, (Barcelona, Grijalbo, 2001).

<sup>71</sup> Preston, *Revolution and war*, p.88.

<sup>72</sup> Niceto Alcalá Zamora was a right winger who was president of the republic since 1931. He had been minister of war under the monarchy.

<sup>73</sup> J. Martín Casas, *El exilio español*, (Barcelona, Planeta, 2002), p.23; Preston, *The Civil War*, , pp.24-25.

government implemented social and economic reforms. By contrast, the second period saw earlier reforms dismantled. The republic failed because it neither carried through its intended reforms nor fulfilled the rather utopian expectations of its most fervent supporters. The republic coincided with a period of world economic crisis.<sup>74</sup>

Between 1931 and 1933, the Socialists from the Republican-Socialist coalition tried to introduce a programme of reforms in Spain in the midst of the Great Depression. However, these measures represented a threat to the finely poised social and economic equilibrium of Spain. The Socialists were the most important left-wing group in the 1920s and 1930s. The UGT was the Socialist union. Although traditionally a union of skilled urban workers, it was swamped in the early 1930s by rural workers who joined its land workers' section, the Federación Nacional de Trabajadores de la Tierra.

As Prime Minister from 1931 to 1933, architect of the Popular Front in 1935 and President of the republic from 1936 to 1939, Manuel Azaña was closely identified with the second republic. Azaña hoped to modernise the Army and relations between Church and state, and introduce rationality to parliamentary life. Azaña undertook the task of rebuilding the Republican-Socialist coalition. Azaña's efforts in early 1934 were confined to attempts to facilitate the regrouping of left republican forces.<sup>75</sup> Throughout 1935, Indalecio Prieto<sup>76</sup>, the Socialist leader, would put his authority within the Socialist movement at the service of Azaña who resigned the presidency of the republic on 27 February 1939, one day after France and Britain recognised the government of General Franco.

The Catalans welcomed the second republic since it was expected to help in breaking the centralist grip on power. As the Lliga had been discredited, Catalan nationalist aspirations would now be embodied by the local Republican left, the ERC. Realizing that Estat Català lacked the electoral machinery to profit from its popularity,

---

<sup>74</sup> For more information on the second republic, see Preston, *La destrucción de la democracia*, and S. Julià Díaz, *Política en la Segunda República*, (Madrid, Marcial Pons, 1995).

<sup>75</sup> P. Preston, *Comrades*, (London, Harper Collins, 1999), pp.195-209.

<sup>76</sup> Indalecio Prieto was born in Oviedo in 1883. He was a moderate Socialist leader. A politician and journalist, he was minister of the republican government during the Civil War (1936-1937) with Largo Caballero and minister of defence in 1937-1938 under Negrín. After the end of the Civil War, he went into exile in Mexico where he created the JARE.

Macià organised a conference in March 1931 where ERC was created.<sup>77</sup> With the successful fusion of Catalan Republicans, the Catalan autonomous government, the *Generalitat*, came to be governed by liberal Catalans. The *Generalitat* was a governmental institution that emerged as Provisional *Generalitat* of Catalonia on 17 April 1931. It was presided over by Macià and was recognised by the provisional government of the republic on 21 April 1931.

Macià's draft autonomy statute for Catalonia was approved on 9 September 1932.<sup>78</sup> The statute provided for Catalan control of local administration with a local Parliament, the *Generalitat*. There were elections to the Catalan Parliament on 20 November 1932. ERC won with an absolute majority and Macià was ratified as President. The *Generalitat* was constituted by the President, the Parliament and an executive council, and was permitted to run the four provincial councils of Catalonia (as the *Mancomunitat* had done). The Catalan statute of Núria of 1932, written by Macià's coalition cabinet, was not generous. It created a Catalan Parliament, whose competence was limited to agriculture, transport, public health, control of municipal government and Catalan Civil Law. The statute also authorised the government to administer (without legislative powers) public education, major public works, labour services, police forces and law courts. Close state inspection in all these areas remained: the government in Madrid could intervene according to its own desires. For those seeking full independence, the worst of the original draft statute was reserved for financial matters: only one third of Catalan taxation was allotted to the *Generalitat* (that had to be handed over to cover the costs of existing state services). The remainder was retained by the state.<sup>79</sup>

The *Generalitat* faced three central problems: there was continuous friction between this coalition cabinet and the central government in Madrid; ERC did not achieve good relations with organised labour and, last, the *Generalitat* still lacked in effective powers.<sup>80</sup> The disproportionate influence of Madrid and the Castilians in

---

<sup>77</sup> Preston, *Revolution and war*, , p.87

<sup>78</sup> The texts of both the Catalan and Basque statutes under the second republic can be found in AT, Poblet, Box C362.

<sup>79</sup> Preston, *Revolution and war in Spain* , p.93.

<sup>80</sup> For information on the political developments under the republic in Catalonia, see E. Ucelay da Cal, *La Catalunya populista: Imatge, cultura i política en l'etapa republicana, (1931-1939)*, (Barcelona, La Magrana, 1982).

Spanish politics, combined with the disregard that had been shown to Catalans, united Catalans across classes to support the republic as a means of breaking the centralist grip on power. The second republic had ceded a degree of autonomy to Catalonia, which the Catalans had readily assumed, but devolution of power to the *Generalitat* was slow, and progress on reform was severely limited by financial constraints.<sup>81</sup>

After the death of Francesc Macià in December 1933, the Parliament elected Lluís Companys as the new president of the *Generalitat*. Labour conflicts multiplied in 1933, giving rise to continual strikes and public disorder in the absence of an effective labour policy, and in the face of the administration's continuing inability to secure autonomous powers. In November 1933, the Radicals of Lerroux and the Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas (Spanish Autonomous Right Confederation or CEDA) won the elections. The entrance of the Right into the government increased tensions with the workers groups. Lerroux became president, and relations between the *Generalitat* and the government of the republic promptly deteriorated. The result of elections in Catalonia was a two party system shared by the Lliga and ERC. The Lliga, a moderate right-wing Catalan party, with core support amongst the Catalan bourgeoisie, sought autonomy for Catalonia and was ready to coalesce with the central government in order to obtain it. By contrast, ERC was a left-wing Republican party, which began as a coalition of forces Catalan and which ultimately hoped for complete separation from Spain.

Companys formed a four-party coalition government that included Acció Catalana, Unió Socialista<sup>82</sup>, Grup d'Opinió and ERC. He hoped to complete the transfer of powers from Madrid.<sup>83</sup> Spanish Socialism did not succeed in Catalonia, though such factions emerged as, for example, the Unió Socialista de Catalunya (Socialist Union of Catalonia) (1923), the Communist Bloc Obrer i Camperol (1930), and its successor, the Partit Obrer d'Unificació Marxista (Marxist Workers unified party or POUM). Until the arrival of the republic, the Partido Socialista Obrero

---

<sup>81</sup> A. Balcells, *Crisis Económica y agitación social en Cataluña 1930-1936*, (Barcelona, Ariel, 1971).

<sup>82</sup> Unió Socialista was a political formation created in July 1923. It was Socialist, Catalan and democratic.

<sup>83</sup> J.M. Poblet, *Vida i mort de Lluís Companys*, (Barcelona, Pòrtic, 1976); E. Ucelay da Cal, *La Catalunya populista: Imatge, cultura i política en l'etapa republicana, (1931-1939)*, (Barcelona, La Magrana, 1982).



Español (Spanish Socialist party or PSOE) had shown itself to be hostile to Catalan nationalism, and this accounts for its marginal importance in Catalonia.<sup>84</sup>

The period 1934 -1936 is known as the *Bienio Negro*. Politics were bitterly polarised throughout a period of republican government. From October 1934 to February 1936, Catalonia's statute was suspended. The agreements secured in the period 1931-1933 were violated by the radical-CEDA government. Municipal elections in Catalonia were held on 14 January 1934. The Left won emphatically in every major town. The new government tried to put its programme into effect, and Companys travelled to Madrid to obtain the transfer of powers. By late April 1934, there were two separate anti-fascist campaigns in Catalonia: Alianza Obrera and ERC. Both fought for the hegemony of the Left. The *Generalitat* also held an anti-fascist demonstration, led by Companys. A five-month conflict opened between central and regional governments due to the Cultivation Contract Law,, which would lead to the revolt of the *Generalitat*. During the *Bienio Negro*, Catalan autonomy came to an end, and symbols of separate cultural identity were ruthlessly repressed.<sup>85</sup>

The Cultivation Contract Law, passed on 12 June 1934, was the Catalan Parliament's first social reform. The law favoured the *rabassaires*<sup>86</sup>, Catalan tenant farmers who worked for their holdings as family units, often for several generations and only employing additional labours at harvest time. These farmers had suffered from falling market prices. The Cultivation Contract Law fixed the level of rent chargeable on these lands, guaranteeing the permanence of the *rabassaires* by giving them the option to purchase the land they farmed if they so desired, provided that they had farmed the land for more than eight years. In 1851 the Catalan landowners of Barcelona created the *Institut Agrícola Català de Sant Isidre* to defend themselves vis-à-vis the *rabassaires*.

---

<sup>84</sup> R. Carr, *The Republic and the Spanish Civil War in Spain*, (London, Macmillan, 1971).

<sup>85</sup> Poblet, *Vida i mort de Lluís Companys*.

<sup>86</sup> La *rabassa morta* was a cultivation contract widely used in Catalonia during the XVIII and XIX centuries. The terrain was ceded to the *rabassaire* for him to work the land for a number of years. The length of the contract depended on the life of the plants. By using fertilisers, the workers of the land managed to increase the life of the plants, making the contract increasingly lengthy. From this stemmed the conflicts between the *rabassaires* and landowners. During the second republic, the conflict emerged again when the *rabassaires* claimed the land they worked... For information on the *rabassa morta* see L. Ferrer i Alòs, *Pagesos, Rabassaires I industrials a la Catalunya Central, S.XIX I S.XX* (Barcelona, 1987).

This law became the main subject of negotiations between Madrid and Barcelona. However, by September 1934, José María Gil Robles<sup>87</sup> made it clear that CEDA's new government would not accept the Cultivation Contract Law and would remove all policy powers from the *Generalitat*.<sup>88</sup>

The Catalan Parliament passed the law once again whilst the Unió de Rabassaires (Rabassaires Union or UR) worked to stir up the peasantry. In the summer of 1934, it seemed that the negotiations were progressing. The Cultivation Contract Law was finally accepted in October 1934. Amnesty was conceded to the peasantry, leading to a more stable situation in Catalonia, even if the economic crisis continued to worsen.

On 4 October 1934, Lerroux formed a government that included three CEDA ministers. The socialists declared a nationwide strike. It was supported by the Alianza Obrera<sup>89</sup> in Asturias. In Catalunya, the *Generalitat* declared a Catalan Republic.<sup>90</sup> Companys found himself under pressure from a number of sides, including the radical Catalan nationalists. Estat Català worsened relations with Madrid.<sup>91</sup> Moreover, Alianza Obrera backed the *rabassaires's* claims. On 6 October, Companys proclaimed the Catalan statute of the federal Spanish republic. Within just a few minutes of Companys' declaration, Lerroux ordered an end to the rebellion in Catalonia. A few hours later, Companys surrendered to the Army. The October rebellion was a setback for Catalan autonomy. The Parliament was closed, the statute was suspended, control of labour affairs and public order reverted to the central power, and the Cultivation Contract Law was annulled.<sup>92</sup>

---

<sup>87</sup> PRO FO 371/60374, Foreign Office Report, 24-01-1945. "José María Gil Robles, spokesman of the Catholic-clericalist opposition to General Franco's regime is the only experienced conservative politician among those in exile. He established his domicile in Portugal in 1937. Until 1943, he made no sign of seeking to return to the political fray. Since then, however, he said that he would back up an army rising against Franco to remove the incumbent of the Falange party with its unionist shams and he offered the support for any movement designed to restore the monarchy and place the heir upon the throne." Gil Robles felt a need for a radical departure from the policies of reprisal followed by Franco since they could never bring peace to Spain; only the monarchy could act as a force for reconciliation. The monarchy could offer a change of regime and an end to the divisions of the Civil War, but without the threat of social revolution. J. Gil Robles, *La monarquía por la que luché (1941-1954)*, (Madrid, Taurus, 1976), pp.120-122.

<sup>88</sup> Preston, *Revolution and war*, pp.103-104.

<sup>89</sup> Aliança Obrera was an organisation that stemmed from the union of several workers groups in Catalonia when the Right won in the republican elections of 1933.

<sup>90</sup> P.Preston, *The coming of the Spanish Civil War*.

<sup>91</sup> A. Balcells, *Crisis económica y agitación social en Cataluña 1930-1936*, (Barcelona, Ariel, 1971).

<sup>92</sup> Preston, *Revolution and War*, p.108.

The treatment of Catalonia by the Right during the suspension of the statute prepared the ground for the victory of the Popular Front<sup>93</sup> throughout the region in the general elections of 16 February 1936. The Left won 60 per cent of the votes, the statute was restored and Companys and his followers recovered their posts in the *Generalitat* in March. The Lliga returned to the Catalan Parliament as opposition for four months. Meanwhile, the populism of ERC, and its domination of Catalan nationalism through its power in the *Generalitat*, greatly accelerated the diffusion of Catalan nationalism under the republic. ERC maintained a degree of control of the political apparatus and part of the administration, counting on the support of both Catalan intellectuals and of some anarchists.<sup>94</sup>

Other than the Lliga and ERC, an important political group in this period was Catalonia's Christian Democratic Party, *Unió Democràtica de Catalunya* (UDC<sup>95</sup>), founded in November 1932 and causing rifts in both *Acció Catalana* and the Lliga. UDC brought together elements of the Catholic middle classes.<sup>96</sup> The UDC project was to create a party influenced by the European Christian tradition, to bring about a re-Christianisation and reconciliation of divided Catalonian society. Political polarisation in Catalonia left little space however for a party such as UDC, which in 1936 had only 3000 members. UDC was a Catalan and right-wing party. UDC was closely linked to a Catalan religious association, *Federació de Joves Cristians* (Federation of Young Christians or FJC), founded in 1931 by Albert Bonet. The FJC combined Catalan nationalism and Catholicism.

### 1.3 THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR 1936 – 1939

The left wing popular front victory of 1936 increased tensions in Spain. The Right in Spain had lost ground after the years of the second republic and thus conspired to organise a military coup that would develop into a Civil War in Spain. The electoral victory of the Popular Front had provoked fears among the *latifundistas*

---

<sup>93</sup> The Popular Front was an electoral coalition which was the revival of the 1931 Republican-Socialist coalition. The left and the centre left joined together on the basis of a programme of amnesty for prisoners, of basic social and educational reform for trade union freedom.

<sup>94</sup> P. Preston, *Franco*, (London, Harper Collins, 1993), p.111, 113-115.

<sup>95</sup> For information on the UDC, see H. Ragner, *La Unió Democràtica de Catalunya i el seu temps (1931-1939)*, (Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1976).

<sup>96</sup> Ragner, *Unió Democràtica de Catalunya I el seu temps 1931-1939*, p.84.

that the democratic system could no longer protect their interests; they consequently withdrew their support from the ostensibly legalistic Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas (CEDA), giving it instead to those conspiring to overthrow the republic. The 'great depression' had removed any outlet for either migrating workers or returning émigrés, and a succession of bad harvests combined to produce acute unemployment and social tensions. The military rebellion provided a final spur for revolution. The economic boom, supported by Spain's policy of neutrality in World War I, had come to an abrupt end after the war, demonstrating Spain's inability to compete in world markets due to the lack of investment in, and modernisation of the country's agriculture and industry.<sup>97</sup>

Squeezed by an unfair burden of taxation and falling profits, industrialists implemented cuts both in wages and workforce. There was increasing militancy amongst urban trade unionists as a result of the decline in pay and working conditions, which provoked running battles with employers and strikes, which were often brutally repressed. The state deprived of its coercive forces, with no dependable police, civil guard, or military force to command, and facing an increasingly armed populace, saw its power collapse virtually overnight. The military rebellion against the republic then provided the catalyst for a revolution that had been simmering since 1917.<sup>98</sup>

The Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939 was, in fact, not one, but many wars. It was precipitated by a rebellion of army officers against a republican government that was supported in the *Cortes* by the Popular Front coalition of Communist, Socialist, and left-wing republican parties, elected in February 1936. Significant social constituencies in 1930s Spain were hostile to the Republic's progressive reforms. The rebellion was backed by a disparate grouping of Rightist organisations within Spain, including the Falange, the Carlists and the monarchists. Against the European backdrop of the 1930s, and the seemingly unstoppable advance of fascism, the Civil War was indeed perceived as an ideological war by many at the time, including

---

<sup>97</sup> For information on the preparation of the military coup in 1936, see F. Bertrán i Güell, *Preparación y desarrollo del alzamiento nacional*, (Valladolid, Santarén, 1939).

<sup>98</sup> For more information on the Spanish Civil War developments, see P. Preston, *The Spanish Civil War*, (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989) & R. Carr, *The republic and the Spanish Civil War in Spain*, (London, Macmillan, 1971).

Germans and Italians who had fled persecution in their own countries and who enlisted to fight for the republic, and by the volunteers who joined the International Brigade.

It remains a rather simplistic conception of the Civil War to view it as a neat precursor to the Allied fight against the Axis powers in World War II. The military rebellion of 18 July unleashed nothing so straightforward. The war had many dimensions: a class war ~~within war~~ Spain's within Spain's largest cities; a class war; a fight for regional autonomy against centralists; battles for political hegemony within the republican and nationalist zones.

The Civil War in 1936 was also an armed conflict between defenders of the church and its opponents. Franco's victory brought the Catholic church the most substantial privileges it had enjoyed in any contemporary state, with generous state funding, control of the entire educational system, ideological monopoly and legislative embodiment of its moral doctrine. The church, in kind, offered ideological and propagandistic services to the insurgent army.<sup>99</sup> The Spanish bishops were the godfathers of a crusade, and their troops fought for a Catholic Spain. Overall, the Spanish Civil War left Spain economically devastated and the experience weighed heavily on the national consciousness and clearly conditioned the emergence of the anti-Francoist opposition, which would lack not only an institutional framework and organisation, but the will to enter into new conflict.

It could be argued that the immediate origins of the Civil War had less to do with Catalonia than with other areas of Spain. There was a lower level of social tension in Catalonia, in contrast with the deteriorating situation elsewhere in Spain. However, the rebellion of the *Generalitat* was perceived as a threat to the essential unity of Spain by the Right. Josep Tarradellas was counsellor of the *Generalitat* (1931-1933). He assumed the presidency of the council of the *Generalitat* in 1936. Under president Companys, he established a path toward autonomy for Catalonia. Josep Tarradellas<sup>100</sup> created a government of concentration and unity from September to December 1936,

---

<sup>99</sup> Guibernau, *Nacionalisme Català*, pp.73, 75.

<sup>100</sup> For information on J. Tarradellas see E. Udina, *Josep Tarradellas, L'aventura d'una fidelitat*, (Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1978)

reuniting the UGT, CNT, ERC and the POUM.<sup>101</sup> The CNT stands for Confederación Nacional de Trabajo, or National Workers Confederation, the anarchist trade union founded in 1910. The CNT was not principally founded by Catalans.

Josep Tarradellas was a politician born in Cervelló in 1899. He was the general secretary of ERC when it was constituted. He defended two theses: the necessity of collaboration with the republican governments and the necessity of maintaining the primacy of the *Generalitat*. He went to France into exile in February 1939 and was put in prison under the Vichy government. He managed to escape to Switzerland and went back to Paris in 1944. He would be nominated president of the *Generalitat* in 1954 after Josep Irla. Tarradellas' ideology may be summarised under three principles: he was a liberal from the Left, and a non-federalist, and considered the *Generalitat* the main instrument of Catalan unity. Companys was president of the *Generalitat* until 1940. Tarradellas would become president of the *Generalitat* in 1954.

The military coup of 1936 failed in Barcelona, and its defeat led to the radicalisation of the working class and the outbreak of revolution. The Civil War in Catalonia had a particular complexion. Firstly, there was a clash between the anarchist-led revolution and the coalition of Republican forces in the ERC, supported by the Catalan socialists and communists of the Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya (PSUC)<sup>102</sup>. Until 1939, Catalonia was home to one of the most radicalised working class movements in Europe, dominated by anarchists. Secondly, there was a tension between the *Generalitat* and the government of the republic. Thirdly, the repressive measures of the Francoists were added to the cocktail. Another consequence of the

---

<sup>101</sup> The POUM was the Partit Obrer d'Unificació Marxista. It was a political organisation of heterodox Communist character that was founded in Barcelona on the 29 September 1935. It defended social-democracy.

<sup>102</sup> The main component of the PSUC was the USC led by Comorera but it was also composed by Catalan communists.

revolution in Catalonia was the assassination of 2000 priests and members of religious orders.<sup>103</sup>

After May 1937, the Spanish republican government took back responsibility for the maintenance of public order and the defence of the *Generalitat*, beginning a process of loss of powers that would not stop until the Catalan institutions had moved to the other side of the French border. On 18 May 1937, Juan Negrín became the president of the itinerant Spanish republican government, based in Valencia and then in Barcelona from 1 November. Negrín substituted another Socialist, Largo Caballero.<sup>104</sup> The economic crisis grew, and war overwhelmed the revolution.<sup>105</sup>

In September 1936, a workers' government of unity had been formed, under the leadership of Largo Caballero. He was overthrown in May 1937, however, by an alliance of Republicans, Socialists and Communists. After the Civil War, Prieto went into exile to Mexico and Largo Caballero to France.<sup>106</sup>

From 1938 to 1939, the Catalans allocated a large part of their finances to the republican government, which had moved to Catalonia for reasons of security. The republican Burgos government had been internationally recognised in 1938. The Francoist Burgos decree had abolished the Catalan statute on 5 April 1938, and this represented the beginning of repression of Catalan nationalism by Francoism. Later on, the Francoist offensive of Christmas 1938 seemed decisive, and led to a retreat of Catalan forces, provoking the first Catalan exodus to France. The Republic proved unable to mount a serious defence of Barcelona<sup>107</sup>, which fell into Francoist hands on 26 January 1939.<sup>108</sup> Through the *Pacte de Perelada* signed in January 1939 by

---

<sup>103</sup> J. M. Solé I Sabaté, *La repressió a la rera guarda de Catalunya 1936-1939*, (Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1989).

<sup>104</sup> Francisco Largo Caballero was a moderate during the early part of his career, before adopting a fiery, but empty, revolutionary rhetoric from 1934 to 1936. His revolutionary sentiments gave way to pragmatism while he was Prime Minister and War Minister from September 1936 to May 1937.

<sup>105</sup> For the political developments in Catalonia during the Civil War, see J. Benet, *Catalunya i la guerra civil (1936-1939)*, (Barcelona, Abadia de Montserrat, 1988).

<sup>106</sup> Preston, *La destrucción de la democracia*, pp.380-381.

<sup>107</sup> D. Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme: el republicanisme liberal i la nova oposició (1939-1960)*, (Barcelona, Abadia de Montserrat, 1996), pp.9-22.

<sup>108</sup> Katy Cooper in A. Aranzazu Usandizaga, *Ve y cuenta lo que pasó en España*, (Barcelona, Planeta, 2000), p.271; F.Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l' any 1939*, (Barcelona, Fundació Pi i Sunyer, 2000); M.Risques, F.Vilanova and R.Vinyes, *1939 Barcelona any zero. Història gràfica de l' ocupació de la ciutat*, (Barcelona, Edicions Proa, 1999); J. Villarroya i Font, *1939 Derrota i exili*, (Barcelona, Generalitat de Catalunya, 2000).

Companys, Aguirre, Azaña and Negrín, the *Generalitat* agreed to give its finances to the republic, hoping that it would help them in their war effort and hoping to recover the money after the war.<sup>109</sup> The *Generalitat* had insufficient infrastructure to manage and administrate its own finances and went into exile without a penny.

Once Catalonia was occupied by Francoist troops in February 1939, the *Generalitat* had to go into exile.<sup>110</sup> At this time, it was clear that the judicial and Francoist apparatus of state would be used to erase all signs of Catalan identity.<sup>111</sup> Antoni Rovira i Virgili, a man who had arrived in Montpellier on the 31 January, left a written message:

‘This is the final and absolute defeat: this time, the coup is not only military, political and administrative. It is not hitting the legal organisation, but the spirit, the idea, the culture, the strength and the life of Catalonia. They want to destroy not only the political Catalan building but also the national soul.’<sup>112</sup>

#### **1.4 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FRANCOISM**

Franco emerged victorious from the Civil War in 1939 and successfully established a fascist rule. Franco’s dictatorship was based on an implicit pact with the church regarding institutions. He declared himself responsible only to God and History, and only the Church could pretend to limit his power. The regime was demonstrably totalitarian in nature. It was useful for the Francoists to claim God was on their side as it provided justification for their activities and increased their support. Indeed, the Church’s alliance with Franco became a fundamental instrument for the regime.<sup>113</sup>

Franco’s dictatorship was based on a single party, the Falange, which counted amongst its members a large number of right-wing families, namely monarchists, Carlists and Catholics. After the war, the Falange gained institutional status as the

---

<sup>109</sup> Atholl, Duchess of, *Searchlight on Spain*, (London, Penguin, 1938).

<sup>110</sup> J.M. Solé I Sabaté, *Cataluña en la guerra civil española*, (Barcelona, Biblioteca La Vanguardia, 1989).

<sup>111</sup> Author’s interview with Josep Benet, Barcelona, November 2001.

<sup>112</sup> *Avui*, Barcelona, 12-02-1999.

<sup>113</sup> F. Lannon, *Modern Spain: The project of a National Catholicism*, (Oxford, LMH, Oxford University Press, 1983), p.588; M., Guibernau, *Nacionalisme Català*, (Barcelona, Pòrtic, 2002), p.73.



only legal political group. Membership was compulsory for those jostling for position in the new political order of Spain.<sup>114</sup> The new Spanish state was a totalitarian instrument in the service of an integral homeland. The unity of Spain was not an issue open for debate, but rather an article of faith. Free speech, free press, right of assembly and trial by jury were subordinated to the needs of the state. Free trade unions were also subordinated to the needs of the state and replaced by vertical unions based on the model of the Italian corporations, organised by industry and represented by three levels - workers, technical employees, and employers. The state, too, bore the imprint of fascist organisation. Franco did not restore the monarchy (to the dismay of some of his supporters<sup>115</sup>), but rather declared himself chief of state. He ~~was head~~was head of the Falange, with an absolute veto over all governance. He appointed and presided over the cabinet. When the *Cortes* was re-established in March 1943, he appointed many of its members. Franco could remove other members, elected or appointed by the corporate bodies of the state, as he desired.<sup>116</sup> Civil War brought with it unprecedented economic blight. Franco established the political economy of autarky, or self-sufficiency of the country. This policy was associated with Catholicism. Autarky represented an extreme form of economic protectionism, which had always been the basis of elite demands upon the state.<sup>117</sup>

The Francoist apparatus of repression<sup>118</sup> was extensive, including death, prison, exile, social, political, religious, economic and ideological discrimination, starvation, terror and cultural genocide.<sup>119</sup> The regime operated on a cocktail of political repression, physical violence and material deprivation. Coercion was also applied through work. Franco's dictatorship proffered forty years of political exception, based

---

<sup>114</sup> A good summary of the Falange is found in Guibernau, *Nacionalisme Català*, p.67-69.

<sup>115</sup> Franco made reference to the possibility of Don Juan ascending to the throne in the future in order to calm the monarchist opposition. PRO FO 371/26895, C794/C3445.

<sup>116</sup> P. Preston, *Franco*, (London, Harper Collins, 1993), p.374); Guibernau, *Nacionalisme Català*, , pp. 68-69; F. Franco, *Discursos y mensajes del jefe de estado, 68-70*, (Madrid, Fundación Nacional Francisco Franco, Azor, 1993); R. Cierva, Ricardo & S. Vilar, *Pro y contra Franco, Franquismo y antifranquismo*, (Barcelona, Planeta, 1973); J. Fontana, *España bajo el franquismo*, (Barcelona, Crítica, 2000).

<sup>117</sup> E. Moradiellos, *La España de Franco (1939-1975)*, (Madrid, Síntesis, 2000).

<sup>118</sup> A good definition of what a nation's repression consists of is found in M. Guibernau, *Nationalisms*, (Barcelona, Ariel, 1996), pp.116-117.

<sup>119</sup> Hilari Ragner's interview, *El Miracle*, Catalonia, November 2001.

on the repression of all and any opposition, including the peripheral nationalisms.<sup>120</sup> Under Francoism, the repression accomplished a fundamental political role: that of paralysing the enemy through terror. Repression was not exercised with discrimination, but arbitrarily and widely. Franco kept many political opponents in prison, authorising the military tribunals to condemn to death countless numbers of republicans. Those who were detained indefinitely went to the provincial prison to be sentenced in war tribunals. The prisons were completely full. In the Modelo prison in Barcelona, in 1939, there were up to 13,000 prisoners. The new state initiated an intense campaign of persecutions throughout most of Spain. Unsubstantiated personal accusations of wartime crimes often effectively condemned a man to death. Political or union activity was considered an act of military rebellion, to be tried by courts martial. The secret police were perhaps the most efficient arm of government (particularly during the first years of Francoism), reputedly holding dossiers on all persons known or suspected of having points of view in any way subversive of the regime. The political death toll rose to levels suggestive of its systemic nature. In Madrid alone, some 200 to 250 people were executed every day; in Barcelona the figure was 150; in Sevilla, it was 80. Josep Benet, a Catalan historian and expert on the Francoist repression in Catalonia, has described its effects:<sup>121</sup> 'Francoist repression was incredibly effective both during the Civil War and after it.' Therefore, Catalan society was mainly concerned with survival.<sup>122</sup>

One of the central pillars of Francoist repression was the Law of Political Responsibilities signed and approved by Franco in February of 1939. The law made it possible to bring a case against the disappeared and absent, but revoked any right to defence. This also operated against the dead thus making their families responsible. The National Tribunal could revoke the agreement of filing an expedient; the

---

<sup>120</sup> Guibernau, *Nacionalisme Català*, p.82, pp.84-85, p.88.

<sup>121</sup> For more information on Francoist political repression see J. Benet, *La repressió catalana*, pp. 70-79; H. Heine, *La oposición política al franquismo*, (Barcelona, Grijalbo, 1983), p.42; J. Fontana, *España bajo el franquismo*, p.18); 'Coloquio del Conde Ciano con el Generalísimo Franco, 19-07-1939' in G. Ciano, *Europa hacia la catástrofe*, (Barcelona, Los libros de nuestro tiempo, 1949), p.239; La Spagna contra Franco, Una lotta storica per la pace, problemi della pace, *La Stampa Moderna*, Roma, 1952. J.M. Solé I Sabaté, *La repressió franquista a Catalunya (1938-1953)*, (Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1985); M. Richards, *A time of silence, Civil War and the culture of repression in Franco's Spain, (1936-45)*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998).

<sup>122</sup> Author's interview with Josep Benet, Barcelona, November 2001.

expedient could be solved in camera. The law created crimes, established punishments and submitted the accused to a singular process. The law remained in force until April 1945. However, in a very peculiar piece of juridical practice, people could still be brought before the civil courts to answer for 'political responsibilities' defined as crimes under the law until 1966.<sup>123</sup>

Another facet of the Francoist repression was social. Workers' unions were outlawed in 1939. Franco established a hierarchical organic structure, making Spain a national, unionist state with vertical unions, embracing both employers and workers and embodying Falangist ideals. Franco persecuted and banned traditional unions along with any form of revolt or complaint. The main objective was to restore the capitalist system and to insulate the mines from social unrest. Strikes were outlawed and known trade unionists found themselves constantly in danger of summary execution.<sup>124</sup>

Francoist repression was particularly severe when it came to rival claims of autonomy, in particular those of the Catalan nationalists and the Basque nationalists, which the regime attempted to destroy.<sup>125</sup> A unitary Castilian Spain – devoted to empire and Catholicism – could not be established otherwise. The major targets of repression in Catalonia were those holding high politico-social charges during the Civil War, those accused of direct participation in the war and important personalities at the local level. In addition to repression of the democratic organisations and the institutions of self-government, there was a draconian machinery of terror directed squarely at Catalan cultural life, attacking educational institutions, the freedom of press and the Catalan language itself.<sup>126</sup> An example of Francoist repression of Catalan

---

<sup>123</sup> For more information on the Francoist Law of Political Responsibilities see F. Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l'any 39*, pp.138-141; J. Benet, *Catalunya sota el règim franquista: informe sobre la persecució de la llengua i la cultura de Catalunya pel règim del general Franco, Vol.I*, (Barcelona, Blume, 1978), p.47.

<sup>124</sup> Duchess of Atholl, *Searchlight on Spain*, (London, Penguin, 1938), p.269.

<sup>125</sup> For an explanation of Francoist repression in the Basque country, see PRO File FO 371/22699, Merry del Val vs Irujo, London, 04-12-1938. The repression in the Basque country in the aftermath of the Civil War is well documented in PRO CAB118/16, 15-11-1939, letter from Lizaso to Attlee. The document explains the renewal of the repression in the Basque country from October 1939 onwards.

<sup>126</sup> G. Ciano, *Diary*, February 1939, pp.50-52; Author's interview with Antón Cañellas, Barcelona, January 2002; Riera, *Els industrials Catalans sota el franquisme*, p.145; Anon, *Catalunya sota el règim franquista, vol.I*, (París, edicions Catalanes de París, 1973); J. Benet, *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya*, (Barcelona, Montserrat, 1995); C. Mir, *La represión bajo el franquismo Ayer 43*, (Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2001).



nationalism was that in 1938, the leading member of UDC, Manuel Carrasco i Formiguera, was executed in Burgos, in spite of his Catholic fervour.<sup>127</sup> The extent of repression was severe; Catalanian society was terrorised. A negotiator recorded the episode:

I did what I could overnight to avoid the slaughter. (...) Some said they did not know about it, some that there was no way back to the decision. (...) Finally they told me that the resolution to murder Don Manuel Carrasco Formiguera was definite. (...) I understood then that I could do nothing against his death. I then entered his room and did not abandon him till he was buried.<sup>128</sup>

Josep Maria Batista i Roca, a Catalan politician, described the totality and extent of the onslaught:

'General Franco's bitter persecution of the Catalans – suppression of their autonomy voted in plebiscite by 78 per cent of the people: abolition of all laws passed by the Catalan parliament; closing down of their schools; the ban on the public use of their language; and finally the execution of their president-has created a special situation in Catalonia.'<sup>129</sup>

## 1.5 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ANTI-FRANCOIST OPPOSITION

Opposition to Franco comprised opposition inside the regime (monarchists, Falangists) and outside of the regime (Socialist, Republicans, Communists and anarchist) including Basques, Galicians and Catalanists who fought for their regional aspirations. Opposition in all cases formed both in Spain, and in exile.<sup>130</sup> The internal opposition to the regime comprised those who had supported the military rebellion but

---

<sup>127</sup> H. Rager, *La UDC (1931-1939)*, (Barcelona, Abadia de Montserrat, 1976), p.412.

<sup>128</sup> ID, letter from Ignacio Romañà to Don Luis Jover Nunell about the murder of Carrasco Formiguera, 10-04-1938.

<sup>129</sup> FPS, Box D5, J. M. Batista i Roca, 12-1944. Josep Maria Batista i Roca was born in Barcelona in 1895. He was a historian and a politician. Batista i Roca was History Professor of the University of Barcelona and justice advisor during the Civil War was sent by Companys to London in the middle of the war as representative of the *Generalitat*. He exiled to the UK in 1939. He was a History teacher in Cambridge and secretary of the CNC.

<sup>130</sup> S. Payne, *El régimen de Franco, 1936-1975*, (Madrid, Alianza editorial, 1987), p. 581; Artea, ANV, EBB122-1, letter from Irujo to Aldasoro, Olazábal, Belausteguigoitia, Sota, Pi i Sunyer, Etxebarria and Eguileor, London, 29-06, 1940.

did not agree with Franco's monopolisation of power after his victory in the Civil War. Amongst these, there were monarchists (who had counted on the restoration of the monarchy once Franco had come to power) and Falangists who had hoped to get a share of power.

A number of writers such as Javier Tusell, Luis María Ansón and José María Toquero have argued that the most important opposition to Franco came from the monarchist camp, since the Allies wished, above all, for a stable regime for Spain, and the Crown could attract more dependable support than the republic. Moreover, Franco faced a considerable amount of pressure from the army and the conservative classes to restore the monarchy.<sup>131</sup> The Italian Foreign minister, Ciano, bore witness to the pressure: 'Serrano Súñer had gone towards Switzerland where the king resides now. The Monarchy will not solve anything but all the Spaniards want it. Therefore, we need to follow up on this trip.'<sup>132</sup>

Monarchist participation in the reactionary coalition of July 1936 arose from a confident expectation that the military insurrection would lead to the restoration of the monarchy. The monarchists' participation was decisive in Franco's victory in the Civil War. As Franco did not take a concrete stance on a restoration of the monarchy once the Civil War came to an end, the monarchist opposition began to grow<sup>133</sup>. Franco

---

<sup>131</sup> Such writers as Luis María Ansón and José María Toquero claim that the monarchist opposition was the strongest amongst the anti-Francoist opposition. J. M. Toquero, *Franco and Don Juan*, (Barcelona, Plaza y Janés, 1989); Luis María Ansón, *Don Juan*, (Barcelona, Plaza y Janés, 1984). Toquero presents four main arguments to support this thesis. Firstly, the failure of the second republic left bad memories among the Spanish people. There were severe confrontations between left and right-wing parties, a lack of respect for the Catholic Church, Communist tendencies and anarchist terrorism. Second, the post-war politico-economic failures of the Franco regime further disenchanted an already deprived Spanish population, both in material and moral terms. Third, the monarchy held some support within the Franco regime. From the very beginning, Franco was pressured both by army generals and the conservative elite to restore the monarchy. Especially between 1944 and 1946, after Germany's defeat in World War II, the conservative classes deemed a monarchist restoration as fundamental, fearing an intervention of the Allied forces against the Spanish fascist regime. Finally, the monarchist opposition drew greater support from other Western powers, for instance, the UK, than the republicans did. Toquero, *Franco and Don Juan*, pp.380-382. "This person has not been judged with enough objectivity. We can affirm that for a long time Don Juan was one of the few social and political figures that rationally fought against Francoism with possibilities of succeeding." Toquero, *Franco and Don Juan*, , pp.378.

<sup>132</sup> G. Ciano, *Ciano's diario*, 12-06- 1942, p.567. Ramón Serrano Súñer was Franco's brother-in-law who helped to lay the political and ideological foundations of the Franco's one-party state-falangist.

<sup>133</sup> PRO FO 371/31227. The monarchist opposition came from the conservative classes. They were often part of the army, even some of Franco's generals, academics, lawyers or bankers. "His Majesty's ambassador in Madrid has been in touch with numerous Spanish leaders hostile to the Falangist regime, wishing to stand up to German pressure and possibly capable of setting up an

ensured that senior monarchists were kept away from posts of responsibility. Moreover, Franco had the fundamental support of the Church and the Army. In terms of numbers, the monarchist opposition was not of great consequence, and its composition was far from homogenous.<sup>134</sup>

The monarchists tried in vain to organise several conspiracies against Franco. They were also divided. A majority of monarchists considered Don Juan de Borbón the legitimate heir to the Spanish throne. Not all monarchists agreed on the choice of the pretender though, and this weakened their organisation. Most visibly, Don Juan and his brother fought for their respective rights to the throne.<sup>135</sup> In 1942, Don Juan declared publicly that he expected to be crowned King of the Spaniards.<sup>136</sup> He espoused a traditionalist view of the monarchy<sup>137</sup> and limited his activities, hoping that Franco would restore the monarchy. A year later, Don Juan publicly rejected the identification of the monarchy with the Falange, and, as World War II developed, identified himself increasingly with the Western democracies.<sup>138</sup> Nonetheless, in 1945, in the wake of the Allied victory, Don Juan recovered some belief in his cause. On 19

---

alternative government. These leaders include monarchists, the Army, the Church and the centre parties and their program is based upon the return of a moderate monarchist regime." From Foreign Office to Burne (embassy counsellor), 17-07-1942. PRO FO 371/425/423, Z4002/1484/41, Hoare to Foreign Office, 02-03-1941; PRO FO 371/34819, C2525/217/41.

<sup>134</sup> H. Heine, *La oposición*, p.252.

<sup>135</sup> L. M. Ansón, *Don Juan*, (Barcelona, Plaza y Janés, 1984).

<sup>136</sup> PRO FO371/31228, 11-11-1942, Political distribution from Switzerland, from Berne to Foreign Office. In November 1942, for the first time, Don Juan ever pronounced himself against Franco in an interview to the *Journal de Genève*. He publicly claimed the Spanish throne and rejected Franco's regime. The declaration began as follows: "I am head of no conspiracy but I am the legitimate depository of secular political treasure of Spanish monarchy. I am sure it will be restored as soon as interest of Spain demands. When Spanish people think this time has come, I shall not hesitate a moment to put myself at its disposal." Also, on 6 January 1943, Don Juan wrote a letter to Franco rejecting his identification with the Falange and made reference to Franco's regime as a "provisional and non judicial regime." PRO FO 371/34819, C3858.

<sup>137</sup> PRO FO 371/31228, Samuel Hoare, from Madrid to Foreign Office, 27-11-1942, "We as a traditionalist monarchist country naturally sympathised with the monarchist governments but his Majesty's government felt that decision in Spain must rest with Spaniards alone." The British stated their sympathy for the monarchist opposition but they also claimed their intention of respecting non-intervention in other countries.

<sup>138</sup> PRO FO425/422, C5031/225/41. In January 1944, Don Juan claimed that Franco's regime would not survive the end of the World War II and that unless the monarchy was restored, a civil war would take place. In a letter written to Don Alfonso de Orleans, his uncle, Don Juan asserted that Franco's refusal to modify his foreign policy towards the Allies and to return to strict neutrality had obliged him to oppose the dictator. The heir was finally taking an unambiguous stance towards Franco.

March 1945, he announced the Lausanne Manifesto<sup>139</sup>, representing an overt rejection of Franco.<sup>140</sup>

From 1948 to 1950, the cards were increasingly stacked against monarchism. The beginning of the Cold War brought with it a fear of Communist expansion in Spain. The international community preferred Francoism to Communism. A last desperate attempt to unite forces of the Right and Left against Franco was made with the pact of Saint Jean de Luz, but it came after Franco's meeting with Don Juan in the Azor yacht, who was persuaded to send his son to be educated under the dictator's wing. Don Juan had chosen to collaborate with Franco.<sup>141</sup> Having seized the initiative, Franco fought actively against the crown, prohibiting all monarchist propaganda and press, and educating the nation's youth in anti-monarchism.<sup>142</sup>

---

<sup>139</sup>PRO FO 371/49629, Z4138/1484/41, Bowker to Eden, 27-03-1945. Norton (embassy counsellor) to Eden. On 19 March 1945, Don Juan announced the Lausanne Manifesto: "Today, six years after the Civil War, the regime established by General Franco, inspired from the start by the totalitarian systems and the Axis powers, so contrary to the character and tradition of our people, is fundamentally incompatible with the circumstances, which the present war is creating in the world. The foreign policy followed by the regime is compromising the future of the nation. Spain runs the risk of being dragged into a new fratricidal conflict and of finding itself totally isolated from the world. The present regime, however hard it tries to adapt to the new situation, is responsible for this double danger. Moreover, a new republic, however moderate in its beginnings and its intentions, will not be long in shifting to one of the extremes, thus strengthening the other and finishing up in a new civil war. Only the traditional monarchy can be an instrument of peace and concord to reconcile Spaniards; it alone can obtain respect from abroad, by means of an effective state of law, and realize a harmonious synthesis of that order and freedom upon which is based the Christian concept of the state. Millions of Spaniards of the most varied ideologies are convinced of this truth and see in the monarchy the only saving institution."

<sup>140</sup> PRO, FO 371/49629, Z4041/1484/41, Norton (Embassy Counsellor) to Eden, 27-03-1945.

<sup>141</sup> L. López Rodó, *La larga marcha hacia la monarquía*, (Barcelona, Noguer, 1977), pp.112, 113; PRO FO 371/89621, WS 1942/4.

<sup>142</sup> J.M. Toquero, *Franco y Don Juan*.

The Falangist opposition was led by some high-ranking generals<sup>143</sup> under Franco<sup>144</sup> who disagreed with Franco's monopolisation of power<sup>145</sup> and often decided to ally with the monarchists in their fight to obtain a share of power. The Falangist generals tried to organise several anti-Franco coups. In one, José Enrique Varela made an attempt against Franco.<sup>146</sup> On the whole though, both monarchism<sup>147</sup> and falangism expressed resistance in the form of declarations and manifestos<sup>148</sup> rather than through concrete action.<sup>149</sup>

The greatest single factor contributing to the failure of the exiled opposition was the persistence of Civil War ideological divisions. The history of exile was one of

---

<sup>143</sup> The general José Enrique Varela Iglesias, Marqués de Varela de San Fernando, was a Carlist. He got two medals of honour for his battles in the North of Africa during the reign of Alfonso XIII. He was minister of the war under Franco until 1942 and held the post of High Commissioner in Morocco. Varela was placed in charge of the Francoist attack on Madrid. Varela also participated in several monarchist petitions to Franco. Varela was clearly in favour of the monarchical restoration. AV29, Cádiz, 'La restauración de la monarquía'. "The idea that the monarchy is today called to restore the organic and historic basis of Spain following Traditionalism is generally accepted within Spain. There is no other doctrine worth being considered as an alternative to the monarchy. This is the only political solution for Spain. The military has to make sure that the monarchy has a national and popular character. The monarchy is a legitimate, national and organic institution." AV28, Varela's archive, 08-04-1942, Varela further argued: "The government of the country is a disaster. There should be a radical unification and the same number of Falangist, Traditionalist and independent ministers." Spurred on by Casilda Ampuero, his wife, Varela took all the opportunities to strike blows against the Falange. PRO FO 371/31237, C87740/220/41, 04-09-1942, Yencken to Eden.

<sup>144</sup> AV 149, Varela's archive, 'About Espinosa de los Monteros', In March 1942, Espinosa de los Monteros, ex-ambassador to Berlin, was accused of being involved with Alfredo Kindelán and Luis Orgaz in preparations for an anti-Franco coup. "We know all the motives of the incident and it is considered a warning that the Army has made to Franco about the unhappiness of the enormous power that the Falange is acquiring." AV149, 28-04-1942, 'Tensions within the military corps'. "The event of Espinosa de los Montero envisages a possible change in the political procedures since the tension between the Army and the protagonists of the Falange is becoming unbearable."

<sup>145</sup> PRO FO 371/31228, letter of Hoare to Eden. "The generals are now more convinced than ever that they can get rid of Franco when they like, provided that the Germans do not intervene. They are waiting upon the course of the war and this being so they are discussing any immediate monarchist movement."

<sup>146</sup> PRO FO 371/31228, letter of Hoare to Eden, 07-10-1942. Samuel Hoare (John Gurney) (2nd baronet) was a British statesman who was a chief architect of the government of India act of 1935.

<sup>147</sup> AV32, Cádiz, letter from Varela to Ponte, 23-03-1946. Monarchism lacked internal unity. "We are now going through difficult times due to the international pressure against the regime. It is now more than ever essential to appear externally united to save the fundamental principles that created the Movement. Any misfortunate intervention and this normally happens when they are not clever interventions, produce effects which are contrary to the purposes and in this sense we could say the present regime lives today thanks to the mistakes and divisions of the monarchists rather than thanks to its successes. The fact of not allowing the restoration is a terrible mistake but it is the reality we are living and we need to think of our possibilities to change this situation very cunningly to avoid harming ourselves in this crusade. Our unity is fundamental to recover the political normality that will save our country."

<sup>148</sup> PRO FO371/34821, C8728. For example, in July 1943, many monarchists wrote a manifesto asking Franco to restore the monarchy.

<sup>149</sup> L. López Rodó, *La larga marcha hacia la monarquía*, (Barcelona, Noguer, 1977), pp.37-40.



continuing fragmentation. Existing republican divisions were widened by geographical dissension after 1939. The communists and the remaining groups deeply disagreed.

Several other groups contributed to the external opposition, but are considered primarily in relation to Catalan nationalism, which is the focus of this study. The Communists did not successfully reorganise until 1944. The Communist party (Partido Comunista de España or PCE) broadly followed the position of the Comintern, leaving the Communists isolated from other leftist groups in opposition to Franco.<sup>150</sup> Slavish Communist adherence to Moscow quickly caused difficulties with the interior in the absence of a central committee. Stalinist methods also damaged the PCE's relations with other groups who were generally referred to as traitors. Thus, there was hardly no relation between Catalan nationalism and the PCE. On the other hand, the Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya, the PSUC, was to some extent both Catalan and communist under the leadership of Joan Comorera<sup>151</sup> until mid 1940s. Originally, the PSUC was the result of the fusion between communists and socialists and, moreover, it was independent from the PCE. Furthermore, the PSUC declared itself anti-Francoist and fought for democratic unity under the dictatorship.<sup>152</sup>

Military defeat in 1939 caused disruption on the republican side, with each section of the Popular Front separating out, and some, such as the Socialists, disintegrating altogether.<sup>153</sup> The Socialists divided between Indalecio Prieto, who was anti-Communist, and Juan Negrín<sup>154</sup>, who was pro-Communist.<sup>155</sup> Indalecio Prieto was the main leader of the PSOE, which tried to defend the republic. Prieto decided to help Azaña after 1934, arguing that the first priority was to regain power in order to put an end to the sufferings of the working class at the hands of the CEDA-Radical coalition.

---

<sup>150</sup> Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de Carles Pi i Sunyer, Vol.II*, pp.118-119.

<sup>151</sup> Joan Comorera was born in Cervera in 1895. He collaborated in the creation of the PSUC, becoming its general secretary. He went into exile in France and then on to Moscow and then to Mexico. Joan Comorera died in a Francoist gaol (Burgos) in 1958.

<sup>152</sup> 'The Anti-Francoist opposition: the long march to unity' in P.Preston, *Spain in crisis*, (London, Harvester Press, 1976), pp.125-137

<sup>153</sup> FPS, Box 11, Folder 351, letter from Irujo to C. Pi i Sunyer, London, 29-06-1940.

<sup>154</sup> Juan Negrín was born in Las Palmas in 1889. He was a moderate Socialist and ally of the Communists. He was appointed Prime Minister of the republic on 17 May 1937. In October 1937, he moved the government to Barcelona. In March 1939, he went into exile after the Casado coup and created the SERE.

<sup>155</sup> FPS, Box 11, Folder 351, letter from Irujo to C. Pi i Sunyer, London, 29-06-1940.

Prieto was replaced by Negrín in May 1937. Prieto went to Chile in December 1938, determined to help Spanish refugees. Socialism remained weak until the middle of the 1940s in Spain, and relations between Catalan nationalism and Socialism were not significant.<sup>156</sup> The PSOE was divided in the years following 1939. Moreover, the PSOE and the UGT were not ready for the secret fighting due to their history of mass parliamentary party. The PSOE sector loyal to the pro-communist government of Juan Negrín was led by Ramón Lamóneda helped by Julio Álvarez del Vayo. The pro-Negrinist sector was Unión Socialista Española and some of its leaders such as Amaro del Rosal became communists. Apart from the problems originated by the exile, the main factor that contributed to the failure of the opposition outside Catalonia was the ideological divisions created during the Civil War and worsened after the geographical dispersion after 1939. The deepest divisions were those existing between the PSOE and the PCE and among the pro- and anti-communist factions within the PSOE. A minority led by Negrín and Álvarez del Vayo was in favour of a continuous collaboration with the communists whilst the majority turned towards the Allies seeking freedom.<sup>157</sup>

The most important figure among the Spanish Republicans after the death of Manuel Azaña<sup>158</sup> was Diego Martínez Barrio<sup>159</sup>, who fled to Mexico in 1939. He was part of Unión Republicana (Republican Union), becoming president of the republic in exile, and tried to resuscitate the Republican process. Martínez Barrio did try to enter a pact with the Catalans. Several attempts would be made to unite Republican and Catalans forces, but none of them would bear fruit.

The anarchists were also divided. The old CNT, FAI and FJL were united on the 25 February 1939 into the Movimiento Libertario Español, which was rapidly dispersed by war-time circumstances. The division was extremely complex but

---

<sup>156</sup> P. Preston, *Comrades*, (London, Harper Collins, 1999), pp. 246-273.

<sup>157</sup> P. Preston, 'Decadencia y resurgimiento del PSOE durante el régimen franquista', *El socialismo en España*, (Madrid, Pablo Iglesias, 1986), pp.349-350

<sup>158</sup> Manuel Azaña was born in 1880. In 1925 he founded Acción Republicana supported by the main Republican tendencies. When the republic was proclaimed, he formed part of the provisional government as war minister. In 1936 he led the republican government and in May he was elected president of the republic until 1939.

<sup>159</sup> Diego Martínez Barrio, a politician, founded Unión Republicana and participated in the elections of 1936. He was the president of the republic (1936) and in 1945 he became president of the republic in exile.

broadly many exiled leaders in France adopted a purist position while the majority believed the Civil War was not over and a wide anti-fascist front was necessary.

The most important political alliance of Catalan nationalism throughout the period was with the Basque nationalists, owing to common interests and claims. The Basque territory was a small isolated territory that had been subject to few invasions throughout its history, fertile ground for establishing any potential claims to autonomy. Basque nationalism in the XIX and XX centuries looked back to the foral system<sup>160</sup>, which had granted radical autonomy to the administrations of the Basque territories. The *fueros* (privileges), as they were called, were the original Basque constitutions, expressions of sovereignty and the right to self-government that they had enjoyed up to 1839.<sup>161</sup> An article found in Poblet defines the *fueros* as:

Basque laws, made by the Basques in order to serve public collective order. In consequence, the *fueros* were also the faculty (...) of governing themselves, without influence of any foreign power. The *fueros* are therefore the expression of political sovereignty because according to them each one of the ex Basque states was organised freely in virtue of the agreements of the Juntas Generales and the *Cortes*. Moreover, its sovereignty was especially guaranteed by the use of foral path administered by the Juntas.<sup>162</sup>

During Cánovas' *Restauración*, several *Conciertos Económicos* (Economic Agreements) were implemented in the Basque region. These were laws that confirmed economic autonomy for the Basque country. On 26 January 1865, Sabino Policarpo de Arana Goiri was born in the Biscayne town of Abando. Arana would establish the pillars of Basque nationalist ideology. The Basque nationalists suffered something of an identity crisis with the 1876 abolition of the *fueros*. The law that put paid to the *fueros* provided for the full incorporation of the Basque territories into the constitutional unity of the Spanish monarchy, leaving the Basque society an orphan of its main, secular, symbolic, communitarian referent: the foral regime. Arana tried to

---

<sup>160</sup> The foral system is summarised in AT, Poblet, Premsa 1939, '1839-1939 Fueros y libertad'.

<sup>161</sup> Pablo, *El péndulo patriótico*, Vol.I, pp.13, 27.

<sup>162</sup> Poblet, Box C362, Premsa Euzkadi, 03-01-1939.

reformulate Basque claims, conceiving a new ideology at the time of the enormous transformations of the industrial revolution in the Basque country.<sup>163</sup>

Arana founded the Partido Nacionalista Vasco (Basque Nationalist Party or PNV) in 1895, which would prove the leading force in opposition to Franco, and at the time of writing, still governs the Basque country. The PNV had a middle class orientation, submitted moderate policy proposals, and was linked to the church. It had strong racial connotations, and it was anti-fascist, anti-monarchist, and counter-revolutionary.<sup>164</sup> Arana claimed that the distinctions of race<sup>165</sup>, language, history and religion constituted the Basque national identity.<sup>166</sup> *Euskera*, the Basque language, was not only the irrefutable witness of originality and purity of race, but also an efficient tool of protection and defence in order to preserve the purity of race and isolate the Basque nation from centralist Hispanic influences, guaranteeing the preservation of its essences and traditions.<sup>167</sup> Moreover, Arana's doctrine had a religious content, which was captured in his motto: everything for the country and the country for God (Gustija Errikarentzako Ta Errija Jaungoikuarentzako).<sup>168</sup> José María de Areilza, a monarchist intellectual and politician, commented on Basque exceptionalism: 'They never considered themselves Spaniards, always asserting that they were Basques only.'<sup>169</sup> In 1931, the proclamation of intent of the Basque statute under the republic resembled in some ways the constitution of the Catalan statute.<sup>170</sup> The statute did not allocate the same degree of sovereignty to the Basque country as the foral system, but it was a step forward in the devolution of powers to the periphery, synthesising Basque autonomous rights and laws. Of course, Basque culture, language, parties and organisations were repressed during the Civil War, resulting in terrorism:

---

<sup>163</sup> Pablo, *El péndulo patriótico*, Voll, p.24.

<sup>164</sup> H. Heine, *La oposición*, ch.9.

<sup>165</sup> AN, Artea, *Alderdi*, 1949, 'La raza vasca'.

<sup>166</sup> AT, Poblet, Box 99, 18-01-1945, 'Cómo piensan y actúan los vascos en España'; AT, Poblet, Box 371, 05-03-1939, 'Declaración política'.

<sup>167</sup> Pablo, *El péndulo patriótico*, Vol. I, p.41.

<sup>168</sup> Pablo, *El péndulo patriótico*, Vol. I, p.41.

<sup>169</sup> File FO CAB 118-16, Areilza, London, 1940. José María Areilza (Conde de Motrico) was the ambassador to France, Argentina and Washington and was part of Don Juan's shadow cabinet.

<sup>170</sup> PRO FO 371/22699, 04-12-1938, Merry del Val's letter to Irujo, 'Basque political organisation before 1939', AT, Poblet, Premsa 39, 14-01-1939, 'El problema vasco'; AT, Poblet, Box 367, 'Para información de vascos desorientados'.

In July 1936, at the outbreak of the rebellion, the Basques were refused their rightful statute of autonomy. The Basque nationalists' democrats and Christians found themselves attacked by the rebel army – I once again repeat that the executions carried out by the rebels in Euzkadi were numbered in thousands. (...) This uncontrolled conduct by the rebels aroused a strong reaction among the people in the Basque country – acts of violence took place.<sup>171</sup>

Bilbao fell to the nationalists in June 1937. The Basque government created social institutions, which allowed for the evacuation of the Basques to the Catalan territory not yet in Francoist hands. The *Generalitat* helped many Basque nationalists to escape Francoist domination. José Antonio Aguirre<sup>172</sup> travelled to Barcelona in 1937. A Basque government was established in Catalonia, reflecting a tradition of Catalan-Basque solidarity.<sup>173</sup> However, the occupation of Barcelona by the nationalists, in 1939, made escape to the south of France necessary for all.

Catalans were closer to the Basque nationalists than to any other group in opposition to Franco. Basque nationalists, like Catalans, were fighting to maintain their identity and to enhance their autonomy. The Basque-Catalan tradition of solidarity is rich in symbolism. Such moments as the rescue of the refugees of the Basque government in the summer of 1937 were celebrated. The Basque nationalists moved to Catalonia on 5 February 1939, as Lluís Companys and J.A. Aguirre began their path towards exile. A few months later, the Basque exile, with its superior resources and better organisation, began collaboration with the Catalan exile, under the punitive attentions of the French authorities.

Catalans and Basques historically had a certain amount in common. Both were regions with distinctive ethnicity, language groups, cultural and social traits. Boasting individual judicial structures, both political cultures espoused liberal and democratic

---

<sup>171</sup> PRO, File FO 371/22699, Merry del Val vs Irujo, 'Spain and the Basques', London, 04-12-1938.

<sup>172</sup> José Antonio Aguirre i Lecube, was born in Guecho in 1903. He became the most important figure of Basque nationalism. In 1931, he proclaimed the Basque republic and became the leader of PNV. In 1936, he stayed close to the republic. Aguirre was elected *lehendakari* (leader of Basque government) in October 1937 and moved to Barcelona. In 1939 he moved to Paris. When World War II started, he was in the North of France, afterwards he went to Belgium and Germany and then to America. He was the President of the republic of Euzkadi between 1931-1936.

<sup>173</sup> AT, Poblet, Graphic Archive, Several pamphlets and posters show slogans on Catalan-Basque solidarity; AT, Poblet, Box L6 and L7.

principles. Moreover, both programmes were predicated on an idea of national freedom and the establishment of democracy and self-determination. The Basque-Catalan proposal perhaps also applied to the case of Galicia.<sup>174</sup>

Despite the obvious similarities between the two nationalist movements, important differences remained, which were reflected in the different approaches adopted by the two groups in their opposition to Franco. Basque nationalism was centered on the PNV, a homogenous force. Catalan nationalism, by contrast, was not represented by a single party. While a number of Catalans decided to support Franco, ensuring their stability, some tried to organise opposition to Franco, both from within Catalan territory, and then from exile. The Catalan opposition will be the focus of the following chapters.

## 1.6 CONCLUSION

The tension between the central state and Catalonia is centuries old. Between 1875 and 1936, the intensity of the conflict between a centralist policy and the nationalist claims increased due to the repression of the regions exercised by the *Restauración* of Cánovas and by the development of the industrial revolution in Catalonia vis-à-vis the rest of the Spanish state, which remained predominantly agrarian. Furthermore, the colonial disaster of 1898 demonstrated the failure of Castilian state policy and gave succour to the separatist demands. The *Renaixença*, a cultural movement of recovery in Catalonia, lent them weight. At the end of the XIX century, the Catalans started to formulate their political programmes into documents such as the *Memorial de Greuges* or the *Bases de Manresa*. Catalan nationalism began to be organised into political parties. For instance, the Lliga Regionalista (the main Catalan party of the first quarter of the XX century) was founded in 1901. Catalan nationalism took several steps towards autonomy in the first part of the XX century. The Catalan language and culture recovered ground. The *Mancomunitat* (1914-1925) and the *Generalitat* (1931-1939) both represented Catalan nationalism in an institutional form. The dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923-1930) to an extent

---

<sup>174</sup> FPS, "Una Guerra actual..." (Londres), 1940; Carles Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.I.*, (Barcelona, Curial, 1979), p.13; ANF, Archives Nationales de France, F1-3808- Politique Espagne, Notes et informations éminant d'un réseau basque républicain en Espagne, 5-3-39; FPS, Box D5, Basque-Catalan declaration, London 1941.

arrested Catalan developments, but ground was quickly made up during the second republic, in which a statute securing concessions for the region was established. Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya was born in this period and became the main Catalan party. The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War once again saw an end to Catalan developments. Franco's Rightist coalition won the Civil War in 1939 and established a dictatorship based on a single party, the Falange, in alliance with the church and the military and based on an economy of autarky. One of the Francoist regime's salient characteristics was its machinery of terror and repression, directed particularly against regional claims. The establishment of Francoism would lead to the creation of anti-Francoist forces formed by the losing side of the Civil War. Franco faced internal opposition led by monarchists and the Falangists, who hoped to gain a share of power after the war. An external opposition to the regime was also formed by Republicans, Socialists, Communists, Galicians, Basques and Catalans. The focus of this thesis will be on the context and development of Catalan nationalism.

The proclamation of the statute had at least signalled a degree of sovereignty. The Francoist regime tried to extirpate the institutional and cultural sediment of these advances. In doing so, it confronted a dual conflict in Catalonia, namely a class-based revolution and specifically Catalan aspirations. The fact that the Catalans fought on the losing side of the Civil War intensified the assault against them, aimed squarely at eliminating any perceived threats to the integrity and order of a unified Spanish entity.

## CHAPTER 2 - CATALAN OPPOSITION TO FRANCO FROM APRIL 1939 TO JUNE 1940: THE FRENCH EXILE

### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

The exile is like a dimension of an unknown home; but once you know it, it cannot be denied. (...) And then the exile suddenly discovers that whether he goes back or not, he will never stop being an exile.<sup>175</sup>

After prevailing in the Civil War in April 1939, Franco established a dictatorship based on terror and persecution. It soon became evident that Franco would consolidate enduring absolute power and persecute those on the losing side trying to build any sort of opposition. This included Catalans, whose first exile led them to France, a move made easier by geographical proximity. France was, moreover, a democratic country, which would naturally, it was believed, welcome the Catalan refugees. However, as will be shown throughout this chapter, the French exile presented profound organisational difficulties and ultimately foundered with the German invasion of France in June 1940.

Circumstances at home and abroad would contribute to the failure of the French exile. First of all, the Catalans had no government, no institutional backbone in France. Secondly, a significant section of the Catalan bourgeoisie - particularly prominent members of the Lliga - stopped giving support to Catalan nationalism. Thirdly, the Catalans lacked sufficient funds. Fourthly, the Catalans were unable to find a replacement for the leadership of Lluís Companys; his loss led to recurrent leadership clashes. Fifthly, and more generally, the Catalans in exile were not themselves united, lacking cohesion and the capacity to develop relations with the Catalan opposition inside Spain and the rest of the exile. Last, those Catalans who moved to France found their situation precarious and wholly dominated by the question of their own survival.

---

<sup>175</sup> María Zambrano's recollections cited in J. Martín Casas, *El exilio español*, (Barcelona, Planeta, 2002), pp.19-20.



## 2.2 THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR - THE SITUATION IN CATALONIA

After the Civil War, uncertainty and confusion reigned in Catalonia. Three groups may be differentiated within Catalan society at this stage: those who stayed in Spain and supported Francoism, those who stayed in Catalonia, and worked secretly against the regime, and those who went into exile and organised the anti-Francoist fight beyond the borders of Spain. Leaving was a complicated business for Catalans, both in terms of how and when.<sup>176</sup>

The reaction of Catalan society to Francoism merits close scrutiny. At the end of the Civil War, Catalonia was very much a traumatised and devastated society. The business class, the Catholic bourgeoisie and the Catalan Church alike shared the memories of a horrendous Civil War. Franco's victory at least offered the restoration of a secure and stable regime that would guarantee their physical safety and economic future. Many among Catalonia's elite became open advocates of Francoism.<sup>177</sup> The fact that many former Catalans supported Francoism came as a harsh blow to those trying to organise Catalan opposition in the aftermath of the Civil War; it sapped their strength, created confusion and uncertainty, and substantially diminished room for manoeuvre, at a time when many of its leaders were being persecuted by the regime.

A number of Catalans did however manage to form an opposition to the Francoists. The more moderate Catalan republicans stayed in Spain after the Civil War; their lack of radicalism meant they were able to remain in the country and function secretly. The common use of aliases made it difficult to identify or control their activities. One of its main means of expression was the secret press. Those involved had different motivations: some were spurred by fear, some by conviction and some (of whom were mercenaries) by money. The more radical Catalans, meanwhile, had to go into exile to escape persecution. As may be shown, the split within the Catalan opposition, between those who stayed in Catalonia, and those who went into exile, generated additional organisational difficulties, due to rivalry among the several centres of power and a host of communication problems, and did nothing to

---

<sup>176</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Vuit escrits de l'exili (1939-1941)*, (Barcelona, Fundació Carles Pi i Sunyer d'estudis autonòmics i locals, edició de Francesc Vilanova, 1992) p.14.

<sup>177</sup> I. Riera, *Los catalanes de Franco*, (Barcelona, Plaza y Janés, 1998) and J. M. Fontana Tarrats, *Los catalanes en la guerra de España*, (Madrid, Samaran, 1951); D. Arasa, *Els catalans de Churchill*, (Barcelona, Curial, 1990); Guibernau, *Nacionalisme Català*, p.71.

alleviate the lack of essential resources without which good infrastructure could not be built up.<sup>178</sup>

The main pre-Civil War parties of Catalan nationalism were the Lliga and Unió Democràtica de Catalunya (UDC), on the right of the political spectrum, and Estat Català and Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC) on the left. After the Civil War, many representative figures of Catalan nationalism, including many members of the Lliga, moved closer to Francoism. The Civil War caused a deep rift in Catalan society, as was inevitable given the intensity of class conflict. A number supported Francoism out of fatigue and weariness, or because in the new regime, they perceived a means of ensuring stability. Francesc Cambó was critical of the Francoists but supported them for reasons to do with the economic stability they promised. Cambó was in exile from 1936 until his death in 1947, with the exception of a very brief trip to Madrid in 1940. At that stage, it seemed, a clear fascist orientation was not in evidence. In fact, a great part of the Catalan bourgeoisie sought accommodation with the new Francoist power, perceiving in Francoism an opportunity to bring to an end the republican rule over Catalonia that they perceived as having exposed them to the proletarian revolution. The decision heavily compromised the members of the Lliga, and marked a turning point in its history. Cambó, by now a traitor in Catalan eyes, came to regret the decision, as Franco's repressive policies became evident.<sup>179</sup> In fact, the Lliga per se had ceased to exist by 1936, though Cambó would try to reconstruct it from 1945.<sup>180</sup>

The Lliga's sympathy for Franco proved unforgivable for many among the Catalan nationalist rank and file and goes a long way to explaining why it lost legitimacy in the eyes of many Catalan nationalists.<sup>181</sup> Despite Francoism's promise of economic stability, Catalan support for the regime was by no means so unquestioning or automatic; Francoism was, after all, ideologically incompatible with Catalan

---

<sup>178</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Reports 1939-42*, (Barcelona, Fundació Pi i Sunyer d'estudis autonòmics i locals, edició de Francesc Vilanova), p.38; E. Kedourie, *Tales of nationalism*, (London, Hutchinson, 1960), pp.39-45. C. Molinero & P.Ysàs, *L'oposició antifeixista a Catalunya (1939-1950)*, (Barcelona, La Magrana, 1981).

<sup>179</sup> For an analysis of the last years of Cambó's political career, see B. Riquer i Permanyer, *L'últim Cambó (1936-1947) La dreta catalanista davant la guerra civil i el franquisme*, (Barcelona, Eumo Editorial, 1996).

<sup>180</sup> Author's interview with Josep Benet, Barcelona, November 2001; Riquer i Permanyer, *L'últim Cambó*, p.268.

<sup>181</sup> Riera, *Los catalanes de Franco*.

nationalism. The words of Francesc Cambó, speaking in 1943, capture something of the ambivalence felt by many Catalans in the period. The fault line would prove critical in determining the Lliga's failure to maintain an existence under Franco: 'I repudiate the regime and wish to see it transformed... but the important thing is the maintenance of internal order and the prevention of the outbreak of a further Civil War and right now the only person that can guarantee this is Franco.'<sup>182</sup> Only a few members of the Lliga remained active, continuing to publish a clandestine version of the newspaper *Veü de Catalunya*.

The other important right-wing pre-Civil War party was Unió Democràtica de Catalunya (UDC), founded on 7 November 1931 as a Catalan social-Catholic democratic party. At the end of the Civil War, the majority of its leaders went into exile. The Francoist Law of Political Responsibilities banned the party, breaking it up and persecuting its leaders. It was reorganised secretly in 1940 by Miquel Coll i Alentorn<sup>183</sup> and Maurici Serrahima<sup>184</sup>. Those who stayed in Spain began to reorganise in 1941.<sup>185</sup> A member of UDC created a separate organisation called Joventut Catalana Democràtica (JCD), the Catalan Youth Party, producing a range of Catalan propaganda on the secret presses, their leading publication being *The Quaderns de Sant Jordi*.<sup>186</sup>

A third group of Catalan nationalists consisted of the remnants of Estat Català (EC), a separatist movement founded by Francesc Macià on 18 July 1922.<sup>187</sup> EC had been isolated from the *Generalitat*, and the PSUC had taken on the role of flag bearer for radical nationalism. The division would continue throughout the course of the

---

<sup>182</sup> Cambó's letter in 1943 in Andrew Dowling, "The decline of Esquerra Republicana, the fall of the Lliga Regionalista and the emergence of Convergència i Unió, Approaches to the reconstitution of political Catalan nationalism 1939-1975", (Southampton thesis) p.1. J. Pabón, *Cambó (1876-1947)*, (Barcelona, Alpha, 1999).

<sup>183</sup> Miquel Coll i Alentorn was a politician and a historian born in Barcelona in 1904. He was an industrial engineer who entered UDC in 1932 where he held several significant posts.

<sup>184</sup> Maurici Serrahima was a writer and a politician born in Barcelona in 1902. He was a lawyer and a significant member of UDC. He worked as an anti-Francoist activist, making a mainly cultural contribution.

<sup>167</sup> Author's interview with Antón Cañellas, Barcelona, January 2002.

<sup>186</sup> D. Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició Catalana al franquisme: el republicanisme liberal i la nova oposició (1939-1960)*, (Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1996), pp.23-31. H. Raguier, *La Unió Democràtica de Catalunya i el seu temps (1931-1939)*, (Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1976); APSG, 1946, *Quaderns de Sant Jordi* (publicats per Joventut Catalana Democràtica).

<sup>187</sup> Author's interview with Antón Cañellas, Barcelona, January 2002.

French exile. Some members of EC claimed absolute independence for Catalonia, whilst others did not. The divisions of EC in exile undoubtedly had the effect of exaggerating those among the residual resistance of EC in Catalonia. A fourth party, Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC), the majority party of the *Generalitat*, was active in Catalonia, but still lacked consolidation. ERC published the *Humanitat*, though sporadically and always clandestinely. Under Francoism, the majority of the leaders of ERC went into exile. Those members of ERC that stayed in Spain tried to support the anti-Francoist platforms. Moreover, Catalan governmental institutions (in particular, the *Generalitat* and the Catalan Parliament) themselves disappeared soon after the Catalan exile began. The absence of such an institutional framework tremendously weakened the Catalan cause, which depended upon the achievement of Catalan institutions and rule.<sup>188</sup>

The pre-Civil War parties on both the right and the left of the spectrum, showed little sign of vitality after the war, lacking resources, ideological coherence and focus, and supporters. Their reorganisation took a long time. The UDC began in 1940. The EC was severely divided internally. Finally, the ERC remained in a state of disorder. The number of Catalans ready to defend Catalan regionalist claims after the Civil War had diminished, while major policy differences divided the parties.

### 2.3 EXODUS TO FRANCE

With the fall of Barcelona on 25 January 1939, and then that of all of Catalonia to Francoist forces, a huge number of Catalans fled to France. France was geographically and politically the obvious destination for those on the losing side of the Spanish Civil War: a democracy bordering Catalonia. The French authorities had recognised the Francoist government on 27 February 1939, but the government of Édouard Daladier, a member of the French Radicals, was in power and therefore

---

<sup>188</sup> Author's interview with Antón Cañellas, Barcelona, January 2002; E. Kedourie, *Tales of nationalism*, (London, Hutchinson, 1960), pp.39-45. C. Molinero, & P. Ysàs, *L'oposició antifeixista a Catalunya (1939-1950)*, (Barcelona, La Magrana, 1981); F. Vilanova, *Repressió política i coacció econòmica. Les responsabilitats polítiques de republicans i conservadors catalans a la postguerra (1939-1942)*, (Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1999); J.M. Solé I Sabaté, *La repressió franquista a Catalunya (1938-1953)*, (Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1985).

allowed Spanish civil refugees, mainly women and children, in France, without hesitation.<sup>189</sup>

It was a rapid exodus. A great number passed through the streets of Puigcerdà, Camprodrò, Prats de Molló, Darnius, La Jonquera and Portbou. Those who abandoned their villages and their houses trekked to France where they received an appalling reception, often being sent to concentration camps. Within a few days, thousands of refugees had entered France, swelling its population by 500,000.<sup>190</sup> The paths taken by the Catalan refugees are of some interest for the purposes of the present chapter. First of all, the exiles moved to the South of France, the closest and most practical option, making their way through the Pyrenees; Toulouse and Perpignan<sup>191</sup> became two important destinations. Later, some moved to Paris, the nerve centre of Catalan activity until the German invasion. The great majority of Catalans who moved to France lacked material resources and would remain preoccupied with the question of their own survival. The dispersal of refugees throughout France made it more difficult to achieve unity and militated against making more effective decisions.<sup>192</sup>

Furthermore, settling in France thereafter, finding lodging and work was made all the more difficult by the lack of any kind of institutional support or framework for the organisation of a Catalan opposition. Some testimony from the archive of Poblet explains certain of these difficulties:

“The numbers do not tally - some talk about 150,000 Catalans, some about 200,000 but the exact number matters little. The suffering and

---

<sup>189</sup> Édouard Daladier was the head of the French government between 1938 and 1940. He was put in prison in 1940 by the Vichy government. For information on the policy taken by the French government towards the Catalan refugees, see Luis I. Rodríguez, ‘La protección de los refugiados españoles en Francia’, *Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y tecnología*, Méjico, Colegio de Méjico, Secretaría de relaciones exteriores, 2000, p.13.

<sup>190</sup> For information on the paths and number of Catalans exiled in 1939 see J. C. J. Aberasturi, *De la derrota a la esperanza: políticas vascas durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial (1939-1947)*, (Bilbao, Insituto Vasco de administración pública, 1999, pp.175-176); F. Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l’any 1939*, (Barcelona, Publicacions de l’Abadia de Montserrat, 2000), pp.95-97. The different sources about the Spanish exiles do not agree on its exact number. The numbers range from 250000 to 500000 of total Spanish exiles, among which 100000 to 200000 were Catalans. It is calculated that around 3000 Spaniards moved to the UK in the 40’s among which 20 per cent were Catalans. The Spanish exile to the USA was very small. Probably around 1000 Spaniards went to USA among which 20 per cent of Spaniards whereas around 21 000 Spaniards were dispersed in Latin America. Again, around 20 per cent of these exiles were Catalans.

<sup>191</sup> The activities of the Catalan delegation in Perpignan are well described in FPS, Box 9, Folder 288, letter from Ramon Frontera to Carles Pi i Sunyer, 21-08-1939.

<sup>192</sup> FPS, Box 9, Folder 288, Letter from Ramon Frontera to Pi i Sunyer, Perpignan, 10-02-1939.

fear of the many and the hope of a few are what are important. The exodus first and the dispersion afterwards followed on from the pain of defeat, without forgetting the cruel persecution of those that stayed in Spanish territory. Never in the history of Catalonia was an exodus so quick and large.<sup>193</sup>

Many Catalan refugees went to concentration camps in the South of France. There were five main camps: Argelès-sur-Mer, Saint Cyprien, Barcarès, Arles-sur-Tech and Prats de Molló. Unfortunately for the refugees, the camps were rapidly established and ill-prepared. There was hardly any food and a lot of cold in the winter due to the proximity of the Oriental Pyrenees. Moreover, the refugees had to sleep in the sand. Furthermore, there were contagious illnesses that were often lethal and many of the older refugees died because they could not handle the conditions. The French government feared the avalanches of refugees and left them in miserable and humiliating conditions. These concentration camps were kept by other refugees such as Senegalese because the French did not want to do it. Other camps were built in the low Pyrenees and the Midi: that of Bram and Aude, that of Agde, in Hérault, with many Catalans, that of Sept-fonds, in Tarn-et-Garonne. Gurs, in the Atlantic Pyrenees, was the bigger concentration camp in the South of France. Some other refugees were sent to the fortress of Colliure where they were treated as if they were criminals.<sup>194</sup>

Catalans collaborated with the Allies special operations in order to escape from Francoist persecution and cross the border towards France. However, the evasion and escape mechanisms put in place are also worth mentioning. There were smuggling networks at the frontier that were politicised or often bought by the refugees.<sup>195</sup>

Crucially, the Catalan government or *Generalitat* ceased to exist from 26 January 1939, following the exile of Lluís Companys, president of the *Generalitat*. Companys fled to France at the end of the war to escape Francoist trial and execution. Alongside

---

<sup>193</sup> AT, Poblet, C.459, 'An exile with no return'; Aberasturi, *De la derrota*, pp.175-177; M. C. Raffaneau-Boj, *Los campos de concentración de los refugiados españoles en Francia (1939-1945)*, (Barcelona, ediciones Omega, 1995, p.129); Martín Casas, *El exilio español*, p.69.

<sup>194</sup> P.Carvajal Urquijo and Martín Casas, *El exilio español 1936-1978*, pp.69-76.

<sup>195</sup> M.C.Raffaneau-Boj, *Los campos de concentración de los refugiados españoles en Francia (1939-1945)*, (Barcelona, ediciones Omega, 1995); D.Arasa, *Els catalans de Churchill*.

the loss of its figurehead, the *Generalitat* had already been weakened by pressure from the central republican government and by internal tensions between ERC and the Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya (PSUC)<sup>196</sup>, the Catalan Communists. ERC had tried in vain to maintain the *Generalitat*, but after the loss of Companys, and the splintering of Catalan groups in exile, the *Generalitat* disappeared having no solid foundation. The loss of the *Generalitat* was a disaster for Catalan nationalism, removing at once its main symbol and the institution that represented it and gave it legitimacy. The displaced Catalans in France, lacking an institutional framework, attempted to reproduce the government of the *Generalitat*, but lacked the resources to do so. These Catalans in particular radicalised their views as a consequence of this failure.<sup>197</sup>

Even if the situation in France was very precarious, Catalans managed to create the Front Nacional de Catalunya (National Front of Catalonia or FNC), which marked the first serious attempt to unite the forces of Catalan nationalism. Formed in Paris in April 1940, it became the primary Catalan organisation and aimed to represent Catalans inside and outside Spain. Its founding members were Joan Cornudella from EC<sup>198</sup>, Manuel Cruells, ex-militant of EC, Enric Pagès, representative of the Federació Nacional d'Estudiants de Catalunya (Catalan Student National Federation or FNEC)<sup>199</sup> and of the Bloc Escolar Nacionalista (National Scholar Bloc or BEN)<sup>200</sup>, Jaume Martínez Vendrell from the patriotic organisation Nosaltres Sols!<sup>201</sup> and Lluís Companys and Josep Irla from ERC.<sup>202</sup>

The FNC started as a youth reaction to Francoist repression, and derived mainly from EC. The FNC united members from EC, Acció Catalana Republicana (Catalan

---

<sup>196</sup> The Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya (PSUC) was a Catalan political organisation founded on 22 July 1936 from the merging of the Catalan Communists (PCC), the Catalan federation of the PSOE, Unió Socialista de Catalunya and Partit Proletari Català. The Civil War and the Catalan political situation accelerated this process and Joan Comorera became its general secretary. Until the mid 1940s, the PSUC was Catalan and communist. Comorera was persecuted by the PCE and Moscow ostensibly because of his Catalan nationalism. For information on the PSUC political developments see M. Caminal i Badia, *Joan Comorera*, (Empúries, Empúries, 1994).

<sup>197</sup> Aberasturi, *De la derrota a la esperança*, p.178.

<sup>198</sup> Joan Cornudella i Barberà was a politician and economist (Borges Blanques 1904, Barcelona 1985). He entered Estat Català in 1936 and later on became its general secretary. In 1939, from the exile, he contributed to the formation of the FNC.

<sup>199</sup> The FNEC was a Catalan youth movement.

<sup>200</sup> The BEN was a small Catalan independent group.

<sup>201</sup> Nosaltres Sols was a political separatist Catalan group created in 1931. Some of its members had previously formed part of the EC.

<sup>202</sup> AT, Poblet, Box 459, 'Un exili sense retorn'.

Republican Action or ACR)<sup>203</sup> and ERC on the left of the political spectrum; the party itself was leftist. The forces of the right, including the UDC and the Lliga, were excluded from the FNC, in part because they were by that stage virtually moribund and had got close to Francoism, and in part because their members were not in France and disagreed with FNC policy. The FNC was intended to be an organisation in which independent Catalan groups could participate while maintaining their autonomy.<sup>204</sup> The FNC was an extensive organisation for the standard of the times, claiming somewhere between 300 and 500 members. However, even if the FNC was the main Catalan organisation in France, Francoist repression severely targeted its members in Spain.<sup>205</sup> An article in *Ressorgiment* summarises the foundation of the FNC:

‘The Front Nacional de Catalunya was founded grouping together elements from the old democrat Republican parties. It consisted of an energetic protest against Franco and an affirmation of Catalan nationalism. (...) The FNC was also in charge of helping the refugees from Spain to get to France.’<sup>206</sup>

The FNC did not renounce armed struggle as such, but focused rather on the development of secret services in support of the French resistance and the Allies; it was hoped that the Allies would see fit to return the favour by removing Franco once World War II was over. The services were established with the collaboration of the UK secret services and the Intelligence Service of the French State. In the main, they comprised military information operations.<sup>207</sup> Solid propaganda mechanisms were fundamental in both conveying a positive image of Catalan nationalism within Spain and internationalising the Catalan cause. Thus, at the beginning of the 1940s, the FNC did not develop an anti-Francoist programme, but was rather devoted to helping

---

<sup>203</sup> Acció Catalana Republicana (ACR) was a political party created in Barcelona in June 1922. It was liberal and nationalist. It was Catalan but non-separatist and very culturally oriented. Jaume Bofill i Mates, Lluís Nicolau d’Olwer and Antoni Rovira i Virgili were some of its leaders.

<sup>204</sup> A document found in the FPS summarised the policy of the FNC in 1941. FPS, *Ressorgiment*, ‘Report sobre el Front Nacional de Catalunya’, 1941; D. Díaz Esculies, *El Front Nacional de Catalunya i l’oposició catalanista al franquisme 1939-1947*, (Barcelona, La Magrana, 1983).

<sup>205</sup> Author’s interview with Josep Benet, Barcelona, November 2001. Author’s interview with Antón Cañellas (Ombudsman of Catalonia), Barcelona, January 2002; Díaz Esculies, *L’oposició catalanista al franquisme*, pp.23-31; A. Viladot i Presas, *Nacionalisme i premsa clandestina*, (Barcelona, Curial, 1987), pp.57-58.

<sup>206</sup> PS, *Ressorgiment*, Foundation of the Front Nacional de Catalunya, 1940.

<sup>207</sup> A. Viladot i Presas, *Nacionalisme i premsa clandestina*, (Barcelona, Curial, 1987), pp.60-62; Díaz Esculies, *L’oposició Catalana al franquisme*, pp.48-63.



the Allies. The forms of opposition and activities undertaken by those Catalans in exile in France for the most part concerned the provision of information services, propaganda, the conduct of cultural activities, lobbying of the Allies and help to the refugees.

The FNC members returned across the border from France to Barcelona and settled there from 1942 onwards. However, its eventual policy aims coincided with those of the Consell Nacional de Catalunya - which sought to restructure Spain in a confederation of free states, breaking the constitutional pact of 1931 and asserting the right of self-determination.<sup>208</sup>

In the cultural domain, Francoist repression against Catalan nationalism was efficient, significantly obstructing the development of Catalan culture in this period. Perhaps most visibly, Franco prohibited the use of the Catalan language, but the regime's cultural repression targeted all Catalan institutions and traditions, and was highly effective.<sup>209</sup> Resources were limited, but Catalans did their best in opposition to keep Catalan culture alive. Cultural activities were undertaken alongside political activities.<sup>210</sup> Josep Maria Ainaud de Lasarte claims that Catalan groups were often playing a double game: the political and the cultural game, and the two struggles went together and could not be easily disentangled.<sup>211</sup>

An important organisation created by Catalan refugees in France was the National Catalan Council, made up of important intellectual personalities and promoted by leaders of ERC. Pompeu Fabra, Antoni Rovira i Virgili, Jaume Serra Hunter, Jaume Pi i Sunyer and Josep Pous i Pagès led the council founded in 1940. Help for refugees mainly consisted in helping those wanting to leave Spain for France, or later on, for the UK or the Americas. Some Republican institutions would provide financial assistance.

On top of Francoist repression in Spain, lack of resources and lack of institutional structure in France, the Catalans also suffered from financial difficulties.

---

<sup>208</sup> Díez Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, p.54

<sup>209</sup> J. Benet, *Catalunya sota el règim franquista: informe sobre la persecució de la llengua i la cultura de Catalunya pel règim del general Franco, Vol.I*, (Barcelona, Blume, 1978).

<sup>210</sup> AT, Poblet, Box 1601, Letter to the president of the JARE, Paris, 17-08-1939.

<sup>211</sup> Author's interview with J. M. Ainaud de Lasarte, Barcelona, December 2000. Josep Maria Ainaud de Lasarte reorganised the Federació Nacional d'Estudiants de Catalunya (FNEC) in the forties, a Catalan youth group.

Severe financial constraints constituted one of the primary challenges for the Catalans in exile, curtailing their capacity to create solid opposition to Francoism. During the Civil War, the *Generalitat* had pledged a large part of its financial resources to the republican side, whose uncertain economic situation throughout the conflict had been far less certain than that of the Francoists. By the war's end, it was clear that the Catalans would not get their money back, certainly not from a republican administration. Much of it had been spent, and there was no will to return what little remained. The *Generalitat* went into exile then without financial resources.<sup>212</sup>

Another document found in Poblet summarises the limits of the financial situation:

‘The perspective of the *Generalitat* was a difficult one. Many witnesses have confirmed that the central government of the republic demanded the handing of all financial resources of the *Generalitat de Catalunya* before going into exile promising economic help later on and promising that the Catalans would have a share in the administration of the republic. These promises were not accomplished later on. (...) Thus, the *Generalitat* faced a long exile without financial resources. (...) The Catalans hoped that with their commercial resources they would manage to obtain loans. However, when World War II started, these hopes were shattered and the Catalans found themselves without economic resources.’<sup>213</sup>

In something of a corner, the Catalans had to depend for a long time on Basque and republican financial help. Therefore, relations with the Basque nationalists became crucial for the Catalans, with financial aid now binding the two groups together, along with shared nationalist ideology. These flows are documented in the files of the government of Euzkadi.<sup>214</sup>

## 2.4 CATALAN EXTERNAL RELATIONS

The Catalan opposition, although in exile in France, tried to maintain its links with other opposition movements. Arguably, the most important relationship was that

---

<sup>212</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.II*, (Barcelona, Curial, 1978), pp.56, 183-187.

<sup>213</sup> AT, Poblet, Box 459, ‘Un exili sense retorn’.

<sup>214</sup> AT, Poblet, Box 491, Government of Euzkadi, Paris delegation, Paris, 27-08-1946.

maintained with the Basque nationalist opposition. From 1936 to 1945, Basque nationalism was centred on the president of the Basque Nationalist Party (Partido Nacionalista Vasco or PNV) José Antonio Aguirre.<sup>215</sup> In 1940, in exile, the new doctrine of the governmental programme of the Basque Nationalist Party asserted the uniqueness of the Basque personality and the right of self-determination. The Basque nationalists were the most cohesive movement of the anti-Francoist groups. Basque activity was centred on two axes: collaboration with the allies, and help for Basque prisoners. The Basque nationalists wished to distance themselves from the republicans, whose weakness allowed the Basque nationalists to function independently in exile. As a result of this independence, Basque nationalists believed that they could obtain their statute of autonomy and even independence with the help of the democratic powers and Aguirre sought the protection of France from Francoist repression.<sup>216</sup>

The PNV, like the Catalans, created social institutions in exile. Exiled Basque nationalists were also keen to establish strong networks of communication with the French authorities. The Basque nationalists also created secret services, which were key organisations within the PNV. Operations were aimed at obtaining information that would be helpful to the Allies, as well as to making the Basque nationalist cause internationally known.<sup>217</sup>

The PNV also created instruments of propaganda in the south of France, in order to publicise their cause. Propaganda was designed to push the necessity of an Allied intervention against Franco, as well as underlining the importance of the Basque problem. The Basque nationalists created the International League of Basque Friends (Ligue Internationale des Amis Basques) to provide a substitute for the Basque

---

<sup>215</sup> José Antonio Aguirre i Lecube was born in Guecho (Basque country) in 1903. He became the most important figure of Basque nationalism. In 1931, he proclaimed the Basque republic and became the leader of the PNV. In 1936, he stayed close to the republic. Aguirre was elected *lehendakari* (leader of Basque government) in October 1937 and moved to Barcelona. In 1939 he moved to Paris. When World War II started, he was in the North of France. Afterwards, he went to Belgium and Germany, then to America.

<sup>216</sup> F. Letamendia, *Historia de Euzkadi, El nacionalismo vasco y ETA, 3 vols.* (París, Ruedo Ibérico, 1975); J. Juaristi, *El bucle melancólico. Historias de nacionalistas vascos*, (Madrid, Espasa, 1997); F. García de Cortázar and J.P. Fusi Aizpurua, *Política, nacionalidad e iglesia en el País Vasco*, (San Sebastián, Txertoa, 1988).

<sup>217</sup> Aberasturi, *De la derrota*, p.80.

consulate in France<sup>218</sup> and nominally to propose political solutions and represent the Basque nationalists at an international level, though it also took cultural issues in hand.

Those Basque nationalists in exile also faced severe financial conditions, even if their situation was less parlous than that of the Catalans. Like the Catalans, the PNV turned to Republican financial resources. Frictions between the PNV and the Republicans necessarily disrupted this flow of funds.

Basque nationalists and Catalan nationalists allied to promote their regionalist aims; both were eager to reach an agreement. From 1939 onwards, the political paths of Catalan and Basque nationalists converged. Where the Catalan autonomous government had ceased to exist after the fall of Barcelona, however, the Basque government had maintained its internal coherence and had continued to operate in French exile, until the German occupation forbade all political activity. The most substantial link between the two movements was the financial help given by the Basque nationalists to the Catalans, but there were many similarities between Catalan and Basque nationalism, in terms of situation, objectives and strategy, which led them to find common cause against Francoism. They would act together for common convenience and mutual affection and sympathy.<sup>219</sup>

The Catalans and Basque nationalists shared their information services in order to get close to the French government and lobby for the anti-Francoist cause. Both Catalan and Basque nationalists relied on the help of the Western powers (USA, UK and France, especially the latter two)<sup>220</sup> to further their cause, and both groups offered their services to the Allies in fighting fascism, hoping for some post-war recompense, however naïvely.<sup>221</sup> Since the Basques had the advantage of having a governmental structure, which the Catalans did not, the Catalans used the Basque government as a point of reference and support. Finally, Catalans and Basque nationalists shared the common project of *Galeuzka* (an abbreviation for the aspirations of Galicia, Euzkadi and Catalonia).

---

<sup>218</sup> AT, Artea, EBB153-10, Euzko Deya, Paris, 31-03-1947, 'Réunion Annuelle de la Ligue Internationale des amis Basques'. This document summarises the activities of this group.

<sup>219</sup> Aberasturi, *De la derrota*, p.118; Pi i Sunyer, *Reports 1939-1942*, p.31.

<sup>220</sup> AN, Artea, PNV 237-6, 'El hecho nacional vasco', Partido Nacionalista Vasco, copia del escrito elevado a su excelencia el Sr. Presidente del Gobierno de Euzkadi, 27-03-1940.

<sup>221</sup> A. Segura I Mas, 'Artea, Un arxiu que documenta, tot sol, la solidaritat basco-catalana' in *Avui*, 04-07-1999.

An intense Catalan-Basque relationship persisted throughout the history of the anti-Francoist opposition. In line with this, the *Galeuzka* project tried to unite Galician nationalists, Basque nationalists and Catalans in the struggle to achieve self-determination for their regions. However, the Basque nationalists and their aim of self-determination made consensus among the three regions more difficult; the pact ultimately foundered. The project should not be confused with the wider history of Catalan-Basque solidarity but should be considered a serious attempt at formalising relations between the regions claiming self-determination. Galician nationalism was less strong: the Galician nationalist party had not managed to create a solid foundation of support, and Francoist repression in Galicia was particularly severe.<sup>222</sup>

Relations with left-wing opposition groups also needed to be maintained. The most important group within the Republican side were the Socialists, followed by the Communists who would eventually become the most important group.

The Catalans were eager to enter pacts with the Republicans as long as the Republicans would accept two conditions: that they maintain the right of Catalan self-determination and that they would accept the previous pact with the Basque nationalists, which was considered a priority. The Catalans believed that the only way to ally with the Left was by agreeing on a federal political structure for Spain. In any case, if the Allies prevailed in the war, it seemed likely that the republican government in Spain would be restored. However, the main obstacle to alliance with the republicans was their near-total internal division. As is indicated in the following chapters, such projects to unify republican and Catalan forces were never effectively put in practice.<sup>223</sup>

The main form of collaboration in this period between Catalans and Republicans was financial. Two Republican institutions were created to help Spanish refugees. The Servicio de Evacuación de Refugiados Españoles (Evacuation Service of Spanish

---

<sup>222</sup> For information on *Galeuzka* see also Aberasturi, *De la derrota*, p.176; *Galeuzka* is the contraction of three names (Galicia, Euzkadi and Catalonia) and was the name of the pact established in 1923 between representatives of these three regions. In 1934 this pact was ratified by the regions involved. Catalan-Basque solidarity became more solid as a result of the co-operation during the Civil War; when the Basque country fell, its government moved to Barcelona (1937-1939). The pact of *Galeuzka* was ratified in exile, in Mexico and in Argentina.

<sup>223</sup> Pi i Sunyer, *Reports 1939-1942*, p.99; C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.I*, (Barcelona, Curial, 1979, p.139).

Refugees or SERE), and the Junta de Auxilio a los Republicanos Españoles (JARE). The SERE was created in Paris by the republican forces led by the last republican prime minister, the Socialist Juan Negrín,<sup>224</sup> in March 1939. Its mission was to organise an exile in the Americas for the Spanish refugees in France after the Francoist occupation of Catalonia. The SERE used sources from French, Belgian and Swiss banks. The Communists also participated in the SERE.<sup>225</sup> In August 1939, Indalecio Prieto,<sup>226</sup> from Mexico, started the JARE, with the intention of helping refugees and organising emigration to Mexico and Chile. Prieto's organisation was financed by treasures shipped to Mexico by Negrín for the benefit of SERE.<sup>227</sup> Negrín had organised a strategy to send economic resources to Mexico. He acquired the vessel *Giralda* – renamed *Vita* – that had been owned by Alfonso XIII, and which accumulated gold, silver, and the reserves of the Bank of Spain.<sup>228</sup> The *Vita* sailed from France but arrived in Mexico too early for Negrín's agents to receive it. Prieto managed to get hold of the cargo, thus starting his group, embedding within it a conflict between it and SERE, as well as exacerbating the state of internal crisis in the Socialist party.<sup>229</sup>

On the one hand, there were, broadly speaking, the Communists and supporters of the Negrín government, and, on the other, the anti-Communist elements of the republic organised around Prieto in Mexico.<sup>230</sup> There was an intense personal rivalry between the two leaders, dating back to April 1938 when Negrín removed Prieto from his government. This hostility spilled over into the leadership of the republicans in exile, both in France and in Mexico. Left wing activity and decision-making were never effectively co-ordinated due partly to this underlying competition.

---

<sup>224</sup> Juan Negrín was born in Las Palmas in 1889. He was appointed Prime Minister of the republic on the 17 May 1937. In October 1937, he moved the government to Barcelona. In March 1939, he went into exile.

<sup>225</sup> Aberasturi, *De la derrota*, p.196; (Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y tecnología, Luis I. Rodríguez, *La protección de los refugiados españoles en Francia*, (Méjico, Colegio de Méjico, Secretaría de relaciones exteriores, 2000), p.13.

<sup>226</sup> Indalecio Prieto was born in Oviedo in 1883. A politician and journalist, he was minister of the republican government during the Civil War (1936-1937) with Largo Caballero and minister of defence in 1937-1938 under Negrín. After the end of the Civil War, he went into exile in Mexico. A. Del Rosal, *El oro del banco de España y la historia del Vita*, (Barcelona, Grijalbo, 1977).

<sup>227</sup> Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili Vol.I.*, , p.90.

<sup>228</sup> A. del Rosal, *El oro del banco de España y la historia del Vita*, (Barcelona, Grijalbo, 1977).

<sup>229</sup> Martín Casas, *El exilio Español (1936-1978)*, , pp.97-99

<sup>230</sup> Martín Casas, *El exilio español (1936-1978)*, , p.99

The PCE functioned in both the exile and within Spain. The divisions between the PCE and the PSUC were precisely over Catalan aspirations. The Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya (PSUC) was always communist.<sup>231</sup> The PCE claimed that the defeat in the Civil War had been the fault of the PSOE. Consequently, the PCE's project of national union was rejected. A minority led by Negrín was in favour of a continued collaboration with the Communists whilst the majority turned towards the Allies in the quest to overthrow the dictatorship.

Relations between the French exile and the Catalans remaining in Spain also had to be maintained. Those Catalans staying in Catalan territory were of a more moderate bent and perhaps had less to fear from the Francoist persecution. Throughout the period, the Civil War was never far from the mind. A large slice of the Catalonian population was mainly concerned with its own survival. The capacity for political organisation was very weak. All the main leaders of Catalan nationalism had to flee the country and, consequently, those remaining in Spain found themselves without institutions, financing, and effective leaders to represent them.<sup>232</sup>

The lack of an institutional framework de-legitimised the work of the Catalan leaders in exile. It is important to consider to what extent the Catalans inside Spain considered those in exile to represent their interests. In fact, co-ordination between Catalans in exile and those in Catalonia failed. There was a lack of mutual support and understanding, a propensity to clashes of leadership, and multiple nuclei of power and centres of decision-making. Those in exile attempted to reproduce the institutions and ideology of Catalan nationalism, as practised in Spain. Poor communications put paid to any real connection between the two groups and cost the legitimacy of those in exile in France. This signal lack of co-ordination between the first exile and those inside Spain further weakened Catalan opposition.

After a complicated and lengthy process of hesitation and prevarication, the Axis accepted Franco's declaration of neutrality since they thought that Spain, given its precarious situation after the Civil War, might prove more of a hindrance than a help. The Axis powers did not wish Spain to enter the conflict, nor sought any political

---

<sup>231</sup> M. Caminal, *Joan Comorera, Vol.3*, (Barcelona, Empúries, 1985).

<sup>232</sup> F. Vilanova, *Als dos costats de la frontera, relacions polítiques entre exili interior a la postguerra, 1939-1948*, (Barcelona, Biblioteca Serra d'Or, Publicacions de l' Abadia de Montserrat, 2001).

change in Spain.<sup>233</sup> The Allies were pleased with Spanish neutrality for strategic reasons; they did not want a third fascist opponent, while the British in particular were eager to safeguard the zone of Gibraltar, where they had strategic and economic interests. Overall, Franco and the Falange were deeply disappointed not to enter World War II. The anti-Francoists were pleased not to enter the conflict since they could clearly see that their country was not ready to fight another war at that point.<sup>234</sup>

## 2.5 THE IMPACT OF THE BEGINNING OF WWII ON CATALAN NATIONALISM

At this point, the analytical spotlight must fall on the beginning of World War II, an event that largely confirmed the geographical dislocation of the Catalans.<sup>235</sup> It is important to take into account the role of Spain in World War II, the stance of the international powers vis-à-vis Spain, and how this affected the political fortunes of Catalan nationalism. This international dimension was not lost on Pi i Sunyer, who commented: ‘Catalonia is part of Europe and the European problems immediately have an effect in Catalonia.’<sup>236</sup>

At the outbreak of World War II, Franco’s heart lay with the Axis Powers, as his words showed: ‘I will always be a loyal follower of your cause. I consider, as you do, that the destiny of history has united you, the Duce and me in an indissoluble way.’<sup>237</sup> Mussolini’s indicated a comparable bond at the beginning of World War II, when he said: ‘I consider the Italo-Spanish friendship as a permanent and secure guide of Italian foreign policy, and as one of the main basis of the new political order that Europe will have at the end of the war.’<sup>238</sup> Naturally, Franco felt close to Hitler when World War II started but he put a brake on his tendency due to his own internal survival and Spain’s economic and military incapacity of Spain at the time. The Falange supported Hitler

---

<sup>233</sup> Fracassi to Ciano, Madrid, 06-09-1942, I documenti diplomatici italiani, IX serie, 1939-1943, Volum IX.

<sup>234</sup> AMAE, Papiers 1940, Bureau d’étude J. Chauvel, Informations sur l’Espagne, 28-07-1943.

<sup>235</sup> R. Espinar Gallego, *El impacto de la Segunda Guerra Mundial en Europa y en España*, (Madrid, Asamblea de Madrid, 1986).

<sup>236</sup> FPS, London, 1939, C. Pi i Sunyer, ‘Més val tenir raó que guanyar’.

<sup>237</sup> APSG, letter from Franco to Hitler, 26-11-1941; MAEE, dossier R2198, report 33, *Sunday Dispatch*, 05-11-1944.

<sup>238</sup> Il capo del governo, Mussolini al capo dello stato spagnolo, Franco, Roma, 1 ottobre, 1942, IX serie, 1939-1943, Volum XI; MAEE, dossier R2198, report 33, *Sunday Dispatch*, 05-11-1944.



until the end of World War II while the military, on the other side, only believed in an Axis victory until the autumn of 1940. Franco obviously adapted his decision according to the developments of the war. Franco had the temptation to enter the war on the Axis side until 1941. The relations between Hitler and Franco were very good and grateful mainly due to the help given by the Germans during the Civil War and were only worsened due to the arrogance of the Führer.<sup>239</sup> When World War II started, Franco officially announced the strictest neutrality. In the spring of 1940, Franco believed in a quick German victory, and at that time, the strategic importance of Spain made the Germans want to get Spain on their side of the war. The British wanted to make sure Spain would stay out of the war. Thus, in 1940 Franco would have entered World War II on the side of the Allies but he did not do it because he did not trade the right conditions with Hitler. When Franco switched from neutrality to non-belligerence, he was making a pro-Axis move. Franco wanted to enter the war close to its end. Franco accepted that Spain was not ready to undertake another war, but was also under international pressure to take a formal stance vis-à-vis the conflict.<sup>240</sup>

Catalans were happy for Spain to remain neutral, in the light of the devastation wrought by the Civil War. The Catalan opposition associated the prospect of an Allied victory with a future overthrow of Franco; it was believed that the Western powers would not allow a fascist state in Spain to stand once Hitler and Mussolini had fallen. From the beginning, therefore, they fought alongside and in cooperation with the Allies, in the main through their secret services.<sup>241</sup>

As World War II began, the Catalan exile in France was still trying hard to organise itself. The German invasion of France in June 1940, however, stifled its development. The Vichy regime<sup>242</sup>, a dictatorship that banned political parties and

---

<sup>239</sup> P.Preston, *La política de la venganza*, (Barcelona, Península, 1997), pp. 107-108

<sup>240</sup> For information on Spain's decision to remain neutral see P. Preston *Franco*, (London, Harper Collins, 1993) p.533. G. Ciano, *Diario*, Maggio 1940, pp.291-293; Spanish ambassador in Rome to the Foreign Minister, 05-09-1939, I documenti diplomatici italiani, IX serie, 1939-1943, volum IX; AMAE, Guerre 1939-1945, Vichy, P.2420, Valence, 17-05-1941. For analysis of the influence of World War II on Spain, see J.L. Delgado editor., *El primer franquismo, España durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial*, (Madrid, s.XXI de España, editores, 1989) and R. Espinar Gallego, *El impacto de la Segunda Guerra Mundial en Europa y en España*, (Madrid, Asamblea de Madrid, 1986).

<sup>241</sup> Delgado ., *El primer franquismo, España durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial*, ; Pi i Sunyer, *Reports 1939-1942*, p.20.

<sup>242</sup> For an explanation of the German invasion of France, see AT, Poblet, C459, Document 'An exile with no return'.

unions, was installed by Maréchal Pétain,<sup>243</sup> who declared himself head of the French government after the French defeat to the Germans in 1940.<sup>244</sup> France signed an armistice with the Germans on 22 June in which it was divided into two parts: one occupied by the Germans and the other governed from Vichy.<sup>245</sup> In the next chapter, the consequences of the German invasion of France for the exiled Catalan and Basque nationalists are explained. Facing a German invasion of France, a majority of the Catalans there had to flee the country to seek a new refuge or go back to Spain. Those remaining in France had fewer resources and faced even greater organisational obstacles. Some of them joined the French resistance fighting the Nazi invasion.<sup>246</sup>

## 2.6 CONCLUSION

The course of the Catalan exile to France, particularly the failure of political organisation, has been described in this chapter. Organising Catalan opposition to Franco was a Herculean task, made difficult by a combination of factors: the country was devastated both morally and economically after the Civil War, still fresh in the memory; fear of a new period of disorder, or another war, suppressed the appetite for renewed conflict or disorder; and with Catalonia now in the grip of severe Francoist repression, Catalan opposition, lacking in resources, was rather concerned with its own survival.

Wider Catalan society was divided between supporters of Francoism and anti-Francoist elements working secretly in Spain or in exile. This already apparent lack of unity was one of the chief reasons for the failure of Catalan opposition in the forties. The key parties of the period preceding the Civil War were weakened and had to reorganise. None emerged as a clear representative of Catalan nationalism. Some of the older Catalan parties, such as the Lliga, lost legitimacy, with some of their

---

<sup>243</sup> Maréchal Pétain was a French statesman born in 1856. In 1939, he was ambassador in Francoist Spain. In 1940, he became president of the Council of government, assumed in Vichy the functions of head of state and after meeting Hitler he founded a totalitarian state.

<sup>244</sup> AT, Poblet, Box 459, 'Un exili sense retorn'; F. Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l'any 39*, (Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2000, p.101).

<sup>245</sup> AT, Poblet, Box 459, Document 'An exile with no return'; M.C. Raffaneau-Boj, *Los campos de concentración de los refugiados españoles en Francia (1939-1945)*, (Barcelona, Omega, 1995), p.227.

<sup>246</sup> L. Suárez, *España, Franco y la Segunda Guerra Mundial*, (Madrid, Actas ED., 1997), p. 200.

members deciding to support Francoism. Not having a cohesive party to rally around caused uncertainty and lack of unity among Catalans.

A massive Catalan exodus to France through the Pyrenees took place. The French government allowed entry to what it regarded as legitimate refugees. Their situation in France, though, remained precarious, lacking an institutional framework, an adequate resource base, and being dependent on Basque and the Republican financial support.

The Catalan exiles in France suffered from communication problems, enormously diminishing their chances of achieving solidarity. The exiles spread first to the South of France, and then to Paris. No clear focal point emerged, with factions in Toulouse, Perpignan, and the capital. These scattered nuclei of power diminished Catalan strength. Communication with those more moderate Catalans who had chosen to remain in Catalonia proved difficult; disagreements soon arose between the two groups.

No clear Catalan leader emerged in this period. Lluís Companys, last president of the *Generalitat* and main figure of Catalan nationalism, was a refugee, and could no longer play an active role in politics, persecuted as he was by Francoist forces. Moreover, once Companys went into exile, the *Generalitat* had ceased to exist, leaving the movement without legitimate institutions of representation. Companys' subsequent arrest by the Gestapo created a tremendous vacuum in Catalan nationalism that would take years to fill.

The most serious attempt to unite the forces in France was the creation of the FNC, which aimed to bring together the parties of the left. Its leaders were drawn from different parties, setting the scene for future leadership clashes, which, for a time, divided an already weak opposition further. The FNC was finally fused into a hegemonic and unified bloc, only to see its development stymied by the German invasion of France in June 1940. FNC activity focused on propaganda, information and a secret services network in order to provide support to the Allies. The Catalans in France also tried to develop cultural institutions in order to support their political demands and tried to establish institutions to provide assistance to those trying to escape Francoist persecution.

Relations between the Catalans and other groups in opposition to Franco failed to develop into a united front. The Catalans sought cooperation with others, particularly

the Basque nationalists, with whom they shared a historical plight. There was a comparable willingness to ally with the left wing opposition. Planned alliances, however, failed to get off the ground, due, in part, to differences in policy and in part to internal divisions. Communication among the anti-Francoist groups was ineffectual, hampered by a lack of resources and blighted by misunderstandings between the leaders. The opposition groups failed to present a united front.<sup>247</sup>

The main form of collaboration between the Catalans and the Basque nationalists and Republicans was financial. The Catalans had suffered tremendous financial constraints since donating substantial resources to the republican side in the Civil War. In exile, they were dependent on the help of the Basque nationalists and of the SERE and the JARE. A final problem was the division and the lack of communication between Catalans based in France and those based in Catalonia.

---

<sup>247</sup> H. Heine, *La oposición*; J. Tusell, Javier, *La oposición democrática al franquismo, (1939-1962)*, (Barcelona, Espejo de España, Planeta, 1977).

## **CHAPTER 3 - CATALAN OPPOSITION TO FRANCO FROM JULY 1940 TO AUGUST 1942: THE BRITISH EXILE**

### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter provides an account of the exodus of Catalans to the UK after the German invasion of France in 1940, and the rise and fall of the Consell Nacional de Catalunya (National Council of Catalonia or CNC), the principal Catalan organisation of the time. The period from July 1940 to August 1942 saw the UK become the centre for Catalan exiles. From Britain, though struggling to overcome communication problems and internal division, the CNC worked towards a goal of unity among the Catalans, gradually improving relations with the Basque nationalists and left wing groups. However, recurrent crises of leadership among the Catalans soon shattered any dreams of unification. Not accepting the British-based leadership, the members of ERC in France instead rallied support for Josep Irla, by default acting president of the *Generalitat*, de-legitimising Carles Pi i Sunyer's claim to authority in London, and leading to the loss of legitimacy of the CNC in 1942. The developments of World War II, of course, provide the backdrop to developments within the Catalan opposition, and are described as such.

### **3.2 THE IMPACT OF THE GERMAN OCCUPATION OF FRANCE ON THE FRENCH EXILE**

The German invasion of France had obvious consequences for the Catalans exiled there, who had been attempting to organise opposition from France since the end of the Civil War. Coming at a point in time when those exiled to France had adjusted to their situation and had begun to organise themselves more effectively, the invasion dealt them a severe blow. A number of the Catalans exiled in France were made prisoners or sent to concentration camps, while some joined the French resistance forces; this applied to Catalans in occupied and non-occupied France. Lluís Companys, for example, was arrested and sent to Barcelona.<sup>248</sup>

---

<sup>248</sup> FPS, 'La tragèdia dels refugiats a França', *Ressorgiment*, Buenos Aires, 06-1941; PS, *Ressorgiment*, 'News from Spanish exiled in France', Buenos Aires, 1941.

Apart from the survival problems for the Catalan refugees in France, further obstacles to their organisation were posed by Spanish police and Falangist agents operating within France. The persecution and censorship of the Francoist apparatus in France would only worsen when Francoist police would collaborate with the German Police. This German-Francoist police collaboration would obviously enlarge tremendously the capacity of manoeuvre of Francoist persecution, and enabled, for example, the capture of Companys and Aguirre by the Gestapo. When Companys was arrested in occupied France by the Gestapo, he was deported to Spain (first to Madrid, and then to Barcelona) by the Vichy government<sup>249</sup> where he would be judged by a court martial. He was eventually executed by firing squad at 6.30am on 15 October 1940 at the Castle of Montjuich. 'His last words were "For my Catalonia!"'<sup>250</sup>

Two unpublished letters were found in Enrique Varela's personal archive, handwritten by president Companys just before he was condemned and sent to his death. Extracts from the Companys letters reveal that he showed great courage:

---

<sup>249</sup> The Vichy regime was a fascist dictatorship that banned political parties and unions. It was installed by Maréchal Pétain and governed from 1940 to 1944 in the non-occupied zone of France.

<sup>250</sup> AT, Poblet, Box 445, 'L'exécution du président de la *Generalitat*, Lluís Companys' p.3.

‘You know how much my wife worries me. I ask you to reassure her about my health and situation. It should be easy to find out if she is in Boulez-les-Pins or in Yuarry. (...) Please, do tell her that I now feel very well, in the Castle of Montjuich in a small room with a bed and a cupboard, toilet and shower and quite a lot of light. I also have a little sitting room. I spend my days writing, reading and I receive excellent treatment. My brother visits me and takes care of me. No more could be expected in my case and I feel fine, I take care of myself and the hours go by without even my realising. Tell her to relax and take care of herself, her health is my life. Tell her to maintain serenity and health. (...) Please, tell her to inform me of whatever news she has about our son, without lying to me. (...) I have no hope of finding him alive and have accepted the will of God in this case. Therefore, she can tell me the truth. (...) I only ask her to overcome her sad thoughts, take care of herself and to cheer up since this is how I want it and I repeat that I feel ok.’<sup>251</sup>

‘The memory of my children, the tragedy of my home...But this is mine and only mine and I keep it in my heart. Afterwards the rest... The prison of the Baule, the Santé of Paris, Second division, the condemned cell, eight days and en route...The streets, the life, freedom... I watch all those that pass, each one with its bit of freedom, with its bit of life. That old man, that young man, a couple... Having been able to come here with my wife. Freedom. (...) But the car moves on quickly towards the prison. I feel very confused. That is it! Let’s go then towards that destiny!’<sup>252</sup>

After his death, Lluís Companys became a symbol and a hero for Catalan nationalism. Yet his loss created a power vacuum that would take years to fill. The death of

---

<sup>251</sup> AV, Cádiz, Secretaría particular del general Varela, Reserved sources, Lluís Companys, Letter of Companys to his wife sent through Urraca, from the Spanish Embassy in Paris, 08-10-1940.

<sup>252</sup> H. Ragner, ‘El último adiós de Companys 1940’ in *La Vanguardia*, 23-05-1999.

Companys decapitated Catalan nationalism and was one more example of Francoist cruelty.

Following the execution of Companys, in application of article 44 of the internal Statute, Josep Irla<sup>253</sup>, president of the parliament of Catalonia became - automatically and with full rights - interim President of the *Generalitat*.<sup>254</sup> Irla stressed the necessity of collaborating with the Allies, with the Basque nationalists and other anti-Francoist opposition, on the basis that an alliance between these groups could end Francoist domination. On the other hand, Irla did not desire an alliance with the Communists.<sup>255</sup> Instead, he wished to form a committee, in exile, that would unite all the Catalans in opposition.<sup>256</sup> Other leaders challenged Irla's presidency, since he had not been formally endowed with presidential power, and, from the outset, divisions arose amongst the Catalan leadership. This would prove a major obstacle to organising cohesive opposition to Franco. After Companys's arrest, the leadership of the Catalans became vulnerable to clashes.

A majority of the Catalans residing in France decided to leave the country when the German forces invaded, their situation having become extremely precarious. Whilst a contingent returned to Spain, many left France for Latin America (mainly Mexico and Argentina), as described in the next chapter, and many Communists went to Russia.<sup>257</sup> Flight from the French mainland was unavoidable. The majority of exiled Catalans, though, moved to the UK, geographically the nearest country where they could expect to be accepted. For the political leadership, the most urgent concern

---

<sup>253</sup> Josep Irla i Bosch was a politician. He was born in Sant Feliu de Guíxols 1874 and died in Provença in 1958. In 1938, he was elected president of the Catalan Parliament, and again in 1940. He was elected president of the *Generalitat* in exile in France after the murder of Lluís Companys. He formed a government-in-exile formed by various Catalan politicians (1945-1948) and maintained the presidency until 1954 when he was succeeded by Josep Tarradellas.

<sup>254</sup> AT, Poblet, Box 459, Document 'An exile with no return'.

<sup>255</sup> AT, Poblet, Box 460, Box 463, Box 467. These boxes include the letters of Irla and other political figures of the period such as Companys, Tarradellas and Pi i Sunyer. From them, we can derive Irla's ideology and policy.

<sup>256</sup> Pere Bosch I Gimpera's letter to Carles Pi i Sunyer, Oxford, 10-04-1940 in *Viure el primer exili: Cartes britàniques de Pere Bosch I Gimpera 1939-1940, Quaderns de l'arxiu Pi i Sunyer n.2*, (Barcelona, Fundació Carles Pi i Sunyer d'estudis autonòmics i locals, 1993), p.61.

<sup>257</sup> For information on the number of Catalans that left France after the German invasion in 1940, see M.C. Raffaneau-Boj, *Los campos de concentración de los refugiados españoles en Francia (1939-1945)*, (Barcelona, Omega, 1995), p.188; J.L. Delgado editor, *El primer franquismo, España durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial*, (Madrid, s.XXI de España, editores, 1989) ; R.Espinar Gallego, *El impacto de la Segunda Guerra Mundial en Europa y en España*, (Madrid, Asamblea de Madrid, 1986).



was that its influence, direction, and even existence were directly threatened. The exodus left the UK as the last country in Europe where Catalan hopes for organisation held out, and duly became the centre for the Catalan exile.

### 3.3 THE IMPACT OF WWII ON THE BRITISH EXILE

World War II formed the backdrop to the Catalan exile in the UK.<sup>258</sup> The Spanish had always been close to the Italians, reinforcing the fear that Spain would sooner or later enter a pact with the Axis powers. Such fears were not unwarranted. A document from the Italian foreign office indicates their foundation: 'Spain does not forget the generous help lent by Italy when it had to fight strongly for its own existence, and from that moment onwards its support to the Axis was irrevocably fixed.'<sup>259</sup>

Hitler rejected Franco's services in the summer 1940 because he thought they were useless and the attempts that Franco would integrate to the Axis in the autumn 1940 failed because Hitler did not want to pay a high price for it. Franco was always close to Hitler but more concerned about his survival than about Hitler's. In 1941, Mussolini tried to convince Franco to join the Axis but Franco realised that Spain lacked resources and the economic strength to do so. Franco was even more careful to enter World War II when he realised it would last a long time. Franco became enthusiastic about the Axis again in June 1941 with the German invasion of Russia.

---

<sup>258</sup> The Soviet Union joined the Allies on being invaded, coming as a tough blow to Hitler. In December 1941, Japan joined the Axis in World War II. If we take into account the inclusion of Japan on the Axis side, it is clear that World War II had achieved a global dimension. Paul Kennedy stated: "Hitler's fateful decision to invade Russia in 1941 changed the entire dimensions of the conflict. The Russian counterattacks confirmed that the Germans were vulnerable. The Grand Alliance was superior in material terms. A bipolar world was just about to come." P. Kennedy, *The Rise and fall of the great powers*, (London, Fontana press, 1988), p.442; Note. For the developments of World War II and the consequences for the Catalan opposition, see H. Heine, *La oposició política al franquismo*, (Barcelona, Grijalbo, 1983), p.42. C. Pi i Sunyer, *Reports 1939-1942*, (Barcelona, Fundació Carles Pi i Sunyer d'estudis autonòmics i locals, edition per Francesc Vilanova, 1993), p.78.

<sup>259</sup> AE, I documenti diplomatici italiani, IX serie, 1939-1943, Volum IX, L'incarato d'affari a Madrid, Fracassi, al ministro deli esteri, Ciano, Madrid, 08-09-1942. In another document, Italians also reiterate their faith in Spanish-Italians bonds of sympathy and co-operation. AE, IX Serie, 1939-1943, Volum IX, Il capo dil governo, Mussolini, al capo dello stato Spagnolo, Franco, Roma, 01-09-1942. "I consider the Italo-Spanish friendship as a permanent directive of the Italian policy and as one of the essential bases of the new political order that Europe will have at the end of the war." L'ambasciatore in Spagna, Viola, al ministro degli esteri, Ciano, San Sebastiano, 29 Giugno 1939, I documenti diplomatici italiani, IX Serie, 1939-1943, Volum IX; At this stage, Franco also asserted his sympathy for Hitler's cause. APSG, letter from Franco to Hitler, 22-09-1940.

Spanish neutrality in World War II was the fruit that Germany did not want or could not afford. From October 1944, Spain said they had always been close to the Axis as an anti-Soviet strategy.

A very significant milestone in terms of the Allies' stance towards the international situation was the signing of the Atlantic Charter between 9 and 12 August 1941, approved by the USSR and 14 other countries following a meeting between Winston Churchill, the British prime minister, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the American president.<sup>260</sup> It marked a significant moment in the development of the international situation, with its implications for the Spanish situation in turn.<sup>261</sup> It was based on the defence of the principles of self-determination and democracy.<sup>262</sup> The Atlantic Charter summarised the policy pillars of the Allies concerning the international situation. It stated that once World War II was over, the Allies would guarantee the free determination of all people, the territorial security and the access of all the states to international economic co-operation. The Atlantic Charter declared that the victorious countries would re-establish freedom in the cases where it had been taken away by fascism, even promising economic collaboration in these very cases.<sup>263</sup> Roosevelt sought ideological justification for the official entrance of the USA into World War II, which would come in December 1941. The Atlantic Charter was the first official document of the Allies explaining their war against Germany. The signing of the Atlantic Charter rekindled the hopes of the anti-Francoist opposition that help would come from abroad. The declaration was followed by inaction, however.<sup>264</sup>

### 3.4 EXODUS TO BRITAIN

After the German invasion of France, the Catalans chose to move to the UK as it was, next to France, the last democratic country in Europe that would welcome

---

<sup>260</sup> AN, Artea, *Euzko Deya*, 'La carta del Atlántico y sus consecuencias para el pueblo vasco', 1946.

<sup>261</sup> AT, Poblet, Box L7, M. Serra Moret, 'La carta de l'Atlàntic'.

<sup>262</sup> Aberasturi, *De la derrota*, p.699.

<sup>263</sup> A document found in the Basque Nationalist Archive of Artea summarised the principles of the Atlantic Charter. AN, Artea, *Euzko Deya*, Paris, 30-04-1946. "The victorious countries declared in the Charter of the Atlantic as aims of the war the respect of the freedom of the liberated countries, and the re-establishment of this freedom in the cases where it had been taken away by fascism and also an economic collaboration for the improvement of their social well-being."

<sup>264</sup> AN, Artea, *Euzko Deya*, Paris, 30-04-1946.

them.<sup>265</sup> Moreover, some Catalans were already established in the UK, having sought refuge in earlier years from the Civil War. Some Catalan children had even been sent there in 1937. The presence eased the arrival of the newcomers, the main bulk of whom arrived after June 1940. Once again, they fled with few resources at their disposal.<sup>266</sup> Their priorities were to establish contacts with the British authorities, to create a residence for intellectuals and writers in the UK, and to produce propaganda for the Catalan cause.<sup>267</sup> Those Catalans already settled in the UK were predominantly intellectual and did not wield any real political power.

The Catalans organised several cultural activities in London, including the formation of the Casal Català<sup>268</sup>, which became the main meeting place of Catalan intellectuals in the UK.<sup>269</sup> Cultural activity was important to ground the political goal of maintaining the Catalan language - which had been banned by Franco, and to promote and publicise the Catalan case around Europe.<sup>270</sup> The following quote from a Catalan settled in the UK attests to the cultural significance of the Casal Català of London:

---

<sup>265</sup> It is very difficult to give an estimate of the number of Catalans who went into exile in Britain from France since there is no precise historical record. Having read several authors on the matter, my estimate would be that around 50,000 Catalans went to exile from France to Britain.

<sup>266</sup> Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.I*, pp.91-94; F. Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l'any 39*, p.35.

<sup>267</sup> An example of an intellectual who settled in the UK and was trying to make anti-Francoist propaganda was Salvador de Madariaga. The following quote illustrates very clearly his anti-Francoist opinions. "General, please, leave. (...) Today you are talking about the neutrality of Spain. But Spain has never been neutral. Spain as a nation has always supported the Allies and Spain as a State, the Falange, has always been together with the Nazis and fascism. (...) At the beginning of August, the Blue Division reached Russia. On the 14 February 1942, you declared in front of an audience of military personnel that Germany was defending western civilisation. (...) General, please, leave! You have already compromised for too many the interests of the Spaniards!!! (...) The man who killed Companys, Zugazagoitia, Cruz Salido and many others cannot be in charge of the unity of Spain. You have oppressed Catalonia, Galicia and the Basque country. (...) Please, do at least one action in your life that the Spaniards would appreciate. General, please, leave!" AN, Artea, Salvador de Madariaga, 'General, Márchese usted!' London, 11-1944.

<sup>268</sup> AN, Artea, PNV 82-5, 'En el Casal Català, Diálogo con el señor Madariaga', 07-09-1942. One of the functions of the Casal Català was to promote the intellectuals that were fighting against Francoism.

<sup>269</sup> Amongst other things, the Casal Català in London was a platform used to define and expand the Catalan ideological principles as the following quote shows: "The acceptance of the personality of Catalonia entails the acceptance of the principle of self-determination understood as the legitimate right of any human collective to decide for itself on its own destiny." FPS, Box A2, 'Una idea Nacional', Conference given in the Casal Català in London, 14-06-1942; FPS, Box16, Folder 565, letter from Wilfrid Roberts to Carles Pi i Sunyer, 17-03-1941. The letter shows several projects of development of Catalan culture in the UK.

<sup>270</sup> Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili de Carles Pi i Sunyer, Vol. I*, pp.140-141. As Pi i Sunyer indicates, around 10.000 to 15.000 Catalans moved to the UK during this period.

Together with the functions of help, we had to relate those of cultural character, for us even more important, since they implied the possible maintenance of the Catalan culture in exile. (...) Our aim was to show the British public opinion the demonstration of the spirit, the culture and the art of Catalonia. (...) Another group of acts that mobilised an enormous number of people was a series of conferences that were given in the Casal Català, about Catalan culture.<sup>271</sup>

Carles Pi i Sunyer<sup>272</sup>, Pere Bosch i Gimpera<sup>273</sup>, Josep Trueta<sup>274</sup> and Josep Maria Batista i Roca<sup>275</sup> were the main Catalan figures in the UK. When Carles Pi i Sunyer arrived in the UK, he found he had the support of Pere Bosch i Gimpera and Josep Maria Batista I Roca.<sup>276</sup> Both had been living in the UK prior to the outbreak of World War II.<sup>277</sup>

Bosch i Gimpera was mainly an academic.<sup>278</sup> He represented the example of an intellectual who played a part in politics. He was a professor and the dean of a University. He was a left-wing moderate Catalan from Acció Catalana Republicana, who believed in the wider educational value of politics and concerned himself extensively with the principles and pursuit of justice. Whilst he was involved in

---

<sup>271</sup> FPS, Box 20, Folder 681, letters from J. Ventura I Sureda to Carles Pi i Sunyer, 14-03-1942.

<sup>272</sup> Carles Pi i Sunyer was born in Barcelona in 1888 and died in 1971. He was an engineer, counsellor of the Catalan government during the Civil War, and Mayor of Barcelona (1934 and 1936-1937) and minister of the republican government (1933). He joined the exodus to France in February 1939. His political activity was carried on between London and Paris. He spent the last sixteen years of his life in Venezuela. Pi i Sunyer considered that the republic did not exist, and that Catalonia and Euzkadi had to be formed in the European framework. He was a federalist. Pi i Sunyer escaped to France in 1939, sent by Companys to act as the main representative of Catalan politics in the UK.

<sup>273</sup> Pere Bosch i Gimpera was born in Barcelona in 1891. He was a historian who led the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (1933-1939) and justice counsellor of the *Generalitat* (1937-1939). He went into exile to the UK in 1939 where he was a teacher in Oxford and then went into exile to Mexico in 1941.

<sup>274</sup> Josep Trueta was born in Barcelona in 1897 and died in 1977. He was doctor of medicine in 1921. In 1939, he went into exile to the UK, where he formed part of the CNC from its constitution in 1940. He became Doctor Honoris Causa in Oxford.

<sup>275</sup> Josep Maria Batista i Roca was born in Barcelona in 1895. He was a historian and a politician. He was justice advisor during the Civil War. He was exiled to the UK in 1939. He was a teacher of history in Cambridge and secretary of the CNC.

<sup>276</sup> FPS, Box3, Folder 100, letter from Bosch i Gimpera to Pi i Sunyer, 03-09-1939; FPS, Box 5, Folder 369, correspondence between Batista i Roca and Pi i Sunyer. The experience and contacts of Bosch i Gimpera and Batista i Roca in the UK proved very useful for Pi i Sunyer who had just landed in the British Islands.

<sup>277</sup> PRO, FO 371/24527, Batista i Roca, London, 02-05-1940.

<sup>278</sup> F. Vilanova, 'El futur d'Europa: les reflexions federalistes de Carles Pi i Sunyer al Londres de la Segona Guerra Mundial', p.6.

politics (1937-1940), he felt far from the populism of ERC; on the other hand, he supported Pi i Sunyer who was also affiliated to ERC.<sup>279</sup>

Josep Maria Batista i Roca came from the tradition of radical nationalism.<sup>280</sup> Batista i Roca represented the sort of radical nationalism associated with for example, Estat Català, but without having any concrete political affiliation. As was the case with Josep Trueta, Batista i Roca rejected the Catalan republicanism of ERC.<sup>281</sup> As was also the case with Trueta, Batista i Roca was anti-Communist but even more radical in his ideology. Batista i Roca believed in the Països Catalans and in the Western Union. He was anti-Communist and anti-federal. Trueta was a more conservative Catalan. His Catalan nationalism oscillated between the politics of Acció Catalana and the more leftist segments of the Lliga. He was ideologically conservative and rejected the left-wing populism of ERC and its allies and the ideology of Companys. It could be argued that Pi i Sunyer was in a sense following the lines of the Labour party in the UK, whereas Trueta's politics rather resembled those of the Conservative Party. He was a Catalan Republican, a federalist and a social democrat.<sup>282</sup> He represented a Catalan left-wing republicanism that was dominant between 1931 and 1936, and was supported by a section of the middle classes, liberal professionals and popular Catalan segments of society.<sup>283</sup> Pi i Sunyer defended federalism, social progress and believed in the institutionalisation of Catalan culture.<sup>284</sup>

---

<sup>279</sup> Bosch i Gimpera i Pi i Sunyer, *Cartes de Bosch i Gimpera i Carles Pi i Sunyer*, (Barcelona, Fundació Pi i Sunyer, 2004); AT, Poblet, Box G3, 'Des de Londres-Com una veu que ens arribés de lluny'. Article that summarised Pi i Sunyer's ideology in the UK; AT, Poblet, Box G3, 'Els Catalans a l'exili'. Article by Pi i Sunyer that summarised the situation of the Catalans in exile, particularly, in the UK.

<sup>280</sup> F. Vilanova, 'El futur d'Europa: les reflexions federalistes de Carles Pi i Sunyer al Londres de la Segona Guerra Mundial', p.7.

<sup>281</sup> PRO FO 371/31266A, 10-02-1942, letter from Batista i Roca to Lord Wedgwood (House of Lords) in which Batista i Roca defended the Catalan cause.

<sup>282</sup> AT, Poblet, Box E4, Carles Pi i Sunyer, 'La imatge de Catalunya' and AT, Poblet, Box E4, Carles Pi i Sunyer, 'La significació del moment'.

<sup>283</sup> Pi i Sunyer explained his policy and ideological principles to Aguirre in the following documents. FPS, Box 1, Folder 12, letter from C. Pi i Sunyer to J.A. Aguirre, London, 28-10-1941; "This letter sets the principle of self-determination as the main condition for the peace of the Catalan people." AT, Poblet, Box G3, letter from C. Pi i Sunyer to Diego Martínez Barrio, London, 18 August 1941; "The establishment of a peninsular democratic regime has to be mainly supported on Euzkadi and Catalonia and can not be viable without the recognition of their personality and their rights, mainly their right to self-determination. Both Catalonia and Euzkadi through history have been nationalists with their own ethnic unity, own language, own social structure, judicial structure and an autonomous culture." FPS, Box A2, Carles Pi i Sunyer's writings, "Una guerra actual..." (Londres), 1940.

<sup>284</sup> Author's interview with Francesc Vilanova, Barcelona, January 2001.

His arrival in 1939 formalised relations between the Catalans and the British.<sup>285</sup> The main Catalan leaders in the UK shared some ideas: the defence of the national rights of Catalonia, freedom and democracy, and the re-establishment of a republic.<sup>286</sup>

Pi i Sunyer and Batista i Roca formed the Consell Nacional de Catalunya (Catalan National Council or CNC) on 25 July 1940 in London, which became the main Catalan organisation in the UK in this period.<sup>287</sup> The CNC would later on try to unite all Catalans. Batista i Roca explained the formation of the CNC:

‘The Catalan delegation in London has the honour of informing His Majesty’s government that the leadership 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 residents 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.’<sup>288</sup>

Carles Pi i Sunyer became president of the CNC by a majority decision of its members. He described his appointment in the following way: ‘It was proposed that I should preside over the CNC and the other members would be Bosch i Gimpera, Batista I Roca, Josep Trueta, Ramon Perera and Fermí Vergés. The proposal was approved by the majority.’<sup>289</sup>

Pi i Sunyer arrived in London in April 1939, sent by Companys to act as the main representative of Catalan politics in the UK. His mission was to create a

---

<sup>285</sup> Carles Pi i Sunyer, *Viure el primer exili: Cartes britàniques de Pere Bosch i Gimpera (1939-1940)*, (Barcelona, Fundació Carles Pi i Sunyer d’estudis autonòmics i locals, 1998), pp.7-11; Aberasturi, *De la derrota*, pp.313-314; Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l’exili, Vol.I*, , pp.8-9.

<sup>286</sup> F. Vilanova, ‘El futur d’Europa: les reflexions federalistes de Carles Pi i Sunyer al Londres de la Segona Guerra Mundial’, p.5.

<sup>287</sup> FPS, Box D5, ‘Declaració oficial del Consell Nacional de Londres’, London, 01-07-1941; For information on the main representatives of the CNC see also FPS, Box D5, ‘Consell Nacional de Catalunya’.

<sup>288</sup> PRO, File FO 371/24527, Batista I Roca’s document on the formation of the CNC, London, 05-09-1940.

<sup>289</sup> Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l’exili, Vol.I*, , pp-44-45. Ramon Perera was a democratic Socialist from the Socialist Union of Catalonia. Fermí Vergés was a member of ERC. FPS, Box 15, Folder 500, letters between Carles Pi i Sunyer and Ramon Perera.

delegation of the presidency of the *Generalitat* in the UK with two objectives: in political terms, to monitor the evolution of international affairs, to establish contacts with British civil servants, and to try to play such few cards as the Catalan exile could muster in the future of Europe; and on cultural grounds, to strive to create a stable focus of writers, intellectuals and Catalan artists in the British Isles. Pi i Sunyer appeared to have the support of many of his Catalan peers.

Confusion over the succession of the ERC's Josep Irla, however, after Companys's death, led to a major clash of leadership among Catalans. Many Catalans followed the policy of Pi i Sunyer, even though Josep Irla was the de facto president of the *Generalitat* after Companys. This leadership clash was an obstacle for the development of Catalan nationalism.<sup>290</sup>

CNC policy was based on defence of the interests of the Catalan people;<sup>291</sup> Pi i Sunyer was against the policy of ERC, namely the policy that defended the recovery of the republican legality and the second republic.<sup>292</sup> Pi i Sunyer would radicalise its manifesto. ERC followed the Catalan statute, whereas the most radical wing of the leaders of the CNC would seek complete independence for Catalonia. Pi i Sunyer claimed total independence for Catalonia.<sup>293</sup> The CNC emphasised democracy and liberalism, reasserting the Catalan right of self-determination and attempting to maintain the Catalan democratic tradition.<sup>294</sup> Pi i Sunyer's letter to Diego Martínez Barrio<sup>295</sup>, the Republican politician, in 1941 summarised his ideology. The letter had

---

<sup>290</sup> FPS, Box 20, Folder 666, letter from Josep Trueta to Carles Pi i Sunyer, 05-08-1940; 'La Guerra des de Londres' in C. Pi i Sunyer, *Articles per al ministeri d'informació britànic (1940-1941)*, (Barcelona, Fundació Carles Pi i Sunyer d'estudis autonòmics i locals, edició a cura de F. Vilanova, 1996), p.12; F. Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l'any 39*, p.40; Author's interview with Josep Benet, November 2001, Barcelona.

<sup>291</sup> FPS, Box D5, Consell Nacional de Londres, London, 08-1940.

<sup>292</sup> F. Vilanova, 'El futur d'Europa : les reflexions federalistes de Carles Pi i Sunyer al Londres de la Segona Guerra Mundial', p.13

<sup>293</sup> Pi i Sunyer, *Reports 1939-1942*, , p.26; FPS, Box 1, Folder 12, letter from C. Pi i Sunyer to J.A. Aguirre, London, 28-10-1941; Poblet, Box G3, letter from C. Pi i Sunyer to Diego Martínez Barrio, London, 18 August 1941; Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.I.*, p.172; FPS; Box D5, Consell Nacional Català, 'Declaració', autumn 1943; FPS, Box A2, Carles Pi i Sunyer's writings, "Una guerra actual..." (Londres), 1940.

<sup>294</sup> FPS, Box A2, 'Una idea Nacional', Conference given in the Casal Català in London, 14-06-1942; Pi i Sunyer, *Reports 1939-1942*, , pp.91-94.

<sup>295</sup> Diego Martínez Barrio was born in Sevilla in 1883 and died in Paris in 1962. He was a politician. Originally, he was the political partner of Alejandro Lerroux but later on he founded the party Unión Republicana with which he participated in the elections of February 1936. He was in charge of the presidency of the *Generalitat* in 1936. In 1945, he became president of the republic in exile.

an enormous impact in the political circles of the exile. In this letter, published in Mexico, Pi i Sunyer introduced the political project that he would defend, on institutional grounds, through the CNC in London, based on the non-automatic acceptance of the republican regime in 1932, the overcoming of the legal framework, defined by the constitution of 1931 and the statute of 1932, the design of a new peninsular reality, formed by a federal structure and by the exercise of the right of self-determination in Catalonia.<sup>296</sup>

Pi i Sunyer added content to this political programme. He gave an important nationalist speech at the CNC, based on a federalist vision of Europe.<sup>297</sup> The doctrine of federalism was advocated by Pi i Sunyer and was formed largely in 1941; it was closely associated with a concept of Europeanism. Pi i Sunyer claimed: 'Catalonia is Europe and the main problems affecting Catalonia are the European ones.'<sup>298</sup> Pi i Sunyer went so far as to endorse the idea of an Iberian confederation wherein the sovereignty of Catalonia, Galicia and Euzkadi would be fully recognised:<sup>299</sup> 'The creation of a Confederation of Hispanic Nations would totally ensure the establishment of a democratic regime and would shape the ideal for which many generations of Catalans have fought.'<sup>300</sup>

The CNC was considered a delegation of the *Generalitat* in the UK, and, with the collapse of organisation in France, was the most important organisation of Catalan nationalism of this period. Two things were clear from the beginning of the CNC. First of all, the organisation was temporarily to assume the leadership of the Catalan exiles due to the incapacity of those in France. The CNC explicitly stated that it was a provisional substitute for the legitimate authorities; it never expected to replace them but was simply acting in the interim while the legitimate democratic institutions remained paralysed:

---

<sup>296</sup> FS, letter from Pi i Sunyer to Martínez Barrio, 1941; AT, Poblet, Box G3.

<sup>297</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Vuit escrits de l'exili (1939-1941)*, (Barcelona, Fundació Carles Pi i Sunyer d'estudis autonòmics i locals, edition de Francesc Vilanova, 1992), p.11. F. Vilanova I Vila-Abadal, 'El futur d'Europa: les reflexions federalistes de Carles Pi i Sunyer al Londres de la Segona Guerra Mundial', (Barcelona, Fundació Carles Pi i Sunyer, 2000).

<sup>298</sup> FPS, Box 1, Folder 5, Pi i Sunyer's letter.

<sup>299</sup> Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.I*; FPS, Box A2, Pi i Sunyer's document of Europeanism, 'Més val tenir raó que guanyar' (Londres), 1939-1940.

<sup>300</sup> FPS, Box D5, Projecte del CNC referent al Consell Assessor', summer 1944.



From its constitution onwards, the CNC declared that its main purpose was to create a provisional organisation, but representative of the Catalan personality and that would be a link for all the Catalans around the world. The CNC never wanted to substitute the legitimate institutions that our people democratically give, and that represent the political continuity of the national will.<sup>301</sup>

Secondly, the CNC was intended to ensure constitutional continuity. This continuity was embodied in the presence of two ex-members of the *Generalitat*, Pi i Sunyer and Bosch i Gimpera. Both of them were well connected in the UK.<sup>302</sup>

The CNC wished to maintain the Catalan democratic tradition, as has been described. It was to become an umbrella body which encompassed and co-ordinated the efforts of all Catalans, helping those in France to leave the country, overseeing the Catalans in America, and becoming a core organisation for them, and aiding the Allies in their war effort.<sup>303</sup> The CNC also helped some Catalans to leave France for the UK, and sought help from British political leaders for the Basque, Catalan and republican exiles there, in order to save them from being killed or persecuted by the Gestapo. A letter from the Catalan Committee in the UK in August of 1940 indicates that securing safe passage for the refugees in France figured among its objectives: 'We fully support the Catalans suffering Francoist repression. (...) One of the missions to be accomplished by the CNC is the following: it will allow the exit from France to as many Catalans as possible.'<sup>304</sup>

The CNC obtained considerable support from the Catalan *comunitats* (communities) in Latin America, a federation of Catalan entities located in each of the countries with a Catalan presence. The *comunitats* in Latin America enjoyed independence in their activity but ultimately reported to the CNC. Relations between the UK and Latin American contingents are discussed in the next chapter.

The existence of the CNC made sense as long as hope persisted that an Allied victory in World War II would entail the overthrow of Franco. The CNC was truly

---

<sup>301</sup> FPS, Box D5, 'Declaració del Consell Nacional en donar-se per dissolt', 1945.

<sup>302</sup> F.Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l'any 39*, pp.37-39.

<sup>303</sup> FPS, Box D5, 'Bases per a una organització dels catalans pel món', CNC's report, signed by C. Pi i Sunyer and Batista i Roca, London, 01-07-1941; C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.I*, pp.66-68.

<sup>304</sup> FPS, Box D5, 01-08-1940, letter from the Catalan Committee in the UK.

committed in offering unconditional support to the Allied powers, as Batista i Roca stated in 1940: 'You may rest assured that whatever the conditions in the peninsula and the Mediterranean might be, the Catalans will continue to be emphatically in sympathy with the Allies and their cause.'<sup>305</sup>

Catalans showed a particular admiration for the British, who they believed would help them enormously in their fight against Franco.<sup>306</sup> A document found in the British Foreign Archives claims: 'The Catalans and Basques peoples, through their London delegations, have been privileged to confirm the bonds of sympathy and friendship by which they have always felt themselves united to Great Britain, particularly now, in time of war.'<sup>307</sup>

Overall, the period 1940-1942 was the CNC's most successful. However, even at this stage, the CNC faced a number of key problems. Communication was difficult and resources were extremely tight.<sup>308</sup> Moreover, internal leadership clashes, clashes between the nuclei of power and the provisional status of the organisation posed serious problems for its legitimacy.<sup>309</sup> Communication problems, mainly affecting communications with America, resulted from the large distances involved, and the organisation of the spokesmen of the CNC. Ultimately, these proved difficult issues to resolve. The problem was ameliorated through the sending of letters, though this was a very slow process.<sup>310</sup> Another fundamental problem afflicting the CNC was internal problems of leadership. As many Catalan leaders had been persecuted or were in exile, it was very difficult to give legitimacy to surrogate figures to represent the CNC in other countries. Catalan leaders were spread around the world and were often isolated from one another. There were also ideological differences, not only between those in France and those in the UK, but also among the CNC leaders in the UK. The unity of the CNC was based on a vision of a future federal and democratic Spain. However, these were confusing concepts. Pi i Sunyer and Batista i Roca did not get along and were ultimately fighting for the Catalan lead in British territory. Batista i

---

<sup>305</sup> PRO FILE 371/24527, Batista I Roca, London, 02-05-1940.

<sup>306</sup> Pi i Sunyer, *Reports 1939-1942*, , p.81; F.Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l'any 39*, p.40

<sup>307</sup> PRO, FO 371/24527, Lord Halifax document, Madrid, 01-05-1940.

<sup>308</sup> FPS, Box A2, 'On Catalan identity', London.

<sup>309</sup> FPS, Box A2, 'Una idea Nacional- Conferència donada al Casal Català de Londres el 14 de juny de 1942'.

<sup>310</sup> F.Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l'any 39*, pp.42-43.

Roca claimed that he had been in the UK for a longer time whereas Pi i Sunyer claimed that he was the delegate of Companys and had more popular support. Batista i Roca was more radical in his Catalan ideology than Pi i Sunyer. And the ideological differences between them affected the cohesion of the CNC for the worse, both in Europe and in the *comunitats* in America. The credibility of the CNC became much more fragile.<sup>311</sup>

Apart from the personal clashes between Catalans in France and those settled in the UK, it has to be pointed out that those Catalans were also affected by the historical circumstances of France and the UK, which determined their capacity to organise. For instance, France was invaded by the Germans whereas the UK was not.

The FNC worked in France and Catalonia. It was a left wing platform which faced enormous Francoist repression. The FNC sought for Catalan self-determination and the creation of a confederation of states.

Thus, in addition, there were clear differences between those Catalans in the UK and those in France; the latter did not accept the leadership of the British group. The German occupation of France and the exodus to the UK added another nucleus of Catalan power, in addition to Spain and France. The three would fight for pre-eminence. There was also inconsistency of policy aims among the Catalans. Whilst the FNC was united around the figure of Companys and the *Generalitat*, the CNC was based on the rejection of the republican constitution of 1931 and on the rejection of the statute of 1932 (accepted by the *Generalitat*), which claimed total independence for Catalonia. Evidently, the failure of the French exile had encouraged a certain radicalisation of the view of the CNC since the consensual and statutory policy of the FNC in France had evidently come to nothing. It might also be argued that the CNC radicalised because it seemed that a new post-World War II Europe would make anything possible within the framework of a federal constitution.

The political differences between the FNC and the CNC were essentially the same differences that separated the European left 'in arms' (with its idea of a new egalitarian social Europe) from the (largely) Anglo-American preference for a much more conservative World War II 'settlement'. By this reckoning, of course, the FNC

---

<sup>311</sup> F.Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l'any 39*, p.47.

was far more 'radical' than the CNC. Indeed the CNC's rejection of the 1931 Republican constitution and the 1932 Catalan statute was precisely because of the CNC's underlying conservatism.

At a meeting of all the leaders of the ERC in Nîmes in 1941, Josep Irla, Joan Sauret<sup>312</sup> and Miquel Santaló<sup>313</sup> discussed how the power of the UK-based CNC might be neutralised. The agreed strategy was to send Santaló to Mexico, endowing him with the powers of president Irla; Pi i Sunyer lost legitimacy since the CNC of the UK was formed on the grounds that Irla was not able to exercise his power. The leadership of the Catalan opposition could not agree who should represent the movement, in terms of place or person, tremendously diminishing its legitimacy and effectiveness. The Communists also tried to neutralise the power of the CNC<sup>314</sup>, firstly through the letters of Joan Comorera, the main Communist leader, and afterwards in 1941, through a long document in which the CNC's policy was presented as more or less amounting to fascism.<sup>315</sup>

A final problem haunting Catalan nationalism in the UK was the financial question. The evacuation from France to the UK was organised by the SERE and the JARE, the two Republican financial organisations that had organised the French exile in the first place. Catalan diplomacy with both institutions was crucial due to the rivalry between them and because financial help from both was a fundamental necessity. The SERE gave much needed aid in paying the refugee boats from Europe to North America as did the JARE, through its Catalan president, Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer.<sup>316</sup> Notwithstanding the Republican help, the Catalans never fully resolved their financial problems.<sup>317</sup>

---

<sup>312</sup> Joan Sauret was born in Balaguer in 1899. He was a politician and a journalist. He was part of the board of ERC and went into exile to France.

<sup>313</sup> Miquel Santaló was born in Vilaür in 1887. He was a politician, and a counsellor to the *Generalitat* (1933-1934). In 1938, he became a member of the board of ERC and went into exile in 1939.

<sup>314</sup> FPS, Box D5, 'Objeccions que el comitè central del PSUC fa al document adreçat al govern anglès per l'anomenat CNC'.

<sup>315</sup> F. Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l'any 39*, p.45.

<sup>316</sup> FPS, Box 14, Folder 443, letter from Salvador Mitjà to Carles Pi i Sunyer that illustrates the help obtained by Catalans from the JARE in the UK.

<sup>317</sup> Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.I.*, pp.24-25.

### 3.5 CATALAN EXTERNAL RELATIONS

In the UK, the Catalans maintained the closest relations with the Basque nationalists. With the Nazi occupation of France, some Basques nationalists went back to the Basque country. The Germans persecuted those who stayed in France, and some were sent to concentration camps such as Gurs. Only a very few Basques were tempted to co-operate with the Nazis. Some Basques stayed in France to join the resistance, whilst some went to Latin America and the USA, and some to the UK. Basque government institutions were closed down, along with the newspaper *Euzko-Naia*. Thus, the Francoist censorship attacked the Basque nationalists as much as they did the Catalans. The PNV created secret networks of information for the Allies, participated in various anti-Nazi activities and joined with the French resistance. Though German forces captured José Antonio Aguirre, the main leader of Basque nationalism, he managed to escape. On 27 August 1941, the Aguirre family arrived in Rio de Janeiro.

The centre of Basque nationalism in this period shifted from France to the UK, as was the case with the Catalans. Similarly, by the time of the arrival of refugees in the UK, a small Basque community had already been established there. Like the Catalans, the Basques asked for help from British political leaders to help save those Basques trapped in occupied France. José Ignacio de Lizaso<sup>318</sup>, the chief of the Basque delegation in London, who claimed independence for Euzkadi<sup>319</sup>, asked for help from the British authorities, informing them of the danger to the Basques in France:

‘I have therefore to ask you if you would consider the possibility evacuating these men from France and granting them permission either to reside in England or to enter British territory on their way to one of the South American Republics, which admit Basques without difficulty.’<sup>320</sup>

---

<sup>318</sup> José Ignacio de Lizaso was a leader of the PNV settled in London who formed part of the Basque nationalist delegation in the UK; he worked very close to Manuel de Irujo and had a close relationship with Pi i Sunyer and Bosch i Gimpera.

<sup>319</sup> PRO FO 371/31266A, letter from J.K. Roberts to Williams about military organisation. Lizaso mentioned as main Basque nationalist leader with which the British dealt.

<sup>320</sup> PRO, File FO 371/ 24527, letter Lizaso to Halifax on exile in the UK, London, 19-06-1940.

So the Basques, like the Catalans, sought protection and help from the Allies. The Basques signed an agreement with Charles De Gaulle<sup>321</sup> (leader of the French resistance against the Nazis), the Franco-Basque pact<sup>322</sup>, by which De Gaulle would recognise the Basque government and committed help to free those Basques imprisoned in France. The pact was intended to instigate collaboration between the two countries and facilitate co-operation on information, press and propaganda.<sup>323</sup>

The Basque nationalists created the Consejo Nacional Vasco (Basque National Council or BNC) on 11 July 1940 in London<sup>324</sup>, under the leadership of Manuel de Irujo<sup>325</sup> (minister of the republic and nationalist deputy) who was the principal PNV leader in the UK.<sup>326</sup> Irujo fought for an independent Basque country.<sup>327</sup> He was a member of the PNV and part of the most radical and pro-independent wing of the party. Once in London, he did not hesitate to impose his policy on the party. Pi i Sunyer, also from London, protested a similar policy.<sup>328</sup> The main purpose of the BNC was to maintain the policy pursued by the Basque government, which was to support the cause of democracy, alongside the Allied powers<sup>329</sup> and to achieve the Basque national aspiration of freedom through independence.<sup>330</sup> The BNC was a temporary measure until Aguirre resumed his functions.<sup>331</sup>

Another objective of the BNC was to widen the networks of the Basque secret services and put them at the service of the UK and France, in effect, to offer their help

---

<sup>321</sup> Charles De Gaulle was born in Lille in 1890. He was a military and a French statesman. He organised a movement against Pétain, to free France from the German invasion in 1940 from the UK. He marched into Paris victoriously in 1944.

<sup>322</sup> PRO FO371/26943, Major Younger to Mr. Loxley, London, 27-11-1941. The document includes a summary of the Franco-Basque pact which was drawn up on 17-05-1941.

<sup>323</sup> PRO, FO, Escarra, De Gaulle and Basque delegation, Political organisation, London, 15-03-1941.

<sup>324</sup> PRO FO 371/24527, London, 18-07-1940, Formation of the Basque national council.

<sup>325</sup> Manuel de Irujo was born in Estella in 1891. He was a Basque nationalist politician and leader of the PNV. Irujo had served in Negrín's first Republican wartime cabinet as minister of Justice.

<sup>326</sup> FPS, Box11, Folder 351, London, 29-06-1940, letter from Irujo to Pi i Sunyer explaining some of the contacts made between the Catalans and the Basque nationalists in the UK.

<sup>327</sup> Beltza, *El nacionalismo vasco en el exilio-1937-1960*, (San Sebastián, Thertoa, 1977) p.309; FPS, Box 11, Folder 351, letter from Irujo to C. Pi i Sunyer, London, 29-06-1940.

<sup>328</sup> H. Heine, *La oposición antifranquista*, (Barcelona, Grijalbo, 1983), ch.6.

<sup>329</sup> AN, Artea, EBB117-2, 21-11-1942, *Excelsior*, José Antonio Aguirre, 'Las democracias saldrán victoriosas'.

<sup>330</sup> For an explanation of the policy aims of the BNC, see PRO File FO 371/26943, Lizaso to Eden, London. "The Basque National council aims at attaining the full national liberty of the government established in Gernika in Oct.36 and recognition of it by all nations."

<sup>331</sup> PRO, FILE FO 371-26943, London, Major Younger to Mr. Loxley, summary of Lizaso to Aguirre of the activities of the Basque delegation, 27-11-1941.

to the Allies much as the Catalans had done. The Basque delegation in the UK claimed:

‘The Basque government is anxious to assist Great Britain and France in every way in their fight to free Europe. We have already offered the services of our nationals outside the Peninsula to the British and French governments and are gratified to see that these services are already being used in certain directions. We feel that one of our most useful functions would be to provide a full service of political and military information from the Peninsula. (...) The service has now been fully organised.’<sup>332</sup>

The Basque nationalists, like the Catalan nationalists, believed that the Allies would provide support to their cause:

‘The BNC acclaim the great charter of freedom, peace and democratic solidarity formulated by the president of USA and the British prime minister, as an expression of their countries future policy and offer all the support within the power of the Basque people to bring about the victory which is essential to the full realization of this policy. It is their firm belief that the two great democracies and their allies, when rebuilding the world after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, will respect the national right of the Basque people to choose the form of government under which they will live, and will restore to them their sovereign rights and self-government.’<sup>333</sup>

The BNC was also in charge of assistance for Basque exiles. Like its Catalan counterpart, the BNC faced a number of problems in its organisation. There were leadership clashes in the UK. Irujo was the leader of Basque nationalism in London, but Ortúzar, another Basque nationalist leader settled in the UK, remained closest to the Foreign Office; the two men disagreed over the leadership of the movement in the UK. The leadership clashes between Ortúzar, Irujo and Lizaso are comparable to the leadership clashes between Pi i Sunyer, Batista i Roca and Bosch i Gimpera in the UK.

---

<sup>332</sup> PRO File FO 930-148, Basque delegation offering its services to the British exile to UK, London, 13-09-1939.

<sup>333</sup> PRO File FO 371/26943, Lizaso to Eden, London, 21-08-1941; Artea, EBB 122-6, note presented by J. I. de Lizaso, Delegate of the Basques in London to His Excellency Viscount Halifax, 18-07-1940; PRO, Yorkshire Post, ‘Basque political organisation’, Leeds, 22-04-1941.

Communication problems were similar in both Basque and Catalan cases, and the fight for political leadership between groups is also comparable. Furthermore, as was the case for the Catalans, the leadership of the British-based Basques was not accepted by those in France. The Basque nationlists wanted to maintain cordial relations with the Catalan nationalists and the Republicans, but were sceptical of whether the left forces of opposition would accept the sovereignty of the Basque country as a fundamental condition of their claims.<sup>334</sup>

With the defeat of France, the dispersion of many Basque nationalist leaders, and the loss of Aguirre, the Basque nationalists were demoralised; their administrative machinery and political framework had been completely destroyed.<sup>335</sup> Though starting from a stronger position than the Catalans – with a single, unified party and clear leadership, and having managed, at first, to keep alive their governmental institutions – Francoist repression had gradually taken its toll. Intense political crisis followed among the Basque nationalists, just as it had among the Catalans.<sup>336</sup>

The Basques and Catalans in exile in the UK had similar experiences. The BNC and the CNC were similar in many ways.<sup>337</sup> Both were established by leaders acting instead of the heads of their respective governments: Irujo and Pi i Sunyer<sup>338</sup> replaced Aguirre and Companys.<sup>339</sup> The UK served as the base of operations for both camps, which collaborated to help exiles and prisoners.<sup>340</sup> Both tried to collaborate with the Allies, to maintain democratic institutions, cultural activity and regionalist aspirations,

---

<sup>334</sup> PRO, File FO 371/26943, Major Younger to Mr. Loxley, 27-11-1941.

<sup>335</sup> AN, Artea, EBB 26-2.

<sup>336</sup> The following letter explained the difficult situation of Basques in France and expressed the desire of obtaining help from the British in order to help the Basque refugees let in French territory. PRO, File FO 371/24527, 19-06-1940, London, letter Lizaso to Halifax and in PRO, FILE CAB118/16, letter from Lizaso to Atlee, London, 15-11-1939; PRO FO 371/26943, letter Lizaso to Eden, 29-01-1941.

<sup>337</sup> In order to follow up on the contacts between the CNC and the BNC in the UK, see PRO FILE FO 371/26943, 27/11/1941, London, major younger to Mr. Loxley, Summary of Lizaso to Aguirre of the activities of the Basque delegation. "Soon after the constitution of the Basque delegation the Catalans also set up a national council in London and the Basques maintained close relations with the Catalans on the grounds that both parties were seeking the same recognition from the British government."; FPS, Box D5, Batista i Roca, 1941, 'Declaració conjunta del CNC i del BNC'.

<sup>338</sup> FPS, Box 11, Folder 351, letters between Manuel de Irujo and Carles Pi i Sunyer.

<sup>339</sup> One example of the common declaration of Basques and Catalans in the UK can be found in FPS, Box D5, Declaration of J. A. Aguirre and C. Pi i Sunyer, London, 1942.

<sup>340</sup> It has to be noted, however, that the relations between Pi i Sunyer and Aguirre were quite fluent judging from the correspondence between them compiled in FPS, Box 1, Folder 12. Both were leaders of their respective regionalist movement for a period and shared their projects and ideologies even if their leadership was contested by other Catalan and Basque nationalist leaders.



and both organisations had a provisional nature.<sup>341</sup> The common declaration by Aguirre and Pi i Sunyer stated:

‘The CNC and the BNC, representing the continuity of the governments of their respective countries, reaffirm the friendship between their peoples, and their intention to maintain and strengthen the co-operation already established between the two governments, and with this objective they make the following joint declarations: both countries, interpreting the feelings of their countries, reiterate their faith in democracy; they are confident in the victory of Great Britain and her Allies and are ready to give all the co-operation in their power towards this end.’<sup>342</sup>

Catalans and Basques met once a week in the Basque delegation of the UK to discuss policy.<sup>343</sup> The Basques in the UK were in a better position regarding the British since they had more personal contact with them and had been there longer. Relations with the Foreign Office were maintained by Lizaso and Batista i Roca.<sup>344</sup> The Catalans claimed:

‘It is equally convenient to organise the alliance between the Basque nationalists and the Catalans. The Basque nationalists and Catalans have defined national characteristics, a democratic state, a common ideal of the freedom of their respective countries, and a sincere friendship. The alliance between Basque nationalists and Catalans has a long history.’<sup>345</sup>

Both Basque nationalists and Catalan nationalists were conscious of the usefulness of joint action in this period, sharing claims to self-determination and rejection of the

---

<sup>341</sup> FPS, Box D5, Declaration of J. A. Aguirre and C. Pi i Sunyer, London, 1942; S. de Pablo, L. Mees, J. A. Rodríguez Ranz, *El péndulo patriótico, Historia del Partido Nacionalista Vasco, II, 1936-1975*, (Barcelona, Crítica, 2000), p.117; C. Pi i Sunyer, *Reports 1939-1942*, p.40.

<sup>342</sup> PRO, File 371/26943, Lizaso to Eden, Joint declaration of Basque and Catalan councils by the Basque and Catalan delegates, document signed by Irujo and Lizaso and Sunyer and Batista I Roca, London, 18-01-1941.

<sup>343</sup> AT, Poblet, Box G3, ‘Declaració conjunta del CNC i el BNC lliurada als ambaixadors i ministres de les repúbliques americanes, acreditats a Londres.

<sup>344</sup> FPS, Box 12, Folder 387, letter from Carles Pi i Sunyer to Lizaso, London, 12-02-1940. The letter shows that Lizaso and Pi i Sunyer kept close contacts in the UK.

<sup>345</sup> FPS, Box D5, ‘Normes per a l’actuació catalana’.

statutes of autonomy. The Basques and Catalan delegates in London commonly claimed:

‘The Basque and Catalan national councils as free and faithful interpreters of their respective people deny the right of General Franco to speak for them. The Catalans and Basques are firstly men and democrats and secondly Basque nationalists and Catalan nationalists. Their main concern is freedom. These people are determined to stand by the fundamental principle of universal freedom, diametrically opposed to dictatorial seizure.’<sup>346</sup>

The CNC and the BNC produced a common manifesto, which they presented to the British government, claiming the right to self-determination and emphasising their common fight for democracy with the Allies. The common manifesto was a clear reflection of the common aims of the Catalans and Basque nationalists.<sup>347</sup> Below follows a fragment of this common declaration:

‘The common objective is threefold: obtaining national freedom in agreement with the right to self-determination, the transformation of the present Unitarian State in a community of free people, with equality of rights in order to solve in common the affairs of common interest and the establishment of a democratic regime in each of its countries and in the confederation. (...) The declaration invites the Galicians and the Spanish democrats to get together with the pact and a common adherence to the democratic principles of the Spanish democrats.’<sup>348</sup>

For all that the Catalans and Basque nationalists collaborated on joint statements,<sup>349</sup> the alliance would yield little benefit in political terms. Rather, aware how closely

---

<sup>346</sup> PRO, File FO 371-24527, London, Lizaso and Roca, Note of the Basque and Catalan delegates in London to his Excellency Halifax, secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. 28-09-1940; C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.I*, pp.191-192.

<sup>347</sup> Aberasturi, *De la derrota*, p.314; FPS, Box D5, London, 10-01-1941; Poblet, Box C367, ‘Para información de vascos desorientados’; PRO FILE FO 371/24527, Note of the Basque and Catalan delegates in London to his Excellency Halifax, secretary of state for foreign affairs, London, 28-09-1940; FPS, Box A2, Document signed by Irujo and Lizaso and Sunyer and Batista I Roca.

<sup>348</sup> FPS, Box D5, Proposta de bases per a un pacte Català-Basc sotmesa al CNC.

<sup>349</sup> FPS, Box D5, ‘Declaració conjunta dels Consells Nacionals CATALÀ i BASC’, London, 10-01-1941. ‘Both the Catalan and Basque Council, interpreting the feelings of their people, reiterate their faith in democracy. They fully believe in the victory of the UK and its Allies, and are ready to give co-

Catalan aims matched their own, the Basque nationalists were disposed to provide financial support.

Furthermore, in 1940, the Catalans presented a proposal for creating a council between Galicia, Catalonia and the Basque country. Known as *Galeuzka*, it consisted of three Galician members, three Basques, and three Catalans, and attempted to find a policy to unite the three cultures in a common action against totalitarian rule. The creation of *Galeuzka* constituted a step forward in relations between the three groups. The agreement was intended to be compatible with the national sovereignty of each area. The co-ordination had to be perfect in order to present a solid front against the Republicans. *Galeuzka* prepared a programme of peninsular action with the aim of creating an Iberian confederation. *Galeuzka* would grind to a halt however due to internal divisions amongst the Catalans and in the absence of an organisation to represent Galician claims. *Galeuzka* is discussed further in the following chapters.<sup>350</sup>

In addition to relations with the Basque nationalists, the Catalans in the UK also sought relations with the left wing opposition to Franco. In principal, the Catalans were eager to enter a pact with the left of the anti-Francoist opposition so long as the democrats could accept their aim of self-determination. No such acceptance was forthcoming from the left wing side, precluding any real collaboration.<sup>351</sup> Overall, the Spanish Left in opposition to Franco was deeply divided. In 1940, a Socialist group started to reorganise in Mexico around Indalecio Prieto<sup>352</sup>, who founded the Cultural Centre of Pablo Iglesias. The Socialists themselves did not accept Catalan demands for independence, and this greatly restricted the possibility of an alliance with them.

---

operation as long as it depends on them. (...) Both Consells are anxious to cooperate in the establishment and consolidation of a normal regime in the territories of the present Spanish state. “<sup>350</sup>F. Letamendia, Francisco, *Historia de Euzkadi, El nacionalismo vasco y ETA, 3 vols.*, (París, Ruedo Ibérico, 1975).

<sup>351</sup> FPS, D5, Declaration of Batista I Roca, member of the CNC where he exercises the functions of General Secretary of Foreign Relations, 09-1941.

<sup>352</sup> Indalecio Prieto was born in Oviedo in 1883. He was a politician and an Asturian journalist. He was finance minister until autumn 1931. Thereafter (until 1933) he was minister of Public Works. He also was a minister under Largo Caballero and Negrín. Negrín went into exile from the centre-south zone in March 1939. Prieto went into exile in Mexico where he led the JARE.

The republicans were concentrated around Juan Negrín,<sup>353</sup> whose followers constituted a large group based in the UK, and which supported the SERE. Among the republicans, those based in the UK were usually closer to the Catalans. Continuing to consider itself head of the republic, Negrín's group was eager to enter a pact with the Catalans, but under conditions that Catalans thought unacceptable: Catalan self-determination was not recognised.<sup>354</sup> The republicans wanted to restore the 1931 republican constitution and the autonomy statutes written the same year, whereas the Catalans and Basque nationalists wanted to obtain greater autonomy, if not aspiring to full sovereignty.<sup>355</sup> Bosch i Gimpera summarised the position of the republicans towards the regionalist statutes of autonomy in his letter to Carles Pi i Sunyer in 1941: 'All republicans coincide in the necessity of re-establishing the constitution of 1931. Within this constitution the Statutes of autonomy are recognised and it could become a federalist regime.'<sup>356</sup>

The contacts between Catalans and republicans tended to consist in either maintaining a discreet diplomatic distance, an intellectual rapport or a personal rapport. No concrete action in common, no clear definition of a common policy or project, was to emerge. Pi i Sunyer's letter to Martínez Barrio summarised the contacts with the Left:

'The republicans are numerous but they are dispersed, have no direction and they have to fight in unfavourable and difficult conditions. (...)

Among the republicans residing in the UK, there were some personalities that had a political significance through their intellectual value. Salvador de Madariaga, who, even if he lived in Oxford, usually came to London. (...)With the group of republicans with whom we had

---

<sup>353</sup> Juan Negrín was born in Las Palmas in 1889. He was a doctor and a politician. He was Prime Minister in 1937 and moved the republican government to Barcelona. He went into exile in March 1939 and created the SERE.

<sup>354</sup> For information on the lack of acceptance of the nationalist claims by the left-wing opposition, see PRO, File 371/26943, Major Younger to Mr. Loxley, 27-11-1941. "Lizaso says that the Basques maintain friendly relations with the Catalans and republicans. He does not think that the Basques will get support from any of these groups since the Spaniards are not prepared to accept the disruption of Spanish unity, which is signified by the Basque nationalist claims." The attempts at a rapprochement between the Catalans and the left-wing opposition to Franco are also developed in Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol. I*, pp.11-12.

<sup>355</sup> FPS, Box 3, Folder 100, letter from Pere Bosch I Gimpera to C. Pi i Sunyer, Mexico, 07-09-1941.

<sup>356</sup> FPS, Box 13, Folder 419, letter from C. Pi i Sunyer to Don Diego Martínez Barrio, Mexico D.F., 06-06-1941.

the strongest relations, maybe because we felt a great personal affinity, were those who constituted a delegation of the JARE. (...) It is a very interesting fact that in general the republicans in London were the ones that were most understanding to our ideas, more open to new political perspectives.<sup>357</sup>

Relations between republicans and Catalans at the institutional level were practically non-existent; only a few personal relations were established in the UK. Pi i Sunyer stated:

It is on Spain that the possible coexistence of Spain and Catalonia depends. (...) Quite a large group of Spanish republicans had been constituted in Mexico, with branches in other American countries. (...) They said they represented the first movement of unity of Spanish republicans in Mexico when joining its movement and it was therefore necessary to fix our position in respect to this development of the republican politics.<sup>358</sup>

On the far left of the political spectrum, the Catalan Communists never accepted the primacy of the CNC. The General Secretary of the PSUC, Joan Comorera<sup>359</sup>, wrote letters opposing the CNC.<sup>360</sup> The PSUC opposed the CNC but relations never degenerated into violence.<sup>361</sup> Throughout the 1930's, the CNT had been divided into purists and those prepared to co-operate with other groups: divisions only accentuated by the war. The division was extremely complex but many exiled leaders in France adopted a purist position while a majority of militants in the interior believed that the Civil War was not over and a wide anti-fascist front was necessary. After the Civil War, the POUM vanished and its members joined other groups such as the Moviment Socialista de Catalunya at the end of the 1940's.

---

<sup>357</sup> Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.I*. Salvador de Madariaga was a Spanish politician and diplomat living in Oxford.

<sup>358</sup> Letter of Carles Pi i Sunyer to Diego Martínez Barrio, 02-06-1941 in Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.I*, pp.80-83.

<sup>359</sup> Joan Comorera was born in Cervera in 1895. He collaborated in the creation of the PSUC. He became its general secretary. He was exiled to France, moving then to Moscow and then to Mexico. Comorera died in a Francoist gaol (Burgos) in 1958.

<sup>360</sup> FPS, Box 15, Folder 492, letters between the PSUC and Carles Pi i Sunyer; FPS, Box 6, Folder 192, letters between Carles Pi i Sunyer and Joan Comorera.

<sup>361</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Vuit escrits de l'exili (1939-1941)*, (Barcelona, Fundació Carles Pi i Sunyer d'estudis autonòmics i locals, 1992), p.73; F. Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l'any 39*, p.45.

The relations between exiles in the UK and those in France also need to be taken into consideration. Pi i Sunyer claimed that the UK had taken the lead in the Catalan movement, simply because, after the invasion of France, those on British territory were in a better position to work for Catalan interests.<sup>362</sup> Carles Pi i Sunyer wrote to Josep Andreu Abelló<sup>363</sup>, another Catalan politician, in 1940:

In our policy, in our acts, we never forgot nor were we indifferent towards the Catalans in France. They were our friends and we knew that amongst them there were representatives of our institutions. However, we were also aware that whilst France was occupied by the Nazis, it was our role to fight for Catalan aspirations.<sup>364</sup>

This was not the whole picture and belied underlying competition across the exile about how power should be shared. The CNC in London had nominally replaced the FNC of Paris. This was done out of necessity but created internal problems amongst the Catalan exiles that severely limited the effectiveness of the CNC. Moreover, the personalities of Catalan leaders made co-operation difficult. The primacy of the CNC over the other nuclei of Catalan power was not always accepted. In the following chapter, an account is made of how the Catalans in France organised a strategy to seize the power of the CNC, precipitating a crisis in 1942.

Communications between the Catalans in the UK and those in Spain also needed to be improved. One of very few ways of addressing this was to deploy secret agents, such as Jaume Ribas<sup>365</sup>. Ribas worked for the British secret services and filtered information to the Catalan opposition about the course of events in Spain. Overall, communication between the exiles and those inside Spain remained extremely poor. Pi i Sunyer explained the difficulties arising from the division of the Catalans in exile and those in Spain:

---

<sup>362</sup> Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili de Carles Pi i Sunyer, Vol.I*, p.71.

<sup>363</sup> FPS, Box 2, Folder 31, letters between Pi i Sunyer and Josep Andreu Abelló.

<sup>364</sup> APS, letter from Carles Pi i Sunyer to Josep Andreu Abelló, London 11-10-1940.

<sup>365</sup> Jaume Ribas was a member of the FNC and worked as agent of the British secret services for which he did several secret trips during World War II. He got married to Carolina Pi i Sunyer (daughter of Carles Pi i Sunyer) and after World War II, they went to live to Mexico. Since Ribas was a secret agent, he tried to leave as little information as possible. However, for information on his life, see D.Arasa, *Els catalans de Churchill* and Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de Carles Pi i Sunyer*.

‘Catalonia is divided into two pieces: the Catalonia submitted to the cruel repression and that of the persecution against its own spirit, that in exile, thrown to the adventure of an uncertain future. (...) However, in both of them the Catalan feeling grows stronger and the will of men who want to recover Catalonia grows bigger.’<sup>366</sup>

Finally, relations between the exile in the UK and the Catalan *comunitats* in America need to be considered. In theory, the CNC represented the voice of the Catalan *comunitats* in America. Communication between the UK and American based Catalans is also discussed in the next chapter.

### 3.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has dealt with the history of the Consell Nacional de Catalunya (CNC), from its formation, and throughout its most successful period, from 1940 to 1942, during which it provided the main instrument of Catalan opposition to Franco. The German invasion of France in 1940 shattered the hopes of the Catalan organisation based there, and indicated the extent to which the fortunes of the movement would be affected by the developments of World War II. By default, the UK became the centre for the Catalan exile. The Catalans gave their full support to the Allies, in the belief that they would in turn be helped to depose the Francoist regime once conflict was over.

The formation of the CNC in London had promised to unite and integrate all Catalan groups, including those in America. Its leadership was exercised by three external factors: the precarious and seemingly hopeless situation of the French exile; the uncertainty of the situation in Spain; and the lack of co-operation of the leadership in Mexico, which was to create competition and disunity with the leaders in the UK.

Internally, the CNC also faced ideological and leadership problems. The ERC disputed leadership of the Catalan cause with the CNC. In France, for instance, the ERC leadership did not accept the lead of the CNC in the UK. The Catalans were deeply shocked by the capture and assassination of Companys. He was a symbol of the authority and office of the *Generalitat* or the presidency even if he was no longer

---

<sup>366</sup> Poblet, AT, Box E4, Carles Pi i Sunyer, ‘La significació del moment’.

active in politics. Josep Irla made a claim to succeed him, but this was not formally recognised and lacked legitimacy. Moreover, Carles Pi i Sunyer's leadership in the CNC could last only as long as Irla remained unable to exercise his power. His ideology was utopian and somewhat vague; his notions of federalism and Europeanism lacked a solid foundation.

In contrast, the CNC in London maintained good relations with the Basque nationalists, with whom they identified on the basis of shared history and political aspirations. Together with the Galicians, the Catalonians created *Galeuzka* with the Basque nationalists, but the project never produced concrete political action. The Catalans were similarly eager to make common cause with the left-wing parties, but the Left was divided and did not always accept the condition of self-determination stipulated. The Communists, for instance, never accepted the authority of the CNC. Neither was it acceptable in France, where the members of ERC instead decided to send Santaló to Mexico, having invested him with the powers of President Irla. Carles Pi i Sunyer's legitimacy waned, and with it, the fortunes of the CNC. To make matters worse, lacking the resource base to establish effective networks, the Catalan Diaspora would remain persistently troubled by communication problems.



## CHAPTER 4 - THE CATALAN OPPOSITION TO FRANCO FROM JULY 1940 TO AUGUST 1942: THE ATLANTIC EXILE

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

‘The mother is reading to the daughter the last letter from the father: Oh God, when will we be able to reunite again? When will this separation of thousands of families be over? This separation is the end of all these families that will never be reunited again.’<sup>367</sup>

Despite the size of the population in exile, effective Catalan opposition failed to emerge on the American continent. Communication problems and sheer geographical distance from the European centres proved difficult to overcome. Moreover, leadership clashes among Catalans also divided the American exile. The failure of the American exile – both in the USA and in Latin America – to contribute to effective opposition, between July 1940 and August 1942, is described in this chapter.

After France had fallen into Nazi hands, a great number of Catalans had sought refuge in the UK. Some, however, chose to cross the Atlantic, reaching the USA and several countries in Latin America. The Atlantic exile represented having to start from scratch. The Catalans found themselves without resources, without an infrastructure, and - with poor communications links with their European brethren - in need of a co-ordinating organisation between Europe and America. Conflicts of leadership and problems of organisation would prevent its emerging.

The failure of Germany’s Russian campaign and the entry into the war of the USA on the 8 December 1941 seemed to mark an improvement in the Allied side’s fortunes. The events at Pearl Harbour marked the fact, if not the moment that the conflict had acquired a truly global dimension. German and Japanese expansionism, at first winning substantial territorial assets, brought with it the equally substantial liabilities of defence. The Soviet counter-offensive seemed to show that the German expansion was over; the British mainland was intact, at least territorially. From 1942

---

<sup>367</sup> F. Viadiu, *Entre el torb i la Gestapo*, (Barcelona, Dalmau, 2000), p.82.

to 1943, the course of World War II began to look as though it might turn in favour of the Allies; the Axis powers began to look vulnerable.<sup>368</sup>

## 4.2 CATALAN OPPOSITION IN THE UNITED STATES

With the threat of the German expansion in Europe looming large, a group of Catalans relocated to the USA. The USA government, having entered World War II on the side of the Allies, made an attractive ally. A Catalan centre in New York would better represent Catalan aspirations to the USA administration.<sup>369</sup> The fact that the USA government itself was pursuing a policy of blocking further alliances with the Axis powers, it was believed, would make anti-Francoists welcome in the USA.

The Catalan group in the USA was relatively small in terms of number, but effective.<sup>370</sup> The Catalan Centre of New York was presided over by Josep Maria Fontanals<sup>371</sup>. A national delegation was also created. The Casal Català of New York represented the Catalan colony in the USA<sup>372</sup> and 80,000 Catalans throughout Latin America. Fontanals wanted the USA delegation to work as liaison between the Catalans of Latin America and the CNC in London. The Catalan community in the USA fully upheld the policy of the CNC of London. Among its leaders in New York were Ventura Sureda, Josep Carner Ribalta, and Josep Guibernau. The machinery of representation, the organisation of the exile, its facilitation and institutions were mainly subsidised by the JARE and the SERE.<sup>373</sup> Concerning the Atlantic exile, the JARE played arguably a more important role since it was based in Mexico. Fontanals explained the Catalan USA delegation's policy lines and hopes:

‘Josep Fontanals, president of Casal Català in letters to President Roosevelt has expressed the desire of the Catalan people to go on record

---

<sup>368</sup> P. Kennedy, *The rise and fall of the great powers*, (London, Fontana Press, 1988), p.447; J. Martínez Vendrell, *Una vida per Catalunya, Memòries 1939-1946*, (Barcelona, Pòrtic, 1991), p.151.

<sup>369</sup> FPS, Box 1, Folder 9, Santiago de Chile, 23-08-1941; C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili de Carles Pi i Sunyer, Vol.I*, (Barcelona, Curial, 1979), pp.67-71.

<sup>370</sup> Again, providing an estimate of the Catalan exiles in the USA is very difficult since no historian has given a concrete figure. My estimate would be that around 3,000 to 5,000 Catalans moved to the USA in the forties.

<sup>371</sup> Josep Maria Fontanals was a Catalan who lived in the USA, in New York. He was one of the main leaders of the Catalan centre of New York. FPS, Box 9, Folder 277, letters between Carles Pi i Sunyer and Josep Maria Fontanals.

<sup>372</sup> FPS, Box 5, Folder 158, letters between Carles Pi i Sunyer and the Catalan delegation in the USA.

<sup>373</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili de Carles Pi i Sunyer, Vol.I*, (Barcelona, Curial, 1979), pp.67-71.

as being “opposed to the present Spanish regime” and as repudiating “any affiliation with any policies which are or may be in opposition to American ideals.” (...)Fontanals has expressed the hope that in the post-war settlement the autonomy of Catalonia will be given consideration.<sup>374</sup>

In parallel to the Catalan move to the USA, the Basques also tried to settle there. The Basques seemed to have a more solid basis in the USA, though in the event, history would not favour either cause. The arrival of J.A. Aguirre in America consolidated an already close relationship between Basque nationalists and the North American services. Aguirre flew to the USA, to be followed by other leading personalities of Basque nationalism. The Basque government actively encouraged migration to the USA from 1940 onwards, shifting the political centre of Basque nationalism from Europe to America. Aguirre organised several meetings of the Basque government in New York. He sought self-government and a pact with the Catalans.<sup>375</sup>

Basque nationalists were reasonably optimistic about the development of World War II throughout the period. From 1940, the USA launched an anti-Axis campaign that favoured Basque interests. Aguirre calculated that the end of World War II would bring with it the chance of independence.<sup>376</sup> The pillars of Aguirre’s policy in the USA were twofold: establishment and development of relations with the government of the USA, and collaboration of Basque intelligence with the American Secret Services (the CIA) through the Basque Information Service. Aguirre entered a pact with Americans and British because he believed the Allies would remove Franco from power.<sup>377</sup> Aguirre’s Christmas message of 1941, delivered from the USA, significantly called the Basque nationalists to arms, and not just metaphorically:

---

<sup>374</sup> PRO, File FO 371/31248, Washington chancery to central department, Sumner Welles to R. Campbell, Washington, 11-05-1942.

<sup>375</sup> AT, Poblet, Box 360, ‘Acuerdos adoptados en el Consejo celebrado en Nueva York’, New York Batzarean artutako erabakiyak’, 03-1945.

<sup>376</sup> Aberasturi, *De la derrota*, p.363

<sup>377</sup> Aberasturi, *De la derrota* p.491.

'Let's try to recover the land of our parents and our language, our laws and our freedom. The Basque government remains in place. It is the legitimate government of the Basques because it interprets the feelings of an invincible race. This is why our unity and strength are today invincible. The Basque position was expressed in 1939 when World War II started. (...) We should go on with our task of liberation. (...) I am very proud of being the president of a country that has gone on fighting among the most awful confusion.'<sup>378</sup>

This particular speech was remarkable since it may be considered the moment that Basque nationalism shifted towards a more violent nationalism, whereas Catalan nationalism did not.

Aguirre organised several meetings of the Basque government in New York.<sup>379</sup> Though disposed to enter pacts with the Catalans in the USA, he remained cautious, unsure whether to approach Carles Pi i Sunyer, the leader of the CNC, or Irla, the president of the Generalitat in exile. This was one consequence of a lack of internal unity among Catalans.<sup>380</sup> Undeterred, Aguirre increasingly pursued an alliance with the Catalans and later, with the Galicians, through the *Galeuzka* project. It would form the basis of independent action by the nationalists and include acceptance of the right of self-determination. Aguirre came to see *Galeuzka* as the way to push Catalan-Basque interests, rather than any other forms of alliance or pacts. The question and nature of the relationship between the declaration of *Galeuzka* and other Catalan-Basque political pacts, notwithstanding the comparable circumstances in which they were conceived, was not resolved however; relations between Catalans and Basque nationalists were complicated.<sup>381</sup> It must be acknowledged though, that, overall, the Catalan group in the USA achieved a symbolic significance without ever managing to carry real political weight since the number of Catalans settled there was not very large. The main aim of the Catalan representation in the USA was conceived in terms of its capacity to lobby for the Catalan cause close to the heart of the USA government.

---

<sup>378</sup> Poblet, AT, New York, 22-12-1941, Aguirre's message to the Basques in Christmas 1941.

<sup>379</sup> AN, Artea, EBB122-6, 01-1941, document from Aguirre, Basque delegation, 30 Fifth Avenue, New York.

<sup>380</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.I*, pp.189-190.

<sup>381</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.I*, p.197.

### 4.3 CATALAN OPPOSITION IN LATIN AMERICA

The period 1940-1942 saw a much larger movement of Catalans to Latin America. Latin America (in the main, Mexico and Argentina) was attractive for a number of reasons. Above all, there seemed to be a cultural as well as a linguistic affinity between the Latin countries. Perceived commonalities promised an easier transition. There was no specific distinction between those Catalan exiles from France that chose to go to the UK and those that moved to the Americas. Rather, all seemed to depend on particular circumstances, the infrastructure available and the practical possibilities of moving and finding a way to survive elsewhere.<sup>382</sup> Resettlement in Latin America in the period was made somewhat easier as governments shifted to a policy of anti-Francoism in response to the entry of the USA into World War II on the Allied side. The door was opened to incoming exiles.

In Latin America, the Catalans organised themselves in so-called *comunitats* (communities). Each of them was locally administered and had wide freedom of initiative to act, but each was to be considered part of a national organisation. The creation of the *comunitats* may be characterised as a sort of federation of Catalan entities within each American country in which there were Catalan exiles. The *comunitats* answered to central Catalan bodies, attempted to liaise with each other, and ultimately depended on the CNC of London, closely following Pi i Sunyer and the CNC policy lines. An article in the magazine *Nova Catalunya* published in Cuba in 1944 claimed that the CNC was the first point of reference for the *comunitats* in America: 'The mission of the CNC is to bring everyone together, without distinction and to help the respective ambassadors and consulates that affect the collectives and to give them support in everything that has a national sense.'<sup>383</sup> The *comunitats* were active and appeared united, as the *comunitat* in Mexico claimed: 'Our group was constituted in order to work from exile to overthrow the oppressive Francoist regime. (...) In this task, we are persisting in order to free Catalonia. We need the unity of all the anti-Francoist Catalans.'<sup>384</sup>

---

<sup>382</sup> Author's interview with Antón Cañellas, Barcelona, January 2002.

<sup>383</sup> PS, 'Les comunitats catalanes d'Amèrica', *Nova Catalunya*, Cuba, 1944.

<sup>384</sup> FPS, Box 1, Folder 6, letter from the Catalan community in Mexico to Carles Pi i Sunyer, 1942.

Carles Pi i Sunyer's own account of the creation of the *comunitats* in Latin America and their relationship to the CNC in London is on record:

‘We decided to create the CNC. (...) Once our position was fixed, the *comunitats* presented their loyalty to our project. From then on, we worked together with the *comunitats* because we shared the loyalty to Catalonia. Little by little, the organisation took its own form and identity. Taking into account the advice of the Catalans in the *Comunitats*, on the 14 June 1942, I gave a speech in the Casal Català in London, reasserting the existence of the CNC, and expecting to constitute an organisation that would represent Catalan unity around the world, including the activity of the *Comunitats* and forming a common organisation. The organisation would be unique in the idea and in its purpose, with a decentralised structure, a functional aim, active and efficient.’<sup>385</sup>

The relationship was then one of mutual support. CNC spokesmen in Latin America worked as representatives of the London body and tried to co-ordinate action across the ocean.<sup>386</sup> Some of the main figures of the CNC in Latin America were Josep Tomàs i Piera<sup>387</sup>, Salvador Armendares, and later, Bosch i Gimpera.<sup>388</sup> Carles Pi i Sunyer explained how the CNC counted on the support of the *comunitats*:

‘We created the CNC counting on the support of all the Catalan *comunitats* constituted in the Latin American Republics. The CNC counts therefore on the support of the Catalans in exile but also with the support of the Catalans in Spain that are today suffering tremendous repression.’<sup>389</sup>

---

<sup>385</sup> C.Pi i Sunyer, *Reports 1939-1942*, p.145.

<sup>386</sup> Poblet, Box C16, Consell Nacional Català de Londres; Pi i Sunyer's letter to Diego Martinez Barrio, London, 02-06-1941, in *Vuit escrits de l'exili (1939-1941)*, (Barcelona, Fundació Carles Pi i Sunyer d'estudis autonòmics i locals, 1992).

<sup>387</sup> FPS, Box 20, Folder 652, letters between Josep Tomàs i Piera and Carles Pi i Sunyer.

<sup>388</sup> APS, Box 5, Folder 160, letter from Catalonia Grop.N.R. to Carles Pi i Sunyer, 01-02-1943.

<sup>389</sup> FPS, Box 3, Folder 100, letter from C. Pi i Sunyer to Bosch I Gimpera, London, 10-03-1942.

Mexico was by some margin the biggest Catalan community in Latin America, but there was a significant presence in Chile, Argentina, Cuba, Venezuela and Colombia. Host governments often welcomed the Catalans, following the apparent prescriptions of the USA. Whilst Chile and Argentina<sup>390</sup> also had large communities of Catalans, in general, migration quotas were often fixed.<sup>391</sup> The migration was organised by the JARE and the SERE who gave the money to pay for the ships that crossed from Europe to America full of Catalan refugees. Catalans moved where they were able to go, where their entry was allowed, and where they could find work.<sup>392</sup>

Catalan ideology in Latin America was based squarely on the fight against Francoism. Catalans claimed their right of self-determination and the necessity of unity amongst Catalans for the cause, as the Catalan *comunitat* in Mexico maintained.<sup>393</sup>

‘We know that you’ll make every effort to diminish the sufferings of our people contributing to the national unity of all Catalans, under the guidance of the government of the *Generalitat*, and to maintain the best relations with the Basques and the other Hispanic people since this unity will decide the freedom of Catalonia and the rest of Spain and the re-establishment of the republican and statutory legality.’<sup>394</sup>

Chile responded positively to the demands for refuge made by the Catalans. The Chilean government set quotas for the number of Catalan exiles it would allow to cross its borders. The majority of those moving to Chile were intellectuals and professionals. Their centre was Santiago de Chile, where the Agrupació Patriòtica

---

<sup>390</sup> FPS, Box 6, Fòlder 203, letters between Carles Pi i Sunyer and Josep Escolà i Marsà, president de la Comunitat Catalana de la República Argentina; AT, Poblet, Box C1601, ‘Carta dels amics de Buenos Aires’.

<sup>391</sup> AT, Poblet, Box L1, ‘Activitats de la delegació Catalana a Chile’; AT, Poblet, Box G3; FPS, Box 11, Folder 341, letters between Carles Pi i Sunyer and Josep Maria Imbert (representative of the Catalan delegation in Chile).

<sup>392</sup> For an overview of the exile in Mexico, see M. Alvira, coordinadora, *El exilio español en Méjico 1939-1982*, (Méjico D.F., Fondo de cultura Económica, 1982).

<sup>393</sup> PS, Mexico, *Casal català de Méjico*, 1943; FPS, 1942, Jaume Aiguader’s letter to Pi i Sunyer, Mexico, 11-05-1942; FPS, Folder 6, Agrupació Amics de Catalunya’s letter to Carles Pi i Sunyer, Méjico, 1943; FPS, Box 17, Folder 595, letter from Pi i Sunyer to Sr.D.E. Salazar Chapela.

<sup>394</sup> FPS, Box 1, Folder 6, letter from Agrupació Catalana in Buenos Aires to C. Pi i Sunyer, Buenos Aires, 15-01-1942; FPS Box 14, Folder 461, letter between Carles Pi i Sunyer in London and Hipòlit Nadal i Mallol in Buenos Aires, 13-02-1942 that illustrates the support of the Catalans in Argentina to Pi i Sunyer in London.

Catalana was created, accountable to the CNC of London. Its president was Joaquim Sabaté, with Joan Oliver as its secretary.<sup>395</sup> The mission of the *comunitat* and its accountability to London, was explicitly stated by the Catalans in Chile: ‘The main reason to reorganise the Agrupació Patriòtica Catalana has been to give an efficient and definite unity to the Catalan collective, following the inspirations and orientations from the CNC, established in London.’<sup>396</sup>

Like their Chilean counterparts, the Catalan delegation in Argentina also followed the lead of the CNC in London and was reluctant to accept Josep Irla’s challenge of its legitimacy. Also, in common with Chile, the migration was to be controlled, since it swelled the number of migrants that had already been established there in the years preceding the Civil War. The centre of Catalan organisation in Argentina was Buenos Aires. Its principal leaders were Hipòlit Nadal i Maillol and Pere Mas i Perera.<sup>397</sup> In November 1939, the Argentinean government formally decided to allow the entry of Spanish citizens into the country. In Argentina, there were Catalan centres in Buenos Aires, Mendoza and Rosario, the Lliga of Nostra Senyora de Montserrat and periodical publications such as *Ressorgiment*. In the view of the British embassy in Buenos Aires:<sup>398</sup> ‘The Catalan *comunitat* is a central committee on which all local societies are represented and its object is to promote solidarity among all Catalans.’<sup>399</sup>

Cuba became another place of refuge for Catalans. Its main centre was Havana<sup>400</sup>, where Catalans fully subscribed to the leadership of the CNC in London.<sup>401</sup> Another centre in Santiago de Cuba<sup>402</sup> was more independent and radical.<sup>403</sup> A

---

<sup>395</sup> APS, Box 5, Folder 168, letter from Catalan centre of Chile to Carles Pi i Sunyer, Santiago de Chile, 23-03-1942; C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l’exili de Carles Pi i Sunyer, Vol.I.*, (Barcelona, Curial, 1979), pp.67-71; FPS, Box 1, Folder 9, Carles Pi i Sunyer- Agrupació patriòtica Catalana to Pi i Sunyer, Santiago de Chile, 02-05-1941; FPS, Box 1, Folder 9, letter from C. Pi i Sunyer in London to Agrupació patriòtica a Chile, 15-07-1941.

<sup>396</sup> AT, Poblet, Box G3, ‘Els Catalans a Xile, reorganització de l’agrupació patriòtica’.

<sup>397</sup> FPS, Box 13, Folder 423, letters between Pere Mas i Perera and Carles Pi i Sunyer.

<sup>398</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l’exili de Carles Pi i Sunyer, Vol.I.*, (Barcelona, Curial, 1979), pp.67-71; APS, *Nova Catalunya*, ‘Les comunitats catalanes d’Amèrica’, 03-1944.

<sup>399</sup> PRO, File FO 371/26943, British embassy to Foreign Office, Buenos Aires, 25-04-1941.

<sup>400</sup> FPS, Box 3, Folder 75, letters between Carles Pi i Sunyer and Vicenç Bernades (Catalan representative in Havana); FPS, Box 5, Folder 163, letters between Carles Pi i Sunyer and Centre Català de l’Havana.

<sup>401</sup> FPS, Box D5, ‘A propòsit del CNC’, 09-1942, Santiago de Cuba; FPS, Box 5, Folder 160, letters between Carles Pi i Sunyer and Catalunya Grop.N.R. from Santiago de Cuba.

<sup>402</sup> AT, Poblet, Box G3, 05-08-1941, ‘Els Catalans de Santiago de Cuba’.



representative from the Catalan centre of Havana wrote a letter to Pi i Sunyer claiming the following:

‘The Catalan centre of Havana has given its full support to the CNC of London for two main reasons. First, in order to strengthen solidarity amongst the patriotic elements of America and secondly because it truly believes that the task of the CNC of London will work in favour of the interests of Catalonia.’<sup>404</sup>

Venezuela<sup>405</sup> and Colombia<sup>406</sup> were two other Latin American countries that welcomed Catalans, though in the event, a far lesser number of Catalans settled in those countries than in the case of Mexico.

The Mexico *comunitats* were the biggest, the most active, and the best organised in Latin America.<sup>407</sup> Depending on the number of Catalans settled in each Latin American country, there was a single or several Catalan *comunitats* in that country. In October 1940, after the German occupation of France, the Mexican government led by Lázaro Cárdenas<sup>408</sup> agreed to accept an unlimited number of Spanish refugees. An agreement with the government of Vichy enabled the passage from Europe to Latin America, financed by the Spanish Republicans.<sup>409</sup> The Mexican president claimed: ‘Mexico is ready to welcome all Spanish refugees resident in France. If the French

---

<sup>403</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili de Carles Pi i Sunyer, Vol.I.*, (Barcelona, Curial, 1979), pp.67-71. The author travelled to Havana searching for documentary evidence of the Catalan exile in Cuba in the 1940s. Unfortunately, these and other documents proved not to be accessible since Fidel Castro's closure of the Spanish Institute in Havana, at the beginning of 2003, in protest against the unconditional support given to the Bush administration by the Aznar government in the Iraq crisis.

<sup>404</sup> APS, Box 5, Folder 163, letter from Center Català de l'Havana to Carles Pi i Sunyer, La Havana, 28-07-1941.

<sup>405</sup> PRO, File FO 371/24524, 20-01-1940, Foreign Office report summarising the Catalan exile to Venezuela.

<sup>406</sup> FPS, Box 20, Folder 663, letters between Carles Pi i Sunyer and Antoni Trias i Pujol (main Catalan representative in Bogotá).

<sup>407</sup> FPS, Box 18, Folder 613, letters between Mexico delegation and Carles Pi i Sunyer; AT, Poblet, C24, ‘Declaració Comunitat Catalana de Mèxic’.

<sup>408</sup> Lázaro Cárdenas was born in Mexico in 1895. He was a politician. He was president of the republic of Mexico from 1934 to 1940. During the Spanish Civil War, he upheld the cause of the republic and welcomed republican refugees.

<sup>409</sup> AN, PNV 26-1 Mexican delegation's letter from France, letter from Luis I. Rodríguez to Andrés de Bereziartua, Vichy, October 1940; Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y tecnología, Luis I. Rodríguez, *La protección de los refugiados españoles en Francia*, (Méjico, Colegio de Méjico, Secretaría de relaciones exteriores, 2000), p.13 ; A. Altet Virgil, ‘La historia olvidada’, *El País Semanal*, 12-01-2003; J. Martín Casas, *El exilio español*, (Barcelona, Planeta, 2002), pp.81,225.

government accepts our idea, from that moment all Spanish refugees will be under Mexican protection.’<sup>410</sup>

The Catalan *comunitats* in Mexico supported the policy of the CNC of London.<sup>411</sup> Tomàs i Piera was president of the main Mexican *comunitat*. Amongst other publications, the group published *El Poble Català*. The Catalan group of Mexico had a significant impact in Catalan nationalism in large part due to its having a clearly articulated programme and because it was a large and well organised group. Indeed, Catalan nationalism badly needed more of its representative bodies to act with the effectiveness shown by the Mexico group. Below follows a fragment of the declaration of principles of the Mexico Catalan *comunitat*:

‘The Comunitat of Mexico claimed the right of Catalonia to the free exercise of its national sovereignty, the defence of a new peninsular organisation based on the union of the nations that integrate the present Spanish state. (...) The *comunitat* proposed the creation of a Confederation of nations, the maintenance of a democratic regime as a system of government, the necessity of making the Catalan case known outside Catalonia. This movement needs to be co-ordinated with those inside Spain and needs to establish a pact of government that would reaffirm the common action of the Catalan nationalists, Basque nationalists and Galician nationalists.’<sup>412</sup>

Overall, the main contribution of the Catalans in Latin America was to provide support to the CNC, legitimising and widening the scope of its power, and to develop the international profile of the cause.

#### **4.4 CATALAN RELATIONS WITH OTHER GROUPS IN OPPOSITION IN LATIN AMERICA**

The Catalans in Latin America were advised to nurture and maintain good relations with the left-wing parties. This stopped short of concrete alliances however,

---

<sup>410</sup> PRO, ‘Catalan and Spanish refugees’ in *Manchester Guardian*, UK, 24-04-1941.

<sup>411</sup> FPS, Box 3, Folder 100, letter from C. Pi i Sunyer to Pere Bosch I Gimpera, London, 05-06-1941; C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l’exili de Carles Pi i Sunyer, Vol.I.*, (Barcelona, Curial, 1979), pp.67-71.

<sup>412</sup> AT, Poblet, ‘Declaració Comunitat Catalana de Mèxic’, 11-1945.

such as could be entered into with the Basque nationalists. The Chilean *comunitat* explained Catalan relations with other groups:

‘We want to ask you urgently about the attitude that we should take towards the Spanish Republicans and the Communists. (...) In Chile, as everywhere, the Spanish republicans are divided into two groups: the first group are Negrinists and want to recognise the old government of Negrín of the Republican institutions as they were formed at the moment of the fall of the republic. The second one is formed by the followers of Prieto opposed to the arguments of the first group and together with the CNT, the enemies of the Communists. Both groups try to obtain our alliance and our unity. (...) We have not been allied with any of them but only with the Basque nationalists with whom we have formed the Basque- Catalan committee and we agree on all national questions. We would like to know what the position adopted by the CNC towards the Communists and Republicans will be.’<sup>413</sup>

Relations had to be established and maintained with the left-wing groups in Latin America. The three most pre-eminent left-wing leaders to flee to Latin America were the Socialists Indalecio Prieto, Juan Negrín and the Republican Diego Martínez Barrio. Martínez Barrio arrived in Mexico in 1939 and was an important figure among Spanish Republicans. He was part of Unión Republicana, a small party enjoying good relations with both the JARE and the SERE. Declaring himself de facto president of the republic, he tried to reconstitute the republican government and accepted constitutional legality.<sup>414</sup> Martínez Barrio sought an agreement with the nationalists and tried in vain to obtain British support. He managed to unite the majority of the republican movement on the American continent, as well as the small nuclei of those exiled in Britain. Socialists and Republicans did not manage to agree since they were competing for the leadership of the left-wing opposition to Franco.

Both Prieto and Negrín were from the PSOE and each attracted a following. Negrín hoped to restore the republic of 1931 and organised a meeting of the *Cortes* in

---

<sup>413</sup> FPS, Box 1, Folder 9, letter from Agrupació catalana de Chile to C. Pi i Sunyer in London, 25-09-1941.

<sup>414</sup> PRO File FO 371/39744, Letter Lizaso to Aguirre, Basque relations with the left, London, 10-12-1944.

Mexico, in 1940, which constituted the first serious attempt at a restoration of the republic. Indalecio Prieto, the other Socialist leader, led the JARE, which was in charge of the effort to assist the Spanish refugees. Taking a moderate stance, he favoured the constitutional plebiscite and supported the monarchists. Restoration of the republic was not in line with Prieto's aims, and proved a source of tension with his rival, Negrín.<sup>415</sup> Any merger of the Socialist and Republican groups was out of the question. Prieto, in fact, managed to boycott the first meeting of the *Cortes* in Mexico. Prieto founded the cultural centre of Pablo Iglesias in Mexico. The Socialists did not accept the demands for independence made by the nationalists. Thus, socialism suffered then from the leadership clashes between Prieto and Negrín.

Other leftist groups were also divided. Both the CNT (the anarchist trade union) and the UGT (the Socialist trade union), in particular, were internally torn. It is conceivable that Catalan nationalism could have exploited the union platform, particularly the CNT, which had a strong basis in Catalonia. Since the labour movement in Catalonia had been very strong at the beginning of the XX century, Catalan nationalism after the Civil War could have tried to ally with it as an instrument of popular mobilisation to back up the intellectual and political Catalan elite. Even more so, it could have provided the basis of street and armed action that Catalan nationalism lacked during the 1940s. Even if the UGT and the CNT were not primarily based on Catalan policy, both unions were not contrary to regionalist demands and the union among all groups would have strengthened their possibilities of organising. The two unions were greatly weakened after the Civil War however and could not provide the foundation required.

On the anti-Francoist spectrum, the Spanish left-wing parties in exile in Latin America mostly divided between pro-Communists and anti-Communists. The Republicans, the PSOE branch led by Prieto, the CNT, the Basque nationalists and the Catalans were anti-Communist. On the other hand, the PCE, the PSUC and the PSOE led by Negrín were pro-Communist. Since the Catalans were anti-Communist, the relations between these two groups were practically non-existent. Overall, both Republicans and Socialists (the non-Communist left-wing leaders) were ready to deal

---

<sup>415</sup> Aberasturi, *De la derrota*, p.645.

with Catalans (mainly Martínez Barrio and Prieto) and did provide enormous financial support. However, their internal divisions greatly constrained any possibilities of a deeper pact.

Like Catalans, many Basques found themselves in exile in Latin America. With the occupation of France, the Basques fled to the UK or to America. After first visiting the USA, Aguirre landed in Argentina in 1941.<sup>416</sup> The moment Aguirre landed in Latin America<sup>417</sup>, Irujo's power in the UK lost legitimacy since Aguirre was the president of the Basques and Irujo's position to an extent only made sense as long as the president could not exercise his powers.<sup>418</sup> Aguirre's arrival in Latin America had then a comparable though different effect to that of Santaló in the Catalan case. The legitimacy of both the CNC and the BNC would be called into question.

Aguirre strengthened his political and administrative contacts with the Latin American authorities. His primary aims were to establish Basque communities, to promulgate nationalist ideas and to build up effective information and propaganda systems in the Basque cause. Aguirre succeeded in reorganising the communities in those countries he visited.<sup>419</sup>

In Latin America, as elsewhere, the Catalans sought union with the better resourced, and more unified Basques. Furthermore, Aguirre's arrival on American soil heralded and initiated a substantial development in Catalano-Basque relations.<sup>420</sup> A document found in Poblet gave an account of Catalans and Basque relations in Latin America: 'The Catalan and Basques act together in various American Republics, sometimes by spontaneous decision and sometimes by the intelligent action of the organisations that represent both collectives.'<sup>421</sup>

---

<sup>416</sup> AN, Artea, EBB122-6, 11-07-1941, Buenos Aires, letter from Elias de Etxeberria to Aguirre.

<sup>417</sup> AN, Artea, PNV 24-5, 'Viaje del presidente Aguirre a Sudamérica'.

<sup>418</sup> AN, Artea, EBB117-2, *Euzko Deya*, 01-03-1943, Mexico, 'Manifiesto del presidente Aguirre'; AN, Artea, EBB117-2, 21-11-1941, letter from Aguirre to Patxo Belaustegiogotia, one of the main representatives of the Basques in México.

<sup>419</sup> PRO File FO 371/26943, Mr. Stephenson to Eden about Aguirre, Uruguay, 1941; Beltza, p.318

<sup>420</sup> FPS, Box 1, Folder 9, letter from C. Pi i Sunyer from London to Carles Sabaté in Chile.

<sup>421</sup> FPS, Box D5, Doc.Amer.3, Normative for the Catalan activities.

Also, *Galeuzka* was attempted in Latin America. The aim of the project was to organise a federal country, to achieve sovereignty for Catalonia, the Basque country and Galicia. A fragment of the declaration of *Galeuzka* written in Argentina is presented below:

‘The Basque, Catalan and Galician people want to converge on a common action in favour of the re-establishment of the national sovereignty supported in a federal system that would make it long lasting and stable. (...) A Directorate will try to organise this movement that will be called *Galeuzka*. (...)The Directorate will also proclaim its support to the basic following principles: sovereignty of each peninsular nation, compatible with a federation; democratic and republican form of government; effective external policy. (...) The organisations Partido Nacionalista Vasco, Solidaridad de Trabajadores Vascos, Partido Galleguista, Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya, Estat Català, Partit Socialista Català, Comunitat Catalana and Union de Catalanes Independientes declare that they entered a pact on the following basis: they will oppose any attempt at monarchical restoration, anti-popular or anti-democratic; they declare that Euzkadi, Galicia and Catalonia are three independent nations; they ask for a Republican and democratic regime based on the respect and the freedom of the human being and are inspired in the principles of social justice. (...) In order to accomplish all these premises, they constitute an organisation denominated *Galeuzka*, comprising the Basque, Catalan and Galician representations.’<sup>422</sup>

Many of the projects of *Galeuzka* were written (mainly in the form of manifestos) in the 1940s both in Europe and in America. The projects invariably failed to get off the ground.

---

<sup>422</sup> FPS, Box D5, Buenos Aires, ‘Manifest de *Galeuzka*’, 1941.

#### 4.5 PROBLEMS OF ORGANISATION IN LATIN AMERICA

The organisation of the *comunitats* in Latin America suffered from a number of problems. First of all, communication between Europe and America remained problematic. Travel between the two continents proved very difficult to organise. Pi i Sunyer explained the difficulty for Catalans trying to leave France for America:<sup>423</sup>

I am also worried these days about the situation of the Catalans in France. (...) Many of them want to go to America but as the communications are more difficult here and journeys infrequent, this has produced a state of restlessness. It is a pity because the Spanish exiled in France had now managed to achieve a pretty stable situation and now they have to go through another period of suffering.<sup>424</sup>

Second, any efforts at organisation or co-ordination were subject to the vagaries and uncertainties of World War II and to the threat of Nazi expansionism.<sup>425</sup> The new arrivals to the Americas had to be integrated with, and accommodated by those *comunitats* established in earlier years.<sup>426</sup> The overall effect was for the *comunitats*, step by step, to adopt individual stances, and to take on quite separate personalities. Dependence on the doctrine of the CNC in London was reduced.<sup>427</sup> The turmoil of successive waves of immigration called for constant readjustment of settled populations, now having to accommodate those arriving, as they had before, without infrastructure, resources, and having to begin a new life from scratch. An active political culture was hard to develop and even harder to assimilate. Geographic distance and poor communications made the situation all the worse.<sup>428</sup> Carles Pi i Sunyer explained the difficulty of structuring the *comunitats*: the geographical distance between the *comunitats*, the slow communications, the lack of resources and the small amount of time that some of the members could dedicate to the cause since they had to work to earn their living.<sup>429</sup>

---

<sup>423</sup> FPS, 'La tragèdia dels refugiats a França', Buenos Aires, *Ressorgiment*, 06-1941.

<sup>424</sup> FPS, Box 18, Folder 628, letter from Carles Pi i Sunyer to Joan Solé i Pla, London, 17-01-1940.

<sup>425</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili de Pi i Sunyer*, Vol. 1, p.115.

<sup>426</sup> FPS, Box 3, Folder 100, letter from Pi i Sunyer to Bosch i Gimpera, 23-11-1940.

<sup>427</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili de Carles Pi i Sunyer*, Vol.1 (Barcelona, Curial, 1979), pp.41-42.

<sup>428</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili de Carles Pi i Sunyer*, Vol.1, p.107.

<sup>429</sup> Pi i Sunyer, *Reports 1939-1942*, p.145.

The financial situation of the Catalans remained precarious, dependent in part, on Republican resources, namely the JARE and the SERE.<sup>430</sup> The principal aim of the JARE was to facilitate the passage of those wanting to get to America, but soon communications became more difficult and were even interrupted.<sup>431</sup> Carles Pi i Sunyer gave an explanation of the economic position to the Chilean *comunitat*:

‘Concerning the economic situation of the CNC, the situation is as follows. After the collapse of France, we presented the problem of the Catalan administration to the JARE. A part of these resources was dedicated to the assistance of the refugees and a part to the development of Catalan culture. (...) However, the JARE did not agree with all our demands and this is why we renewed our claims.’<sup>432</sup>

The Catalans tried to extract as much money as possible from the JARE, as Pi i Sunyer claimed: ‘I have exposed clearly the problem of the Catalan finance agreement with the JARE. I am hoping that you will intervene on our side in order to help the Catalans get more resources from the JARE.’<sup>433</sup> The financial difficulty was never resolved.

#### 4.6 SANTALÓ’S ARRIVAL IN MEXICO

Severe problems were posed by the arrival of Miquel Santaló in Mexico. Until then, Carles Pi i Sunyer, leader of the CNC, had acted as the most prominent figure of Catalan nationalism<sup>434</sup>, since Josep Irla<sup>435</sup>, the de facto president of Catalonia, was not able to exercise his power from Vichy, France. However, Josep Tarradellas (leader of the ERC) initiated strategies from France to neutralise the CNC’s power. In February 1941, the leaders of the ERC met in Nîmes: Tarradellas, Irla (already president of the *Generalitat* after the execution of Companys), Joan Sauret and Miquel Santaló were

---

<sup>430</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l’exili, Vol.I*, pp.100- 101.

<sup>431</sup> PRO, File FO 371/39744, Letter Lizaso to Aguirre, London, 10-12-1944.

<sup>432</sup> FPS, Box 1, Folder 9, letter from C. Pi i Sunyer in London to Agrupació patriòtica in Chile, 15-07-1941.

<sup>433</sup> APS, letter from Carles Pi i Sunyer to Josep Andreu Abelló, London, 03-10-1940.

<sup>434</sup> From the appointment of Santaló onwards, the relations between Santaló and Pi i Sunyer were very significant for the developments of Catalan nationalism. A good summary of these relations can be obtained through the analysis of the correspondence between these two leaders. FPS, Box 17, Folder 603.

<sup>435</sup> Josep Irla assumed the position of President of Catalonia as, upon Lluís Companys’ death, Joan Casanovas, next in line to succeed Companys also perished. For more information of Josep Irla’s presidency see Martínez Vendrell, *Una vida per Catalunya*, pp.343-345.



present. Santaló was a member of the board committees of ERC. A discussion took place concerning the primacy of the CNC in London, and a way of curbing its influence. It was agreed that Santaló be sent to Mexico, with a document from Irla authorising him to create a delegation of the presidency of the *Generalitat* on American land. With Santaló's arrival in Central America in 1941, the legitimacy of the CNC in London was critically undermined, since its premise was the fact that Irla could not exercise his powers. Carles Pi i Sunyer's leadership was compromised, and the Catalan *comunitats* in Latin America quickly divided according to whom they pledged their allegiance. Carles Pi i Sunyer summarised the moment: 'On the 27 the October, I received the following cable from Santaló: I have just arrived in Mexico. President Irla has allocated me to the responsibility of his delegation for Catalonia and France for the union of Catalans naming the CNC.'<sup>436</sup>

A leadership struggle ensued. Those Catalans in exile in Latin America were divided after Santaló's arrival, compromising their level of organisation. A constitutionalist minority, led by Santaló, led the moderate sectors of ERC, defending republican legality and the statute of autonomy overtly contrary to the policy advocated by Carles Pi i Sunyer. Pi i Sunyer's CNC upheld radical nationalism. For the CNC, Catalonia was outside the republic and could eventually achieve self-determination. Pi i Sunyer explained the division among Catalans: 'The chasm produced has divided our members in two fronts of opinion, one defending the legalist formula of Santaló and the other giving its support to the CNC of London.'<sup>437</sup>

Miquel Santaló's arrival then, at least as had been in part intended, posed enormous problems to Carles Pi i Sunyer. Internally, he ceded his grip on the leadership of Catalan nationalism, and externally, he lost legitimacy in the eyes of many Catalans. Santaló's delegation in Mexico requested the collaboration of the followers of the CNC, specifically Carles Pi i Sunyer, who was asked to form part of Santaló's Consell.

After considering the proposal, Pi i Sunyer decided to reject the offer to participate in Santaló's Consell, on the grounds that the project was against CNC

---

<sup>436</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.I.*, p.109-111.

<sup>437</sup> Poblet, Box C16, The Consell Nacional de Londres.

policy and against the will of the majority of Catalans. The decision was immediately communicated to the *comunitats*:

‘After a few months of uncertainty, and having got to Mexico, Miquel Santaló with a presidential delegation, I received some news from him where he asked me if I wanted to take part in a Consell. He said who the constituent members would be. However, I thought that this project did not cover all of the Consell Nacional and I refused his offer. I thought the project was not good enough to be accepted by the majority of the Catalans. I also had to announce my decision to the members of the Comunitats since I wanted to avoid confusion.’<sup>438</sup>

Once again, Catalan internal divisions and leadership clashes did not allow for the organisation of cohesive, solid opposition.

#### 4.7 CONCLUSION

The Catalan community in the USA from 1940 to 1942 was small, but effective, hoping to act as a bridge between those in Europe, particularly the UK, and those in Latin America, and working alongside the American government in accordance with the policy of the CNC in London. The USA government had joined the Allies in World War II, and welcomed the Catalans. It was the Basques though, and their representative Aguirre in particular, who managed to get close to the American government, on the back of a larger and better-organised community of Basques in the USA.

Catalans spread throughout many countries in Latin America during 1940 and 1942, organising in *comunitats* that were often accountable to the CNC of London. Communication problems between Europe and Latin America, and leadership divisions among Catalans weakened substantially their structure and activity. In consequence, they would become more and more independent of voice and in action. Resources, particularly finance, were hard to come by, and it proved too onerous to develop new infrastructure from scratch.

---

<sup>438</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Reports 1939-1942*, (Barcelona, Fundació d’estudis autonòmics i locals, edició de Francesc Vilanova, 1993), p.147.

Nonetheless, perhaps the single greatest impediment to establishing effective opposition in Latin America arrived in the form of Santaló, invested with Irla's presidential powers, and protesting a rival claim to the leadership of the movement. The resulting clashes of leadership between Santaló and Pi i Sunyer affected the capacity of Catalan nationalism to organise itself in all spheres. The *comunitats* did not know whether to answer to the CNC in London or to Santaló in Mexico. Disunity cost Catalan nationalism legitimacy, damaging its perceived power to bargain with other groups in opposition, the image it presented to the international community, as well as its power to implement new policies. The problem of leadership created confusion amongst Catalans around the world.

## CHAPTER 5-CATALAN OPPOSITION TO FRANCO FROM AUGUST 1942 TO OCTOBER 1944: THE CRISIS OF CATALAN NATIONALISM IN EUROPE AND AMERICA

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

The two years between August 1942 and August 1944 was a period of confusion, disorder and scant activity for Catalan nationalism as a whole. Though the odds on an Allied victory seemed to be shortening, it was thought to be a positive factor for the anti-Francoist opposition, all the more so for the Catalan opposition, who had given them their full support and were hoping to be assisted once the war was over. It was not obvious how, or even whether the Allies would intervene in the struggle against the Francoist regime.

On 8 November 1942, the Allies had disembarked in the North of Africa. Mussolini left his position on 25 July 1943, and on 8 September 1943, Italy capitulated. At this point, Franco shifted to a policy of rapprochement towards the Allies. Once an Allied victory appeared likely, Franco began to present himself to the international community as the only hope against Communism, emphasising the catholic and monarchical elements of his programme and playing down its more authoritarian ones. The central objective was to remain in power. In this, he was helped by the awful memory of the Civil War, which exerted an enormous influence on international support for Francoism, since the dictatorship at least promised stability. Given the situation, Catalans became less enthusiastic about their chances of overthrowing Franco.<sup>439</sup>

---

<sup>439</sup> The consequences of the fall of Mussolini in 1943 on Spanish politics are very well explained in P. Preston, *Franco*, chapter XIX, 'Watching the tide turn'. See also J. Tusell, Javier, *La dictadura de Franco*, (Madrid, Alianza, 1988); J.L. Delgado editor., *El primer franquismo, España durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial*, (Madrid, s.XXI de España, editores, 1989); R. Espinar Gallego, *El impacto de la Segunda Guerra Mundial en Europa y en España*, (Madrid, Asamblea de Madrid, 1986); PS, Catalunya, *El poble català*, Mexico, 1944.

## 5.2 DISSOLUTION OF CNC OF LONDON, FAILURE OF SANTALÓ'S CONSELL IN MEXICO AND RECONSTITUTION OF CONSELL OF LONDON

From 1940 to 1942, the centres of the Catalan exile, in terms of political importance, had been the UK and the *comunitats* in Latin America. After 1942, Catalan opposition would be principally led by a reconstituted Consell of London and by the Front Nacional in France, Spain and the UK. It is important to distinguish between the Consell Nacional de Catalunya of London (CNC) between 1940 and 1943, Santaló's Consell in Mexico between 1941 and 1944, and the reconstituted Consell of London between 1944 and 1945.

In September 1942, once the members of the CNC in the UK had been informed of Santaló's assumption of power in Mexico, Carles Pi i Sunyer resigned as president of the CNC. A great number of Catalans was unhappy at Santaló's appointment, considering it contrary to the interests of Catalonia. And though Pi i Sunyer would number among Santaló's most prominent critics, he accepted Santolo's legitimacy and therefore stepped down from his post. The CNC ceased to exist by the beginning of 1943.<sup>440</sup> The members of the CNC of London explained the dissolution in 1943:

'In the year 1942, the President of the Catalan Parliament, Josep Irla i Bosch, considering himself virtual president of Catalonia- once the fascists had killed the president Lluís Companys- delegated his presidential functions in Josep Santaló in order for him to form a government in Mexico and it was this way that the division in the Catalan family started. (...) The case is that Pi i Sunyer presented his dismissal of his charge to the Catalan entities of America. The Catalan *comunitats* of America asked Pi i Sunyer to stay in his charge and not resign. (...) But Carles Pi i Sunyer sent a letter to the Catalans in America by which he insisted on his dismissal. So by 1943, the CNC of London was non-existent.<sup>441</sup>

---

<sup>440</sup> F.Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l'any 39*, p.45; Pi i Sunyer, *Reports 1939-1942*, p.146.

<sup>441</sup> Poblet, Box C16, The Consell Nacional de Londres.

Pi i Sunyer's resignation, in September 1942, and the dissolution of the CNC of the UK in 1943 was not the end of the question of Catalan leadership since many *comunitats* of Latin America did not approve of Santaló's delegation, and continued to support Pi i Sunyer.<sup>442</sup>

A Catalan representative in Colombia indicated that some *comunitats* did not even go so far as agreeing with the power of the interim president, Josep Irla. In the words of Joan Solé i Pla:

‘We declare our loyalty to the CNC of London. (...) Irla does not deserve to any compassion, since he was nominated suddenly as interim President of the Catalan Parliament. (...) When we received the order to abandon Barcelona and reunite the Catalan Parliament without time to think about it, Irla stopped acting as President and became a refugee just like any other. He did not realise the difficulties of the moment and that everybody, but even more so himself, needed to show energy, serenity and patriotism all of which he seemed to ignore.’<sup>443</sup>

Furthermore, the *comunitat* of Mexico continued to support Pi i Sunyer, leading to the severing of relations between the *comunitat* Catalana in Mexico and the ERC in France:

---

<sup>442</sup> APS, Box 13, Folder 423, letter from Pere Mas I Perera to Carles Pi i Sunyer, Avellaneda, 19-12-1943 ; FPS, Box 1, Folder 5, letter from Jaume Aiguader I Miró to Carles Pi i Sunyer, London, 09-03-1942.

<sup>443</sup> FPS, Box 18, folder 628, letter from Joan Solé Pla from Colombia to C. Pi i Sunyer in London.

ERC gave its support to the president of the *Generalitat* as a legitimate representative of Catalonia. (...) A few months before the occupation of Paris by the Germans, the constitution of the *comunitat* Catalana was initiated in Mexico following the example of other nuclei residing in Argentina, Chile and Colombia. (...) When the provisional Council of London restarted relations with the legitimate representation of Catalonia, the president, Carles Pi i Sunyer, presented his resignation under the name of the so-called council. (...) The Catalan *comunitat* of Mexico has become the voice of these changes, asking the president of the provisional council if he would stay in place in order to implement his personal policy. (...) The *comunitat* of Mexico directly approached the president that was resigning instead of approaching the president of Catalonia. (...) Therefore, the incompatibility between ERC and the *comunitat* of Mexico was declared by the party.<sup>444</sup>

Catalans were split throughout the Americas, and Europe.

Due to the clash of leadership between Santaló and Pi i Sunyer, the CNC had ceased operation for eighteen months since its dissolution, thus immobilising the Catalan opposition movement. No organisation had managed to substitute adequately for the functions of the CNC of London.<sup>445</sup> Pi i Sunyer himself commented: 'The reality is that the CNC before represented an element of unity and since it suffered the crisis it has not been possible to substitute it by an efficient element.'<sup>446</sup>

Santaló failed to reorganise the Catalan *comunitats* in America. Attempts to reconstitute the Consell by Santaló after 1943 also came to nothing. Santaló tried to reconstitute a similar institution to that of the CNC of London in Mexico between 1941 and 1943, but his Consell in Mexico was always bound to fail as it could not count on the support of the leaders of the CNC of London or the Catalan *comunitats* in Latin America. Even if Santaló had sought to exercise power formally handed to him by

---

<sup>444</sup> A2RE, Sbert 1.1, letter of Senyor Secretari interí del Comitè Organitzador del Secretariat de Relacions Militants d'Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya afectes a *Comunitats Catalanes*, Mexico D.F., 31-01-1943.

<sup>445</sup> F. Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l'any 39*, p.49; C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries del primer exili*, Vol.I., p.151.

<sup>446</sup> FPS, 1943, Carta de Pi i Sunyer a Aiguader, Londres, 20-04-1943.

Irla, the legitimacy of his leadership was not accepted and his support as such was limited to the members of ERC in France. He did not manage to implement his policy.<sup>447</sup> Bosch i Gimpera accounted for Santaló's failure: 'I believe that Santaló is to blame for the Catalan organisational failure in Latin America. Santaló has not known how to solve the problem. (...) On the other hand I have also regretted your silence a lot since each one has interpreted your silence in its own way.'<sup>448</sup> By 1943, it was clear that the delegation of Santaló had failed in the main due to a lack of support from the Catalans in Mexico, still looking to Pi i Sunyer's CNC of London for leadership. Had Santaló succeeded in integrating Pi i Sunyer into his delegation, things might have been different, but Pi i Sunyer had rejected his offer.

The failure of Santaló's Consell (1941-1943) left an institutional vacuum. Bosch i Gimpera explained to Pi i Sunyer that calls for the Consell of London to be reconstituted had gone up in 1943: 'In London, the elements of the Casal Català asked that we should reconstitute the Consell. The same demand came from everywhere in America- Mexico, Argentina, Chile, Colombia, New York.'<sup>449</sup>

Thus, in 1944, Pi i Sunyer attempted to reconstitute the Consell after achieving the support of the Catalan opposition based in Catalonia.<sup>450</sup> Hopes that the new Consell was to become once again the leading representative institution of Catalan nationalism were renewed.<sup>451</sup> That Catalonia as yet had no organisation to represent its interest provided the principal motivation for the reconstitution of the Consell.<sup>452</sup> The new Consell claimed:<sup>453</sup> 'The task of recovering of Catalonia is complicated and tough but it does not exceed our abilities and strengths. (...) Catalans, it is now time to regain Catalonia.'<sup>454</sup>

---

<sup>447</sup> PRO File FO 371-39744, London, 1944, Lizaso.

<sup>448</sup> APS, Box 3, letter 100, letter from Bosch i Gimpera to Carles Pi i Sunyer, Mexico, 27-02-1944.

<sup>449</sup> APS, Box 3, folder 100, letter from Bosch i Gimpera to Carles Pi i Sunyer, Mexico, 30-11-1943.

<sup>450</sup> For information on the reconstitution of the Consell of London, see FPS, Box D5, Declaració CNC, 1943; FPS, Box D5, Declaració del Consell Nacional de Catalunya, Ramon Perera and Fermí Vergés, 20-08-1944 and FPS, Box 19, Folder 645B, letters between Josep Tarradellas and Carles Pi i Sunyer, London, 21-11-1944

<sup>451</sup> FPS, Box D5, Declaration Autumn 1943.

<sup>452</sup> AT, Poblet, Box C6, London, 10-04-1944.

<sup>453</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries del primer exili, Vol.I*, pp.145-156; Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l'any 39*, p.50.

<sup>454</sup> FPS, Box D5, Declaració del Consell Nacional de Catalunya, Ramon Perera and Fermí Vergés, 20-08-1944.



The new Consell declared its restructuring on the 24 August 1944 in London (*Declaració del Consell Nacional de Catalunya*) rejecting Santaló's political project.<sup>455</sup> The new Consell would take into account the old policy but radicalised its message, making an overt defence of the right of self-determination and the concept of a federal structure in Spain.<sup>456</sup> Its final aim was the structuring of a federation of the Països Catalans. The idea of a federation of nations went so far as to propose a project for the creation of an Iberian Community of Nations.<sup>457</sup> Some elements of the 1944 Declaration had already been present in 1940, but the international situation had changed considerably. The new Consell broke with the policy of the *Generalitat*. The reconstituted Consell was also trying to maintain relations with the Catalans in the USA, as Pi i Sunyer claimed:

It is now more important than ever that there is a Catalan representation both in London and the USA. (...) The Catalan *comunitats* of America support the Consell Nacional Català. (...) The Basque government is willing to collaborate with us. (...) All the *comunitats* in America have to act in co-ordination with the Consell of London.<sup>458</sup>

Immediately after the constitution of the new Consell, its members sought the approval of the Catalan *comunitat* of Mexico, asking it to inform the other *comunitats* of the Americas.

Pi i Sunyer was again a prominent figure in the new Consell of 1944 although he would be overtaken by the more radical wing of Catalans in the UK. Pi i Sunyer found himself in some difficulty as to which line to take. His natural sympathies lay in federalism, the idea of national unity, a national culture and republicanism; moreover, he cared for the Catalan Socialists. At the same time though, he had lost substantial support since 1940 and now faced, in common with his colleagues, all the impossibilities and vagaries of acting from France – the communications problems and

---

<sup>455</sup> PRO FO 371/39744, letter from Jaume Miravittles to Carles Pi i Sunyer, CNC, 20-12-1944.

Document on the activities of the new Consell of London; AN, Artea, EBB117-2, 02-1944, letter from Miravittles to Aguirre.

<sup>456</sup> For an explanation of the new Consell's radicalised policy see FPS, Box 20, Folder 666, C. Pi i Sunyer letter to Josep Trueta, London, 19-07-1944.

<sup>457</sup> F. Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l'any 39*, pp.50-52; C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.I*, p.209.

<sup>458</sup> AT, Poblet, Box C6, Pi i Sunyer's document, London, 10-04-1944.

poverty of resources. Circumstances had evidently contrived against a moderate path. Josep Tarradellas, the ERC leader in exile, summarised Pi i Sunyer's ideology in 1944:

‘Carles Pi i Sunyer was seeking for Catalonia: Catalan unity and structuring of an organisation of national character. Secondly, he expected to improve the relations with the Basque nationalits and the Galician nationalists. Thirdly, the Catalans should have a common attitude regarding the republican *Cortes* in Mexico.’<sup>459</sup>

Pi i Sunyer's defence of the right of self-determination and the structure of Spain as a confederation of equal and free states was not in agreement with the position of the ERC in Mexico. Pi i Sunyer wrote to Trueta, the CNC doctor, in 1944: ‘We refused the constitution of a statute, claiming self-determination. We maintain our proposition of the widening of the Consell of America.’<sup>460</sup>

Pi i Sunyer<sup>461</sup> wished to keep the centre of Catalan power in London, but his policy line was contested by Batista i Roca and Trueta<sup>462</sup>, whose designs were more radical, purely nationalist and anti-Communist. The policy of the new Consell rather reflected their ambitions.<sup>463</sup>

Pi i Sunyer's power was further compromised when his principal ally, Pere Bosch i Gimpera, left for America in the summer of 1940. With Pi i Sunyer distracted by the challenge of managing and co-ordinating the activity of the *comunitats* in Latin America, Josep Trueta and Batista i Roca continued to seek more influence. Neither was dependent on political and historical responsibilities to the old guard, but, at the same time, in their situation as ex-counsellors of the *Generalitat*, both could represent a sort of institutional continuity and avoid offending the older Republican politicians. With Pi i Sunyer more and more isolated, Batista i Roca and Trueta assumed increasing importance. Within the new Consell, the balance of forces changed. A member of the UK Foreign Office, Mr. Harvey, explained:

---

<sup>459</sup> FPS, Box 19, Folder 645B, letters between Josep Tarradellas and Carles Pi i Sunyer, London, 21-11-1944.

<sup>460</sup> FPS, Box 20, Folder 666, C. Pi i Sunyer letter to Josep Trueta, London, 19-07-1944.

<sup>461</sup> F. Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l'any 39*, p.50.

<sup>462</sup> PRO, File FO371/49582, 05-05-1945, Mr. Harvey's conversation with Dr. Trueta on the political situation. The letter summarises Trueta's policy.

<sup>463</sup> FPS, Box D5, Declaració CNC, 1943; F. Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l'any 39*, pp.48-53; C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.I.*, p.163.

Dr. Trueta's remedy for Spain was a federal Spain (to escape Communism and fascism) in which Catalonia and the Basque country as federal states would counterbalance the influence of the rest of Spain. Whereas the Basques and Catalans were a progressive and mercantile community, the Spaniards were not. However, he was not confident that this regime could be brought about.<sup>464</sup>

The new Consell faced then a number of problems after its reconstitution: the system of *comunitats* was still not working efficiently, resources remained tight, and political infighting continued at home and abroad. These factors would prove detrimental to its effectiveness, and to its power.<sup>465</sup> The new Consell would be dissolved just a year later in 1945.

### 5.3 CATALAN DEVELOPMENTS IN FRANCE AND SPAIN

Between 1942 and 1944, a small number of groups, including the Estat Català (EC) and the Esquerra Republicana Catalonia (ERC)<sup>466</sup>, began to reorganise themselves in both France and Spain. Three years on from the end of the Civil War, Catalan fortunes slowly started to improve on the home front. However, both EC and ERC would have to wait for the liberation of France before they could become open formalised political organisations rather than shadowy associations.<sup>467</sup>

Estat Català (EC) had been formed again in June 1936 through the unification of Partit Nacionalista Català, the paramilitary group Nosaltres Sols! and sections of Joventuts d'Esquerra Republicana. EC began to stir on 24 January 1941, when Joan Carol Ventosa - a member of a group of militants within the party - arrived secretly in Barcelona. During his visit to Catalunya Nord he interviewed Vicenç Borrell<sup>468</sup>, general secretary of EC, and asked him to make contact with political groups in Catalonia to promote the idea of a liberal and independent Catalonia within a democratic Europe. From France, EC was giving support to the Allied information

---

<sup>464</sup> PRO File FO 371/49582, Mr. Harvey's conversation with Dr. Trueta, London, 05-05-1945.

<sup>465</sup> F. Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l'any 39*, pp.48-49.

<sup>466</sup> D. Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme: el republicanisme liberal i la nova oposició (1939-1960)*, (Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1996), pp.44-48.

<sup>467</sup> A. Viladot i Presas, *Nacionalisme i premsa clandestina*, p.189.

<sup>468</sup> Vicenç Borrell was a leader of Estat Català.

services, both the British Intelligence Service and the French Deuxième Bureau. Although the activity of the party was rather weak between 1942 and 1944, the Joventuts d'Estat Català (JEC) were created. In 1944, the general secretary, Vicenç Borrell, entered Catalonia consolidating the reorganisation of EC and it started developing in both Catalonia and France.<sup>469</sup> Inside Spain, EC was radical, aspiring to a high degree of self-determination for Catalonia as its manifesto claimed: 'It is necessary that our organisation acquires from its formation the title of a national movement. It is necessary to make it plain and clear from the beginning that Catalonia aspires to a wide national freedom.'<sup>470</sup>

The other relevant left wing party to reorganise in 1942 was Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya.<sup>471</sup> The pre-eminent leader of the ERC was Josep Tarradellas, who resided in France. ERC pursued a legalistic line, favouring a return to the republican constitution of 1931.<sup>472</sup> ERC defended autonomy on the basis of the statute of 1932 and wished to recover the constitution of the second republic.<sup>473</sup> ERC policy was similar in France and in Mexico. The party aspired to hegemony among its Catalan peers and tried by all available means to boycott the new Consell of London. Between 1939 and 1951, there were several phases in the reorganisation of ERC. Before 1941, ERC's very existence was tenuous. In 1941, a core leadership was formed, whose immediate task was to regroup those militants that had stayed in the capital of Catalonia, before making contact with the nuclei of the regions around Barcelona. In the prisons of Catalonia, the militants of ERC started to regroup. In mid-1942, a section of ERC decided to join the Front Nacional de Catalunya (FNC), without abandoning the autonomous structure of the party. Formally, the section of ERC that joined the FNC maintained its autonomy. By this stage, the connections with

---

<sup>469</sup> Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, pp.45-47.

<sup>470</sup> AGA, Box 11287, Folder 4, report 063, Red Separatist Catalans, Spanish embassy in Paris, Estat Català's manifest.

<sup>471</sup> ERC aimed to secure the sovereignty of Catalonia, and the upholding of the constitutional rights in the territory. ERC also favoured federation with other Iberian regions. From 1939, it worked, in exile, to maintain the institutions of the *Generalitat*, and the Catalan Parliament, and held the presidency of the *Generalitat*, first in the figure of Josep Irla, who was interim president of the *Generalitat* after the death of Companys, until 1954, and then with Josep Tarradellas, from 1954 onwards. AT, Poblet, ERC14, 20-10-1944, Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya.

<sup>472</sup> The developments of the ERC are very well documented in the Arxiu Tarradellas in Poblet. AT, Poblet, ERC, Paris, 20-10-1944

<sup>473</sup> F.Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l'any 39*, p.48.

occupied France had, for practical purposes, all but disappeared. The members that remained inside Catalonia were opposed to their peers in France. ERC influence would, in the main, be channelled through the FNC platform, which represented a large section of the Catalan youth.

A clear division in Catalan nationalism emerged between those supporting Pi i Sunyer's policy and those supporting ERC policy. The predominance of Pi i Sunyer and the Consell Nacional de Catalunya (CNC) came to an end in 1942, as the nuclei of ERC began to reorganise. Santaló disappeared from the political sphere after his failure to reconstitute the Consell in Mexico. By contrast, Josep Irla would continue as de facto president of the *Generalitat* of Catalonia until 1954. Pi i Sunyer, who was widely respected by Catalans in exile formed part of the Catalan government-in-exile until 1947. Tarradellas was president of a *Generalitat* with a debatable legality from 1954 onwards.<sup>474</sup>

Overall, from 1942-1944, the leading force in Catalan nationalism was the Front Nacional de Catalunya (FNC) in France and Spain. The National Executive Council of the Front Nacional was formed by Joan Cornudella (President), Manuel Cruells (Secretary for Organisation and Propaganda), Jaume Martínez (Military Secretary), and Lluís Serres, Ramon Arrufat, Domenec Ramon and Pere Narbona as spokesmen.<sup>475</sup> Many militants joined the FNC from Estat Català. Nosaltres Sols<sup>476</sup> was integrated into the FNC, though its paramilitary section retained a degree of autonomy. A majority of the militants from ERC, dispersed and disconnected, also joined the FNC. FNC became the focal point for Catalan militancy inside Spain. The influence of the FNC also extended to the anarcho-unionist movement. A significant sector of the Confederació Nacional del Treball (Workers National Confederation or CNT) - the anarcho-syndicalist trade union - collaborated with the FNC from 1942 onwards. The FNC also succeeded in integrating the membership of Acció Catalana

---

<sup>474</sup> J.M. Bricall, *La Generalitat de Catalunya a l'exili*, (Barcelona, Aymà, 1977).

<sup>475</sup> J. Martínez Vendrell, *Una vida per Catalunya, Memòries (1939-1946)*, (Barcelona, Pòrtic, 1991), p.145.

<sup>476</sup> Nosaltres Sols was a Catalan political group created by Daniel Cardona in 1931. It emerged as the radicalisation of the Catalan nationalism of Estat Català. It counted on a paramilitary organisation. In 1936 it merged with the Partit Nacionalista Republicà and the Joventut d'ERC in order to reconstitute Estat Català.

Republicana (Catalan Republican Action, ACR),<sup>477</sup> demonstrating a considerable capacity for integration, drawing allegiance from forces as diverse as anarcho-unionists, moderate Catalan centrists, republican nationalists, and separatists. Though under the control of pro-independence radicals, the FNC became the organisation for all Catalan democrats.

In September 1943, the leaders of the FNC asked Pi i Sunyer to compose a document calling for unity and perseverance among Catalans. The manifesto that Pi i Sunyer produced was entitled *Primeres Paraules* (First Words), and was distributed secretly around Catalonia. It contributed to the consolidation and the widening of the FNC by being a good basis of propaganda for the Catalan cause. A few thousand copies of *Primeres Paraules* were distributed around Catalonia, some achievement since Francoism fully repressed and persecuted anti-Francoist propaganda.

The document *Primeres Paraules* clearly showed the extent to which the FNC and Catalans more generally, supported the Allied cause. Pi i Sunyer claimed in London in September 1943:

The ideology of Catalan nationalism, what the Catalans felt and defended, are the same principles of human dignity that are also debated in the present war, and those that will win eventually. (...) Pi i Sunyer concluded saying: "The Catalans should persevere in their faith and loyalty to Catalonia. (...)The United Nations that fight for their self-assertion (the Charter of the Atlantic) have promised to give all people that are honest and have manifested their will, the freedom that was taken away from us."<sup>478</sup>

Pi i Sunyer took as his point of reference the Atlantic Charter of 1941 and tried to identify the Catalan cause with that of the Allies, thereby hoping to obtain help from them.

---

<sup>477</sup> Acció Catalana Republicana (ACR) was a Catalan political party founded in March 1931 with the merging of Acció Catalana and Acció Republicana de Catalunya. The party was represented in the government of the *Generalitat*. It also formed part of the Front Popular de Catalunya in the elections of the 16 February 1936. During the Civil War, it stayed close to the republican side.

<sup>478</sup> AT, C127, 'Primeres Paraules', Pi i Sunyer, London, September 1943; Díaz i Esculies, *L'oposició Catalana al franquisme*, (Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1996), pp.48-63.

Through the diffusion of the publication of *Primeres Paraules*, the Spanish police came to discover and identify the leadership of the FNC. Persecutions followed. Whilst arrests were made, Jaume Cornudella, Antoni Andreu and others left Perpignan, returning to Barcelona where they immediately started to get the FNC back on its feet.<sup>479</sup> A telegram from Antoni Andreu reported the situation:

‘As a consequence of the diffusion of *Primeres Paraules* the services of German Gestapo<sup>480</sup> in Catalonia strengthened their repression in Catalonia.’<sup>481</sup>

Repression was not new to the FNC. In June 1941, the police had arrested nearly 40 people. Once that crisis had been overcome, the FNC had created another committee, politically more active, and stronger. It established contact, from 1943, with the CNC in London.

Relations between the FNC and the CNC of London were generally good. Catalan contact with the British secret services was often made through FNC member Jaume Ribas, who often visited Barcelona from London, providing a line of communication between the FNC, ERC, and the CNC.<sup>482</sup> His arrest was strongly protested. As a file from the PRO suggests, Consul General Farquahr noticed in the Times of 16 February a letter from Dr. Trueta of Oriel College, Oxford, and requesting help in obtaining the release of intellectuals in Barcelona who have recently been imprisoned for their pro-allied sympathies and referring particularly to Sr. Carles Riba. “There are reports that Secret Police have arrested 250 members. A few are still imprisoned but C. Riba was on conditional release a week ago.”<sup>483</sup> Overall, the FNC became the leading Catalan opposition group during the period, the largest, and, in terms of its membership, the most inclusive.

---

<sup>479</sup> Martínez Vendrell, *Una vida per Catalunya*, pp.160-161, 163; Viladot, *Nacionalisme*, pp.60-62; PRO, File FO 371/39744, Chancery Madrid to Central Department, *Primeres Paraules*, Carles Pi i Sunyer, London, 08-01-1944.

<sup>480</sup> The Gestapo had secret services and agents installed all around Europe.

<sup>481</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili*, Vol.I, pp.178-179.

<sup>482</sup> Díaz i Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, pp.48-63.

<sup>483</sup> PRO, File FO 371/39744, Carles Riba, Barcelona, 25-02-1944.

The first documents to detail the policy of the FNC were elaborated in 1944.<sup>484</sup> The main mission of the FNC was to achieve the political independence of Catalonia and to make the case for Catalonia to the Allies. The members of the FNC believed that, after the Allied triumph, democratic normality would be restored in Spain. The FNC believed a union of both political and military action could overthrow Franco. The military section of the organisation, led by Nosaltres Sols and its leader Jaume Martínez Vendrell, tried to erode the Francoist system through military action.<sup>485</sup> By 1945, the FNC also managed to produce and distribute regularly around 5000 copies of the magazine *Catalunya*.<sup>486</sup>

In its declaration of August 1944, after asserting that FNC hoped to achieve a Catalan democratic unity, stress was given to a social policy that would defend freedom of thought and speech. Concerning the national question, the FNC defended the strategic objective of a co-federal structuring of the Països Catalans and supported the Charter of the Atlantic. The FNC was isolated from the government of the *Generalitat* and thus felt obliged to define its confusing ideology.<sup>487</sup>

Increasingly, the FNC's sphere of influence was not confined to Spain. With the arrival in Barcelona of a few of its members from France, the organisation quickly began working across the two countries.<sup>488</sup> Members of the FNC in the UK were working with the British Secret Services, and also supported the work of the CNC in the UK. The FNC combined an ability to integrate members from several parties and to operate across borders. Fully committed to the service of the Allies and hoping to press the right of self-determination, the FNC programme agreed fully with that of the CNC.

---

<sup>484</sup> FPS, *Ressorgiment*, 'Report sobre el Front Nacional de Catalunya', 1941. "After the arrests of 1943, the Front took some months to reappear. In the month of April 1944, the FNC expected an enormous persecution by the Francoist forces. In the month of April 1944 and directly authorized by the arrested companions, the Front reappeared in the streets of Barcelona with a new manifest fixing once more its position: Catalonia, republic, Freedom, Democracy, Social Justice." FPS, *Ressorgiment*, 'Report sobre el Front Nacional de Catalunya', 1941.

<sup>485</sup> Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, pp.55-56.

<sup>486</sup> Díaz Esculies, *el FNC*, (Barcelona, Magrana, 1983).

<sup>487</sup> Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, pp.60-62.

<sup>488</sup> Díaz i Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, pp.48-63.



## 5.4 LATIN AMERICA DEVELOPMENTS

Concurrently with developments in the European political arena, anti-Francoist opposition in Latin America was also trying to get organised. During the period, republicans, who in the main subscribed to the fundamental principles of the republic of 1931, also began their reorganisation. They accepted constitutional legality and did not accept defence of the right of self-determination by the nationalists, precluding any agreement between them. Both Catalans and Basque nationalists were committed to establishing a democratic and republican system in the Iberian Peninsula, strongly opposing both fascism and the monarchy, but also insisting on recognition of their right of self-determination.

The most remarkable attempt of left-wing parties on the American continent to create a united left platform was the formation of the Junta de Liberación (Liberation Council or JL<sup>489</sup>), in Mexico on 25 November 1943. It was composed of elements from both Spanish Republican and Socialist organisations and Catalans. The pact for republican restoration was signed in Mexico by Izquierda Unida, Unión Republicana, ERC, Acció Catalana Republicana and PSOE. As such, it was an association of political parties and groups, and did not represent Spanish democracy as a whole. The Communists were excluded. Equally, the Basques did not play a part. This was, specifically, another attempt by Republicans and Catalans to join together. The JL was an organisation of government presided over by Diego Martínez Barrio, and Prieto, who was its secretary. In terms of policy, it represented an intermediate point between these two leaders.<sup>490</sup> All parties to the JL followed the principles of the constitution of 1931, though, as the JL itself emphasised, it did not expect to form a government. Among the Catalan parties, ERC and ACR joined the JL since they combined Republican aims with Catalan ones. Bosch i Gimpera explained the pillars of the JL:

‘Afterwards the Junta de Liberación constituted an agreement amongst the parties that had been the ones that had promoted the republic. It is not and does not expect to be a government and it only tries to work for

---

<sup>489</sup> A2RE, Box Sbert, 12-09-1944, Discurso pronunciado por el señor Antonio María Sbert, miembro de la JL. Document that explains the pillars of the JL; A2RE, Box Sbert 1.7.2.

<sup>490</sup> PRO, File FO 371/39744, Pi i Sunyer, London, 08-01-1944; AN, letter from Julio de Jáuregui to José Antonio de Aguirre, Mexico, 23-11-1943; C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.I*, pp.133-138.

the overthrow of Franco in order to free Spain and establish a democratic republican regime in Spain and a commitment with the autonomic principles of the regions.<sup>491</sup>

The JL would not endure however. Differences between the Prieto's Socialists and Martínez Barrio's Republicans proved too much of an obstacle for the success of the JL. Nor did the JL accept Catalan demands for self-determination. A compromise could not be found, as Josep Trueta claimed:<sup>492</sup> 'Our existence as a nation is now being recognised. (...) A compromise with the Spanish Republicans at this point would be a mistake.'<sup>493</sup> Once again, the left-wing parties and the Catalans could not come to agreement on policy. Both groups lacked the capacity to compromise required to achieve an entente.

The JL was the rival organisation of the Unión Nacional Española (UNE) since the JL was fiercely anti-communist and the UNE was created by the communists and pretended to be a wider front than it really was. The Communists, the PCE (Spanish Communist party) a growing force in France from 1941, created a unitary platform, the Unión Nacional Española (UNE), uniting the groups of the left. Though the coalition was directed by the Communists, the involvement of Republicans, Socialists, Catalans and the UGT ensured there would be clashes of leadership.<sup>494</sup> The UNE was remarkable as an attempt to unite Catalans, Communists, Republicans and Socialists who had not coalesced before, but the attempt failed.<sup>495</sup>

## 5.5 CONCLUSION

The period 1942-1944 proved a time of crisis for Catalan nationalism in general. Catalan *comunitats* in Latin America were similarly unconvinced, tending to stand by the policy of the CNC in London, notwithstanding the fact that Pi i Sunyer had resigned. In Mexico, Argentina, Colombia and elsewhere, this imposed limits on the

---

<sup>491</sup> APS, letter from Pere Bosch I Gimpera to Carles Pi i Sunyer, Mexico, 20-11-1943.

<sup>492</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili*, Vol.I, pp.133-138, 204-206.

<sup>493</sup> FPS, Box 20, Folder 666, letter from Josep Trueta to Carles Pi i Sunyer, 23-03-1943.

<sup>494</sup> PRO File FO 371/39744, Letter Lizaso to Aguirre, Basque relations with the left, London, 10-12-1944; PRO File FO 371/39744, London, 24-10-1944. "Unión Nacional Española includes here the Socialists (Hernandez), the Communists (Nadal), Alianza Catalana (Termes) representing all the Catalan parties including Unió Democràtica and Lliga, Republicans and UGT."

<sup>495</sup> PRO File FO 372/39744, Lizaso's letter to Aguirre, London, 28-11-1944).

development of effective Catalan opposition. Overall Catalan opposition remained diffuse, scattered and suffering from the attendant problems of communication. Moreover, Santaló did not manage to reorganise the Catalans in America or implement his left-wing policy. His own Consell failed, with Pi i Sunyer rejecting his overtures. Though an effort was made to radicalise the new Consell of London – with a degree of success – limits on its effectiveness were imposed by continuing difficulties of communication, poverty of resources and clashes between its older and newer factions. Overall, 1942-1944 saw the failure of the reconstitution of the new Consell. The new Consell radicalised but internal leadership clashes did not allow for subsequent development.

Though such left-wing Catalan parties as EC and ERC were starting to reorganise in France, they would not make a substantial impact until 1944. Instead, the prominent political platform of the period was the FNC. The FNC, including members from ECR, Nosaltes Sols and ACR provided the leading unitary platform in this period. The core of FNC activity was in France, but good relations were maintained with the new Consell of London. However, severe persecution by the security forces of the Francoists put paid to its influence.

In Latin America, a significant attempt was made to foster a unitary Catalan-Republican platform, the Junta de Liberación (JL) which included ERC and ACR as Catalan parties. However, the JL would fail due to leadership clashes and because the Republican parties in its midst could not accept Catalan demands for self-determination.

Overall, Catalan organisation suffered many problems. The organisations created were inherently weak and clashes of leadership were recurrent. No dominant leader emerged, and lacking a clear centre of power, co-ordination and compromise invariably gave way to disorder and dispute. Meanwhile, the Francoist persecution continued.

## **CHAPTER 6 - CATALAN OPPOSITION TO FRANCO FROM AUGUST 1944 TO JUNE 1945: THE WAR'S END**

### **6.1 INTRODUCTION**

By August 1944, a very welcome Allied victory seemed to be in prospect, which, it was expected, would bring with it rapid intervention to overthrow Franco and to re-establish democracy. The Allies had not yet decided how to approach the Spanish case. The first international debates about Spain fuelled hopes for Allied intervention even if no concrete action against Franco had been undertaken. Disunity and a critical lack of credibility of the opposition in the period (1944 -1945) stopped the Allies from getting more fully behind the anti-Francoist effort. Whenever Washington, London or Paris approached the anti-Francoists, just one segment of the opposition could be negotiated with, never a cohesive group with clear policy lines; this clearly detracted from the movement's credibility apropos of its providing a comparable level of stability and security to that achieved by the Francoist regime. At this stage, the Allies, though not approving of Franco, did nothing to intervene in the Spanish situation. This chapter charts the course of Catalan nationalism between August 1944 and June 1945. Several groups developed in Catalonia and France, both on the right and the left of the political spectrum, but failed to coalesce, expecting swift Allied intervention.

### **6.2 THE LIBERATION OF FRANCE**

The Normandy landings of June 1944 marked the first auguries of an Allied victory in World War II. However, support for Catalan nationalism from the Western powers was not to materialise. It seemed to make sense that the USA, the UK and France could not accept fascist rule in Spain, and would help opposition forces to overthrow Franco. The threat of Communism, however, particularly the emergence of the USSR as a world power, ostensibly took precedence in the international agenda. Western powers were more concerned with securing and preserving strategic and economic interests in Spain than about the political problems of the Spanish population *per se*. Franco, it seemed, could ensure security and stability. Moreover, the Western

powers were not presented with a realistic alternative in the Spain of the 1940s. The foreign powers' decision not to remove Franco was shattering for Catalans.<sup>496</sup> José Félix Lequerica, the pro-Nazi Spanish ambassador of the time, gloated in Paris that the anti-Francoist opposition felt badly let down: 'Amongst the emigrants of 1939, a feeling of desperation grows since the opposition expected with blind faith an Anglo-American victory and behind it a triumphal victory in Spain supported by the victorious governments.'<sup>497</sup>

Broadly, it was the USSR and France who wanted to overthrow Franco after World War II, whereas the Americans and the British were determined not to intervene in Spain. The Soviets, who had joined the Allied side in World War II, after Hitler's invasion of the USSR, were clearly against Franco, and tried to persuade the UK to adopt an anti-Francoist stance.<sup>498</sup> Nevertheless, Soviet strategic and economic interests in the Iberian Peninsula, a zone close to Italy and France where standing armies could be installed, were always close to the surface. Moreover, Spain retained a substantial influence over the Latin-American republics. Stalin could assert that he would not intervene in Spain even if he was ideologically against Franco, because he believed that Spain was subject to Western influence and, ipso facto, was not a main concern for him.<sup>499</sup>

Between August 1944 and September 1944, France did not dismiss the possibility of collaboration with the anti-Francoists. France, of course, shared a common border and had a direct involvement with and interest in the Spanish situation. Again, it seemed likely a foreign power would offer sympathy and support: France had recently suffered from fascism at the hands of the Germans, and the French Socialists and Communists were very much anti-Francoists. On 25 May 1945, the French Consultative Assembly requested that the Allies break off relations with Franco, asking that his rule be replaced by a democratic government. The French

---

<sup>496</sup> M. Guderzo, *L'incognita spagnola nella seconda guerra mondiale*, (Firenze, Manent, 1995), p.467.

<sup>497</sup> Archivo Presidencia Moncloa, Inventario de la Jefatura del Estado, legajo 4, letter from J.F. Lequerica, ambassador of Spain, about Churchill's speech, Paris, 03-06-1944.

<sup>498</sup> PRO File FO 372/39744, Samuel Hoare's letter, London, 28-11-1944. P. Preston, *Franco*, (London, Harper Collins, 1993); J. Varela Ortega, *Una paradoja histórica, Hitler, Stalin, Roosevelt y algunas consecuencias para España de la Segunda Guerra Mundial*, (Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva Fundación Ortega y Gasset, 2004).

<sup>499</sup> F. Portero, *Franco aislado: la cuestión española (1945-1950)*, (Madrid, Aguilar, 1989).

government was divided over the Spanish question. On the one hand, France was wary of a lack of support from the Americans and the British. Moreover, confrontation with Franco could complicate or damage commercial links between Spain and France. On the other hand, the left-wing groups of the French government were anti-Francoists. France had just been liberated, partly thanks to Spanish republican support for the French resistance, and a number felt the French owed some help to the anti-Francoists. French Foreign policy was directly linked to home practice.<sup>500</sup>

Republican support in the liberation of France was an element that did not figure in the British or American thinking toward the Spanish question, and both countries felt less obliged to help the anti-Francoists. Britain feared Communist expansionism, taking a pragmatic stance towards the Spanish political situation, even if it publicly disapproved of it. An authoritarian Spain was the best bulwark against a Spain on good terms with the Soviets.<sup>501</sup> Winston Churchill pardoned the Francoist regime in 1944, grateful for Spanish neutrality in World War II, and for the services Franco had offered to the UK in the Allied landings in the North of Africa, noting that Spain was to be an important factor for maintaining peace in the Mediterranean after the war. Sir Samuel Hoare, ambassador in Madrid, claimed that he indeed wished to see the Spanish problems resolved, but asserted that the UK would not intervene:

‘Franco and his regime have failed utterly and violent persecution continues, while political and social life has not become humanised. (...) The British government is concerned with reference to this subject. Britain has no wish to meddle in the internal affairs of another country, but would be glad to see Spain solve this problem, allowing the return there of those exiled elements that represent a most important section of the country’s intellectuals and workers.’<sup>502</sup>

Official British policy towards Spain in 1944 was one of public condemnation and non-intervention. The UK kept its distance from Spain. Sir Samuel Hoare, British

---

<sup>500</sup> H. Heine, *La oposición política al franquismo*, (Barcelona, Editorial Crítica Grijalbo, 1983).

<sup>501</sup> APM, dossier 7, Foreign Office Stockholm, 20-10-1945.

<sup>502</sup> PRO File FO 372/39744, Hoare’s letter to Aguirre, London, 28-11-1944.

ambassador to Spain, claimed that he wished to see the Spanish problem solved but that the UK would not intervene in Spain as the following quote reinforces:

'Lord Templewood (Sir Samuel Hoare) stated that Franco and his regime have failed utterly and that violent persecution continues, while political and social life has not become humanised. Lord Templewood had an interview with Lequerica to whom he expressed the concern of the British government with reference to this subject, adding that England had no wish to meddle in the internal affairs of another country. However, Britain would be glad to see Spain solve this problem, allowing the return there of those exiled elements that represent a most important section of the country's intellectuals and workers. No positive result has followed this suggestion. Samuel Hoare was the promoter of the friendship with Franco and most responsible for the policy of the Foreign Office towards Spain. Samuel Hoare has systematically concealed Euzkadi and Catalonia's national problems. He is now suggesting that the nationalist elements be sounded on the subject of a monarchical solution with a general as a bridge.'<sup>503</sup>

A similar attitude prevailed within the UN and among the democratic powers.<sup>504</sup> The forces of opposition remained unable to achieve unity or consistency, and without it, the British decided to accept the Francoist regime. British interests partly depended on the American position. In the event, it was decided to abide by a policy of non-intervention, whilst hoping for change in the future.<sup>505</sup>

The Americans considered Spanish neutrality in World War II to be crucial. They also believed that Franco provided the best means of constraining the advancement of Communism on the European continent. In these respects, the USA

---

<sup>503</sup> PRO File FO 372/39744, Lizaso's letter to Aguirre, London, 28-11-1944. Eden (Foreign Minister between 1940 and 1945) summed up Britain's official policy towards Spain in 1944 in a meeting with Rene Massigli, the French provisional government's representative in London, on 28-08-1944: "Our main desire is that order and peace should be maintained in Spain. Above all, we do not intend to interfere with Spanish internal affairs or to support any particular party, whether that of the monarchists or the republicans." PRO FO 371/39817, C11471/10324/41.

<sup>504</sup> Borrás, *Políticas de los exiliados españoles (1944-1950)*; D.J.Dunthorn, *Britain and the Anti-Franco opposition, 1940-1950*, (Bristol, thesis submitted at the University of the West of England, July 1999), pp.116-141; Preston, *Franco*, , p.559; Aberasturi, *De la derrota* , p.705.

<sup>505</sup> Dunthorn, *Britain* , p.117.

position reflected the British one, ambiguously condemning the Francoist regime but pursuing a policy of non-intervention in Spanish affairs. The USA understood that opposition groups could avert a Francoist monopolisation of power, whilst Franco, for the time being, had his uses.<sup>506</sup> Overall, the only thing to vary concerning the Allies' position towards Spain was the intensity of the anti-Francoists' petitions for help, but the overall consensus remained one of non-intervention.<sup>507</sup>

The Spanish question was debated at a variety of international meetings. Spain was a means of stopping Soviet expansion. Soviet power and influence was tangibly growing, with neighbouring countries entering into bilateral agreements and arrangements. The international agenda was changed radically to face the spread of Communism. In the meantime, Franco had moved quickly and with no small amount of guile, in response to a likely Allied victory.<sup>508</sup> Progressively distancing himself from the Axis powers, he was careful to underline his credentials as a factor in the international struggle against Communism. His restraint during the Allied landings in the North of Africa clearly influenced Allied opinion towards the regime.<sup>509</sup>

The first international conference of the Allies to address the post-World War II political landscape was held at Yalta, on 11 February 1945, prior to the conflict's end. Winston Churchill, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Joseph V. Stalin led the conference, under the auspices of the Atlantic Charter.<sup>510</sup> Europe, it was pronounced, should undergo a process of reconstruction by which free people would dismantle the remains of fascism and would create institutions according to their own choice.<sup>511</sup> The conference called for free elections in the liberated countries.<sup>512</sup> At this stage, both the

---

<sup>506</sup> J.L. Delgado editor., *El primer franquismo, España durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial*, (Madrid, s.XXI de España, editores, 1989); R.Espinar Gallego, Ramón, *El impacto de la Segunda Guerra Mundial en Europa y en España*, (Madrid, Asamblea de Madrid, 1986).

<sup>507</sup> J. Varela Ortega, *Una paradoja histórica, Hitler, Stalin, Roosevelt y algunas consecuencias para España de la Segunda Guerra Mundial*, (Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva Fundación Ortega y Gasset, 2004), p.140.

<sup>508</sup> For a long time, for example, Franco made the Allies think that he would restore the monarchy in Spain. PRO FO371/49589, Z7168/233/41, Bowker to Churchill, 05-1945.

<sup>509</sup> Aberasturi, *De la derrota*, p.706; P. Preston, *Franco*, (London, Harper Collins, 1993), pp.517-519.

<sup>510</sup> The Atlantic Charter is described in Chapter 3.

<sup>511</sup> For information on Yalta's conference see E. Moradiellos, *El reñidero de Europa*, (Barcelona, Grupo Ediciones 62, 2001).

<sup>512</sup> Yalta's conference resolutions were summarised in the following document. MAEE, dossier R3305, report 15, 'Yalta's conference', 11-02-1945. "In Yalta, the future of Spain has been decided without the participation of Europe. (...) The declaration about free Europe was the following: The establishment of order in Europe and the reconstruction of the national economic life will have to be



USA and the UK were confident that Franco would be succeeded by a regime based on democratic principles, giving succour to the anti-Francoist opposition. There was no specific mention of Spain, however, in the Yalta declarations.<sup>513</sup> The joint declaration of the assembled powers at Yalta claimed:

The establishment of order in Europe and the reconstruction of the national economic life will have to be implemented through a process that allows the free people to destroy the remains of Nazism and Fascism and create institutions according to their own choice.<sup>514</sup>

The hope of the anti-Francoists was based on a belief about where the USA and UK sympathies lay. There were no public pronouncements promising help to the anti-Francoists but rather implicit belief in democratic complicity.

A second conference was held in San Francisco from 25 April to 26 June 1945. This time, the participants were China, Mexico, France, the USA, the UK and the USSR: it was the founding conference of the United Nations (UN). With Spain now to be debated at the international level, it presented the perfect opportunity to present the case for a democratic alternative to dictatorship and to enlist the support of the Allies in the fight against Franco. On 19 June, the Mexican delegation proposed the exclusion of any country whose regime had been installed with the help of the armed forces of states that had entered into conflict against the will of the UN. The Mexican resolution, drafted with the help of exiled Spanish republicans, applied to Franco's Spain and was approved unanimously. Francoist Spain was excluded from the UN, but little help was forthcoming at a practical level.<sup>515</sup>

The San Francisco conference was attended by a representation of the Junta Española de Liberación (Spanish Liberation Council or JEL), founded in August 1944, after the liberation of France by sections of the same groups, together with the CNT met in Toulouse. The JEL was an extension, in France, of the Mexican based organisation. Its principal aim was to re-establish republican legality in Spain. The

---

implemented through a process that allows the free people to destroy the remains of Nazism and Fascism and create institutions according to their own choice. The conference claimed for the principles established in the Atlantic Charter."

<sup>513</sup> P. Preston, *Franco*, (London, Harper Collins, 1993), pp. 525-527.

<sup>514</sup> MAEE, dossier R3305, report 15, 'Yalta's conference', 11-02-1945.

<sup>515</sup> Preston, *Franco*, , p.536; Aberasturi, *De la derrota* , p.701.

JEL saw its task as the preparation of the way for the entry of the Allies army into Spain.<sup>516</sup> The JEL in France included all the Republican parties - ERC, the Socialists, the UGT, and the CNT, with each maintaining its autonomy.<sup>517</sup> José Antonio Aguirre, on behalf of the Basque government and Negrín also participated in proceedings at the San Francisco conference. The anti-Francoist opposition presence in the conference served mainly as propaganda. The group presented a memorandum criticising the totalitarian nature of Francoism and pleading for the need for democracy in Spain. Divisions among Republicans were glaring however, and Aguirre's attempts to reconcile them proved to be in vain.

Aguirre wished to send just a single representation to San Francisco, instead of one each from the JEL, Negrín, and the Basques. His preference was for the *Cortes* in Mexico to appoint a president of the republic, who could in turn appoint a president of the government legally representing all opposition groups at San Francisco. He attempted a rapprochement between Negrín and Prieto. Though Socialists, Republicans and nationalists endeavoured to create a common front, Prieto did not agree to a pact with the nationalists. Thus, Spanish in exile remained disunited, and disorganised. The lack of unity among the anti-Francoists Spaniards in San Francisco weakened their demands.

Since they had not been able to send any representation to the San Francisco conference, the Catalans submitted a written appeal for the UN<sup>518</sup> in which demands for self-determination were set down. An excerpt of the appeal to the UN reads as follows:

‘Summing up, Catalonia requests from the UN: to be scheduled as needing immediate action; that her case for self-government should be considered; that her position in the political organisation be decided by herself, through plebiscite; Catalonia requests justice from the UN.’<sup>519</sup>

The impact of the document was less significant than the impact proper representation would have had at the conference. Catalans were neither strong enough to send a

---

<sup>516</sup> P.Preston, *Spain in crisis*, p.132.

<sup>517</sup> Aberasturi, *De la derrota*, pp.700-701.

<sup>518</sup> AT, Poblet, Box C5, ‘Conferència de San Francisco-Apel.lació de Catalunya a les Nacions Unides’.

<sup>519</sup> PRO File FO 371/49582, Trueta, ‘Appeal to the UN on behalf of Catalonia’, London, 05-05-1945.

representative to the conference, nor well enough organised to ally with the JEL, the Basques nor Negrín, in order to make sure their voice was heard. The best chance for Catalans would have been to send a representation together with that of the JEL but once again their lack of organisation and capacity to agree to policy concessions in order to enter this group impeded their personal participation in the conference.

None of the anti-Francoist demands were transformed into real concrete action against Franco in San Francisco. With no clear project on the table before them, the Allies agreed no measures against the regime, such as an economic embargo - which could have tremendously weakened Franco - or direct economic assistance to the opposition.

Paris had been liberated in August 1944 (with the assistance, amongst the coalition, of the Spanish Republicans). Hostilities officially continued until 8 May 1945, with Germany's formal capitulation. Franco shifted again from a policy of non-belligerence to one of neutrality in World War II. On 11 May 1945, the armistice of Reims was signed, signalling the end of World War II in Europe. Foreseeing an Allied victory, a majority of Catalans were convinced that the Franco regime would decay and that, although its demise might be delayed, the regime would indeed disappear in time.<sup>520</sup> The Allies had not specifically promised any help to the anti-Francoist opposition, but, all the same, the opposition expected help since Franco was ideologically close to Hitler and Mussolini who had been overthrown, and was regarded as a threat to the Western democracies.

### **6.3 DEVELOPMENTS IN FRANCE, CATALONIA AND BRITAIN**

France's liberation restored it as the principal seat of Catalan opposition to the Francoist regime. Activity was reorganised. The two major centres in this period were Paris and Perpignan. Communication between France and Spain proved much easier than between both the UK and the Americas and the homeland. The Catalan party spectrum at this point may be divided between right wing parties, left wing parties, and independent and non-Catalan parties. The strength of these parties will be considered

---

<sup>520</sup> An opinion expressed by, amongst others, Joan Ventosa, the Catalan financier and former Lliga politician. PRO File FO 371/49582, Joan Ventosa's documents, London, 30-10-1945.

in the main in terms of their following, their publications, their leaderships, financial resources and networks outside Catalonia.

On the right of the political spectrum, a significant group to organise in Catalonia was *Unió Democràtica de Catalunya* (UDC), a Christian Democrat Catalan party. Coll i Alentorn and Maurici Serrahima, two of its leading figures, opted to focus on cultural recovery, since the scope for Catalan political activity seemed limited. UDC was limited to elite culture<sup>521</sup>, and marked, at an early stage, a tendency towards a more cultural orientation of Catalan nationalism. UDC defended the recurrent attempts to create more unitary platforms and participated in each of them. Like other parties on the right, UDC continued its activity after 1947, through Antón Cañellas<sup>522</sup> and Miquel Coll i Alentorn.<sup>523</sup> As a Christian Democratic party, it found itself well placed to fight the Catalan corner since the Catalan church had retained its independence. So UDC played the Catholicism card, placed the resurrection of the Catalan language at the forefront of its struggle, and counted many of the younger bourgeoisies amongst its rank and file.<sup>524</sup> UDC sought to secure an autonomous region in a Spanish structure. It had a moderate nature that appealed to the Catalan bourgeoisie. UDC became the main right-wing party of this period and looked to the significant leadership of Coll i Alentorn. Cultural Catalan nationalism was its basis and this placed great weight on the effectiveness of its publications. UDC mainly developed in Catalonia.

Another right-wing group was both Christian and Catalan, but focused on activity within the universities. *Joventut Catalana Democràtica* (JCD), founded by Antón Cañellas, Antoni Bassols, Jordi Sarsanedes and others, made contacts with the

---

<sup>521</sup> D. Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, pp.25-27.

<sup>522</sup> Author's interview with Antón Cañellas, Barcelona, December 2001. Antón Cañellas was the Catalan Ombudsman (*Síndic de Greuges*) in Catalonia until 2003. In his early years, he participated in the Catalan opposition to Franco. He was one of the main pillars of *Unió Democràtica de Catalunya* (UDC) and the founder of *Joventut Catalana Democràtica* (JCD).

<sup>523</sup> For information on UDC developments see A. Balcells, *Catalan nationalism: past and present*, (Basingtoke, McMillan, 1996) and M. Serrahima, *Memòries de la guerra i de l'exili, 2 Vols*, (Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1981).

<sup>524</sup> A. Dowling, *The decline of Esquerra Republicana, the fall of the Lliga Regionalista and the emergence of Convergència I Unió, Approaches to the reconstitution of political Catalan nationalism 1939-1975*, thesis, pp.3-4.

Lliga and the UDC.<sup>525</sup> Though a separate affair to begin with, the group would become the youth movement of UDC in 1947, organising such diverse activities as the commemoration of 11 September (National Day of Catalonia), and 23 April, the day of Sant Jordi (Patron of Catalonia). Although the weight of JCD was less significant than that of UDC, it gave intellectual support to the UDC and also sought more autonomy for Catalonia. The most remarkable was its publication *Quaderns de Sant Jordi* and the organisation of cultural Catalan events that would have an influence on educating the Catalan youth on their Catalan identity. JCD mainly developed in Catalonia. Since their main intention was to keep Catalan culture alive, neither UDC nor JCD posed any real threat to Francoism.

Several Catalan groups developed in France in the period, including the Front Nacional de Catalunya (FNC), a left-wing platform. The principal aim of the FNC was to establish the political independence of Catalonia, based on the right of self-determination.<sup>526</sup> The FNC hoped to establish a federal state within an Iberian federation. The leadership of the FNC believed that Franco could be overthrown through a coordination of both political and military action. It boasted an active military section, commanded by a former official of the artillery of the republican army, and member of the patriotic organisation, *Nosaltres Sols!* Jaume Martínez Vendrell. A university section connected constitutionally to the military section was created in 1942, and its activity was intense, producing a substantial amount of anti-Francoist propaganda. Benefiting from a certain amount of prestige, the FNC published around 5,000 copies of the magazine *Per Catalunya*.<sup>527</sup> It was not to last. Intense persecution by the Francoist regime of individual FNC members throughout 1944 led ultimately to the dissolution of the separatist Catalan group. An attempt to unify a number of quite separate and independent organisations, FNC as a whole never amounted to more than the sum of its parts.

The FNC also developed in Catalonia, from November of 1943 to the summer of 1945, in parallel to its development in France. At the beginning of 1944, a new

---

<sup>525</sup> Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, pp.27-28; J. M. Colomer, *Els estudiants de Barcelona sota el franquisme*, (Barcelona, Curial, 1991).

<sup>526</sup> FPS, *Ressorgiment*, 'Report sobre el Front Nacional de Catalunya', 1941; Díaz i Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, pp.48-63.

<sup>527</sup> H. Heine, *La oposició*.

committee was constituted, and formed by Antoni Andreu i Abelló as political secretary, and Jaume Martínez Vendrell as secretary of the organisation.<sup>528</sup> A major part of the structure was still based on elements from Estat Català, Nosaltres Sols and Federació Nacional d'Estudiants de Catalunya. Relations with the outside world were managed through a delegation of Perpignan in the South of France, and also through the CNC in London.<sup>529</sup> However, at the beginning of the 1944, political repression intensified in Catalonia, particularly affecting the militants of the FNC. The group was left-wing and separatist, and united several parties, yet looked to a single leading figure, Jaume Martínez Vendrell. The number of affiliates was large, and included several parties. With both a military section and a university section appearing to pose a greater threat to Francoism, the authorities rushed to undertake severe police repression in order to stop further development of the group.

Other Catalan groups slowly started to reorganise in 1944, including the Estat Català (EC), which recovered its autonomy under Viçenc Borrell. EC advocated a programme of liberal nationalism and democracy,<sup>530</sup> but to an extent, as another party of the left, found itself weakened by being in competition with the FNC. It also had to face divisions between its members in exile and those that had remained inside Spain. The EC was a left-wing Catalan and separatist group which sought the creation of a federal Catalan independent state. The main publications associated with the group were *Circular*, *Diari de Catalunya*, *Catalunya*, *EC*, *Almogàvers* and *Butlletí del Partit d'Estat Català*.<sup>531</sup> The Joventuts d'Estat Català (JEC), which worked together with Estat Català since 1942, circulating secret publications and publishing the *Butlletí de les Joventuts d'Estat Català* and *Torxa*.<sup>532</sup> The JEC was the youth group that supported the EC and in 1943, joined EC, in whole.<sup>533</sup> Rather than cooperating, the EC and the FNC competed for a similar space in the political spectrum. Little by little, the

---

<sup>528</sup> PRO, File FO 371/49582, Mr. Faqhar, Barcelona, 1945; A. Viladot i Presas, *Nacionalisme i premsa Clandestina*, (Barcelona, Curial, 1987) pp.64-65; C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries del primer auxili*, Vol.I, p.176.

<sup>529</sup> J. Martínez Vendrell, *Una vida per Catalunya, Memòries, (1939-1946)*, (Barcelona, Pòrtic, 1991), pp.281-282.

<sup>530</sup> AT, Poblet, Box 169, 03-03-1945.

<sup>531</sup> Viladot, *Nacionalisme*, p.101, 109-117; Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, , pp.47, 84.

<sup>532</sup> Viladot, p.120-126.

<sup>533</sup> Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, pp.121-126.

militants of Estat Català were incorporated within the FNC in 1944. When Vicenç Borrell, general secretary of EC, arrived in Barcelona in 1944, he was inducted to the executive council of the FNC. EC's strength was weakened by divisions between the membership in France and those in Spain and by sharing the same political space with the FNC.

The ERC was reorganised in October 1944 under the leadership of Josep Tarradellas, who became its general secretary, based in Montpellier.<sup>534</sup> It accepted the republic of 1931 and the statutes of autonomy and expected to re-establish Catalan institutions.<sup>535</sup> A document found in Poblet summarises ERC's policy pillars:

The members of ERC declared themselves supporters of the republican constitutional legality of the 9 December 1931, the statute of Catalonia of the 15 September 1932, the Statute of Catalonia and the Basque statute of the 6 October 1936.<sup>536</sup>

Some members of ERC had joined the FNC in 1942 but went back to ERC in 1945 and 1946. Both groups aspired to be at the centre of Catalan nationalism. ERC was the most persecuted political group among the Catalan groups. It began to reorganise in Barcelona, in 1943, working in close contact with the CNC of London. However, the situation changed radically with the liberation of France, and the secret arrival of Pere Puig in Barcelona, delegate of ERC and of the General Secretary of ERC, Josep Tarradellas, who would separate ERC from the FNC in 1942.<sup>537</sup> In exile (mainly in France), ERC managed to stay together, after the Congress of Toulouse, but inside Spain, Pere Puig, its General Secretary, had difficulties in keeping the party together because of repression and ideological divisions among its members. By 1947, ERC was left virtually moribund.<sup>538</sup>

---

<sup>534</sup> E. Udina, *Josep Tarradellas, L'aventura d'una fidelitat*, (Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1992); H. Heine, *La oposició*.

<sup>535</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili de Carles Pi i Sunyer, Vol.I*, pp.167-168; For information on the developments of ERC, see A. Rovira i Virgili, *Epistolari (1939-1949)*, (Barcelona, Abadia de Montserrat, 2002) and for information on all the relevant left-wing parties in opposition to Franco, see H. Heine, *La oposició*.

<sup>536</sup> AT, Poblet, ERC, Paris, 20-10-1944.

<sup>537</sup> For more information on the developments of the policy of ERC, see also Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, pp.38-39; Viladot, *Nacionalisme* pp.19-26.

<sup>538</sup> Viladot, *Nacionalisme*, p.20-38, 40-56; Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, pp.36-44.

The reorganisation of the ERC in France came as another blow to the CNC of London. Tarradellas was directly opposed to the CNC, criticising its radicalism and the fact that it was not abiding by the rules of the republican constitution, and arguing that the CNC's policy was against the policy of the *Generalitat* and the statute.<sup>539</sup> Pi i Sunyer wrote to Batista i Roca in 1944 about Tarradellas: 'Tarradellas is fighting against the CNC. (...) Tarradellas claims that the CNC is just a sentimental group of people with romantic ideas and he is mainly opposed to Pi i Sunyer's ideas.'<sup>540</sup>

The ERC was a Republican left-wing party that aspired to a high degree of autonomy. It looked to two significant leaders, Pere Puig and Josep Tarradellas. ERC was working both out of France and Spain. As proved the case with EC however, some of its members left the party to join the FNC, weakening the ERC. Again, the disunity of Catalans weakened their political efficacy. ERC competed with the CNC of London for Catalan predominance, instead of cooperating on policies.

In January 1945, in Paris, Tarradellas presented a unitary platform, *Solidaritat Catalana*<sup>541</sup>, that was based on the acceptance of the authority of the President of the *Generalitat*. The aim of the movement was to co-ordinate the anti-Francoist fight and re-establish the republican institutions.<sup>542</sup> Tarradellas evidently regarded republican legality as a starting point, but declaring that this was not in itself enough, sought further collaboration with the Basque nationalists. *Solidaritat Catalana* united ERC, *Acció Catalana Republicana* (ACR), UDC, *Estat Català*, the *Front de Llibertat* (old Socialists), the *Fronts of Resistance* and the FNC. The attempt of *Solidaritat* to reunite several political groups was the principal attempt towards a unified platform in France. Importantly, by not including the bloc PSUC-UGT-Unió de Rabassaires, the CNT and the CNC in London, *Solidaritat* became, in some ways, a parallel movement to the CNC. Losing the support of members of FNC to *Solidaritat*, the CNC of London was

---

<sup>539</sup> F. Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l'any 39*, p.51.

<sup>540</sup> AT, Poblet, Box C51, letter from Carles Pi i Sunyer to Batista I Roca, London, 31-12-1944.

<sup>541</sup> For details on the parties that formed *Solidaritat Catalana*, see AT, Poblet, Box C243, 'Manifest de *Solidaritat Catalana*', Paris, 06-01-1945. "The manifesto of *Solidaritat* was signed by ERC, *Acció Catalana*, *Els republicans de Lliga Catalana*, UDC, *Estat Català*, *Front de la Llibertat*, *Front Nacional de Catalunya*." For more information on the developments of *Solidaritat Catalana*, see FPS, Box 20, Folder 666, letters from Josep Trueta to Carles Pi i Sunyer, 01-06-1946; AN, Artea, DP132-1, 1945; AT, Poblet, Box C277, 'Reunió del Consell directiu de *Solidaritat Catalana*'.

<sup>542</sup> M. Guibernau, *Nacionalisme Català*, (Barcelona, Pòrtic, 2002), p.94.



reluctant to accept Tarradellas' leadership.<sup>543</sup> The shift was characteristic and indicative of a lack of cohesion in Catalan nationalism.

The distance between those in France and those in the UK substantially weakened its strength. Solidaritat was one more challenge to the CNC of the UK. The lack of cohesion between Catalans in France and Catalans in the UK was one of the major obstacles to a politically effective Catalan nationalism. The lines of division among Catalans were reflected in their respective relations with the French and British governments. The Catalans never presented a common front vis-à-vis the French and the British, but instead presented their demands each as separate groups.<sup>544</sup>

The developments of Catalan nationalism in the UK in this period centred on the dissolution of the reconstituted Consell of London. Pi i Sunyer arrived in Paris on 22 May 1945. After meeting Tarradellas, Pi i Sunyer determined to dissolve the Consell, perceiving that there was now a clear project for the re-establishment of the *Generalitat*.<sup>545</sup> He considered that the task of the Consell had been accomplished on the basis that the CNC was the provisional substitute of the legitimate institutions.<sup>546</sup> When Pi i Sunyer saw that Tarradellas would re-establish the *Generalitat*, he decided to step aside and dissolve the Consell. The cohesion of Catalan nationalism was no longer in his hands. That is not to say that there was not clear competition between Pi i Sunyer and Tarradellas for the centre stage of Catalan nationalism. Their relations were marked by poor communication, in-fighting, unwillingness to compromise with each other's policies and a degree of one-upmanship.<sup>547</sup> All of this prevented a

---

<sup>543</sup> FPS, Box 20, Folder 666, letters from Josep Trueta to Carles Pi i Sunyer, 01-06-1946; AT, Poblet, Box C243, 'Manifest de Solidaritat Catalana', Paris, 06-01-1945; C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili*, Vol.I, pp.173-188; D. Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, (Barcelona, Publicacions Abadia de Montserrat, 1996) pp.65-67; F. Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l'any 39*, p.52.

<sup>544</sup> H. Heine, *La oposició*.

<sup>545</sup> In a letter to Batista I Roca, Pi i Sunyer explained the reasons for the dissolution of the Consell of London. AT, Poblet, Box 17, letter from Carles Pi i Sunyer to Batista I Roca, London, 31-12-1944; This dissolution is also explained in Artea, EBB 207-3, 'Notas políticas de Cataluña', *Euzko Deya*, 1945. In order to avoid confusion, it has to be pointed that Pi I Sunyer dissolved the CNC of London in 1943 and the reconstituted Consell in 1945.

<sup>546</sup> FPS, Box D5, Consell Nacional Londres, 'Declaració of the Consell Nacional en ser dissolt', 1945.

<sup>547</sup> The relations between Pi i Sunyer and Tarradellas in the 1940's are well documented in FPS, Box19, Folder 645 A, B, C and D.

common action and Pi i Sunyer preferred to step aside once he perceived that the Consell of London had little or no future.<sup>548</sup>

At the end of the war, Acció Catalana Republicana (ACR), the small, liberal nationalist party of the republic had essentially dissolved itself, perceiving that republican institutions should be sacrificed to a provisional government representing all sections of society and capable of commanding legitimacy at the UN. ACR gave its full support to Josep Irla, and maintained close contacts with the monarchists. After World War II, ACR would abandon republican legality, seeking self-determination and confederation. Its leadership expected to form a government of Catalonia based on the statute. However, these arguments were not accepted by its counterparts in Mexico, and ACR fell into a period of great confusion.<sup>549</sup> Overall, ACR was a small party in this period which had little impact due to internal divisions and lack of organisation.

The unions, Socialists and Communists were also reorganised in this period in Catalonia, but did not share Catalan aims. On 14 January 1945, the Socialist movement of Catalonia, another party of the left, was reorganised in Toulouse. All the Socialist tendencies were represented, although Catalan Socialism was not a strong political current and its leaders could not count on significant support. In the end, their impact was limited: though seeking a high degree of autonomy for Catalonia, they never managed to coalesce with the Spanish Socialists.

The pre-war unions followed a different strategy. The anarcho-syndicalist Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) and the Socialist Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT) attempted to reorganise secret networks independent of the official unions. In addition to painting slogans and distributing union material, these groups were mainly involved in recruitment activities. This facilitated police infiltration, and, in Spain as a whole, seventeen national executive committees of the CNT fell between 1940 and 1947. In Catalonia, the pre-war unions were generally weakened despite the existence of dedicated and active militants.<sup>550</sup> The UGT and the CNT were not Catalan organisations. They were Spanish organisations which had

---

<sup>548</sup> AT, Poblet, Box 959 and Box 960. These two boxes include several letters between Pi i Sunyer and Tarradellas that summarise their relations. AT, Box C959, letter from Carles Pi i Sunyer to Josep Tarradellas, Paris, 4-12-1944.

<sup>549</sup> Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, pp.31-39.

<sup>550</sup> E. Kedourie, *Tales of Nationalism*, (London, Hutchinson, 1960), pp.39-45.

some members in Catalonia. Overall, the unions did not share the aims of the Catalan movement and were tremendously weakened by Francoist repression. The Catalans had little contact with the Socialists and therefore little contact with the UGT. They were closer to the CNT, the anarchist union, since anarchism was strong in Catalonia. However, many Catalans had been victims of the Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI) during the civil war and like that of the UGT, the CNT programme was not Catalan in nature.

Many republicans took to the hills rather than surrender. These *huidos* represented a cross section of republican groups and formed the guerrilla opposition. Their struggle was mainly defensive. Their first objective was survival. It was one way to avoid death or imprisonment. Some acts of sabotage took place. The guerrilleros considered themselves as the vanguard of an eventual army of invasion, but in the long term, they were doomed to failure, and by the end of the 1940s, the guerrilleros were reduced to stealing in order to survive.<sup>551</sup>

On the far left of the political spectrum, the Communist Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya (PSUC) in Catalonia, took its instructions from Moscow and found itself severely persecuted by the Francoist security forces. For instance, the Spanish Communists that served in the French resistance invaded the Valle de Aran in October 1944. In fact, the majority of those involved were Communists, although the Moscow-based leadership of the PCE desperately tried to stop the invasion attempt.<sup>552</sup> It was a serious attempt at armed action by the exiled and ended in failure. The Catalanists were not a significant element in the invasion. Armed resistance continued until 1947. As a general pattern, the Communists did not subscribe to the Catalan nationalist aims.<sup>553</sup>

Another Catalan group was the Bloc Escolar Nacionalista (Nationalist Student Bloc or BEN), which was principally focused on the recovery of Catalan culture and language. The BEN was formed secretly in 1946 under the leadership of Joan Grasses. The group included a large number of Catalan students. The BEN published

---

<sup>551</sup> P.Preston, *Spain in crisis*, pp.133-136.

<sup>552</sup> Preston, *Franco*, , p.518. D. Arasa, *Els catalans de Churchill*, (Barcelona, Curial, 1990).

<sup>553</sup> E. Kedourie, *Tales of Nationalism*, pp.39-45.

*Redreçament*, *Redreçament Sèrie Blava*, *Randa* and *La Boatella*,<sup>554</sup> and as such, was an example of an independent Catalan group with a modest impact arising from its publishing activities.

Some independent Catalan groups also developed in the period around the margins of the traditional parties. Two groups were close to the FNC: the *Organització de Resistència Nacional* (Organisation of National Resistance or ORN) and the *Moviment de Resistència de Catalunya* (Movement of Resistance of Catalonia or MRC). Neither agreed with the policy of the main Catalan parties and both believed in the development of the Catalan language as the main instrument for the development of Catalan nationalism.<sup>555</sup>

The ORN emerged in Barcelona in 1945 after the Allied victory in Europe. It was formed by a relatively small number of Catalans, with some economic resources. The group believed strongly in the power and importance of the Catalan language, and was more commonly known as *Grup Bandera*, the title of the magazine it published. *Bandera*, also called *Grup Torras i Bages*, had first appeared in 1942. It achieved a notable expansion in its publications, advocating a revisionist Catalan position. Like some others, the group focused on the recovery of Catalan culture and language as political determinants. As such, *Bandera* prefigures a tendency in Catalan nationalism in the following decades, to sustain itself primarily through culture. The group was another to combine its Catholicism with its Catalan nationalism.<sup>556</sup>

The MRC began to develop in Catalonia from the beginning of 1945 supported by independent Catalans who did not agree with the policy of the big parties. Its policy was based on radical opposition towards Francoism. The MRC was mainly known through its publication *La Nació Catalana*. The central axis of the MRC activity was the preparation of a general strike in Catalonia, which never materialised.<sup>557</sup> Both the ORN and the MRC were independent anti-Francoist groups which were at the margin of the main Catalan parties. The affiliated members were

---

<sup>554</sup> Viladot, *Nacionalisme*, p.140-154.

<sup>555</sup> Díaz i Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme* pp.48-63; Viladot, *Nacionalisme*, pp.134-139, 158.

<sup>556</sup> Ragner, H., *Gaudeamus Igitur*, (Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1999), pp.23, 33, 118-119; Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, pp.27-28.

<sup>557</sup> Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició Catalanista al franquisme*, pp.155-157; Viladot, *Nacionalisme*, p.190.

few and could neither call upon real political structure nor on outstanding leadership. Moreover, they worked only in Catalonia and failed to develop serviceable links with the exiles. Their real weight was minor, and the two groups were mainly known through their publications. The existence of all such independent groups illustrates that Catalan nationalism was a largely heterogeneous movement failing to converge on and unite behind an agreed policy line. Often this was due to clashes of leadership and a basic lack of capacity for agreement or compromise, rather than any basic ideological difference. It was also a consequence of defeat in the Spanish Civil War and of the continuing Francoist repression. Most of the anti-Franco opposition suffered from the same problems of fragmentation.

Catalan groups proved adept at publishing and many managed to build significant underground circulations. Catalans attached great importance to the maintenance and development of Catalan culture and the Catalan-language, and this would help keep the Catalan flag flying. Such was the value of publications like *Catalunya*.<sup>558</sup> Cultural events were organised, such as the *Jocs Florals* (Poetry competition) in the UK, in order to propagate Catalan culture.<sup>559</sup> Catalan intellectuals also had an important task in presenting the Catalan case abroad as was done by some Catalan writers presenting at the PEN international congress of Stockholm in 1946:

‘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 development. We suggest that the PEN should take the initiative to protect Catalan literary production.’<sup>560</sup>

A written condemnation of Francoism was obtained from the PEN but no direct action, only a declaration.

A number of independent publications were not linked to any particular party in Catalonia. As has been indicated, the secret press in these years became an important instrument in the Catalan struggle. Two editions of *Vetlla* were published in 1939 and 1940, primarily to collect money for prisoners. *L’hora de Catalunya*, a pamphlet, was

---

<sup>558</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l’exili, Vol.II*, pp.57,197.

<sup>559</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l’exili, Vol.II*, pp.153-158.

<sup>560</sup> PRO, File FO 371/60420, Writers of Catalonia to the PEN club international congress, Stockholm, 02-06-1946.

published on 364 occasions, before it was later converted into a newspaper, giving accounts of the developments of World War II. Other publications included *Catalunya, Què Fem?* and *Per veure-hi clar*.<sup>561</sup> Thus, a principal mechanism of anti-Francoist opposition was the secret Catalan press, which to a large extent managed to elude Francoist censorship. Though a useful means of propaganda, its impact was limited without concrete action.

#### 6.4 CATALAN EXTERNAL RELATIONS

In parallel to the reorganisation of the Catalans in France, there too the Basques began their own reorganisation. Aguirre arrived in Paris from the USA on 27 March 1944<sup>562</sup> at which time the Basque government also decided to move to Paris.<sup>563</sup> On 31 March 1944, Aguirre, who led the PNV, signed the Pact of Bayonne<sup>564</sup>, which included several projects of unity with the anti-Francoists and meant a firm agreement with the republican Spanish forces.<sup>565</sup> Aguirre's new policy of mixing nationalist aims with republican policy represented a radical shift from his traditional line of not entering into Spanish politics.<sup>566</sup> Previously, Aguirre had shown himself willing to ally only with Catalans, with whom he shared nationalist aims, but not with the Republicans. It was accounted for by the Basque conviction that the Allies would intervene against Franco to restore a republican government. The Socialists and the PNV directly opposed the policy of the PCE however, and attempted to isolate it. Nor could Basque nationalists accept the monarchist option<sup>567</sup>, which appeared to command the favour of the Western powers, believing the monarchists, in turn, would never accept a settlement that included the historic nationalities, let alone the

---

<sup>561</sup> Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, pp.159-185; Viladot, *Nacionalisme*, p.190.

<sup>562</sup> AN, Artea, PNV 121-1, 'El presidente Aguirre en París'.

<sup>563</sup> AN, Artea, DP 154-5, 'La situación de los vascos'.

<sup>564</sup> AN, Artea, *Euzko Deya*, 1949, 'Aniversario de la firma del pacto de Bayona'.

<sup>565</sup> Aberasturi, *De la derrota*, p.647.

<sup>566</sup> For a summary of the Basques policy in 1945, see the following letter between Lizaso and Aguirre. PRO File FO 371/495582, Lizaso to Aguirre, London, 08-03-1945.

<sup>567</sup> In order to understand the reasons why the Basques were sceptical of a pact with monarchists, see PRO File FO 371/39744, Note from Lizaso to Eden, Secretary of State for foreign affairs, London, 13-04-1944. "For the Basques, the monarchists represent the regime which repealed their "fueros", local laws."

nationalist statutes that had emerged during the republic.<sup>568</sup> A French article summarised the monarchist position in relation to Basque nationalism: 'The monarchists, independently from the promises they might make, will not respect the Basque statute and will try to restrict it progressively while the Basque nationalists, on the contrary, would want to widen it little by little to their advantage.'<sup>569</sup>

*Galeuzka* had stalled for two years, until 1944, due to a lack of unity among Catalans and a lack of entente between them and the Basque nationalists.<sup>570</sup> Many projects of *Galeuzka* were set down, however, in 1944.<sup>571</sup> Below is a fragment of onesuch:

The leaders of Catalonia, Euzkadi and Galicia (*Galeuzka*), united by the common affection and interest have convened a firm pact of union according to their respective spirits, with the same purposes and with the aims of national freedom and democracy. (...) They declare that they never considered legitimate the dictatorial and oppressive regime of Franco, that they include the restoration of the Spanish republic. (...) They also claim the equal and simultaneous restoration of Catalan, Basque and Galician democracy in its respective territories with its legitimate organisations.<sup>572</sup>

The *Galeuzka* agreements of 1944 claimed democracy and rejected monarchism.<sup>573</sup> The common objective of *Galeuzka* was to achieve self-determination and create a confederation of free countries. All Spanish democrats were also invited to join.<sup>574</sup> The attainment of national freedom was signalled as a priority, according to the right of self-determination; the present unitary Spanish state was to be transformed into a community of free peoples; and a democratic regime was to prevail in each of the countries and in the confederation. Adherence to the democratic principles of the UN

---

<sup>568</sup> PRO File FO 371/39744, Note from Lizaso to Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, London, 13-04-1944; Aberasturi, *De la derrota*, pp.647-650.

<sup>569</sup> AMAE, Série Europe, 1940-1960, sous-série Espagne, vol.36, page 33, 'L'avenir politique en Espagne', 11-09-1945 ; PRO File FO 371/39744, Note from Lizaso to Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, London, 13-04-1944.

<sup>570</sup> For information on the origins of *Galeuzka*, see X.Estévez, *De la triple Alianza al pacto de San Sebastián*, (Mundaiz, Cuadernos Universitarios, 1991).

<sup>571</sup> FPS, Box D5, J.M.Batista I Roca, London, 1944.

<sup>572</sup> Artea, EBB 105-08, '*Galeuzka*', 17-10-1944.

<sup>573</sup> FPS, Box D5, *Galeuzka's* common declaration, London, 21-11-1944.

<sup>574</sup> PRO File FO 371/39744, *Galeuzka*, London, 28-06-1944.

was promoted in the wider context of the integration of the Hispanic community into a peaceful new international order.<sup>575</sup>

The project of *Galeuzka* faced three main obstacles. First, the Catalans failed to reach an agreement with Aguirre.<sup>576</sup> The signed pact made explicit recognition of the statutes of autonomy, but the defence of the right of self-determination by the PNV made any joint resolution by Aguirre and Pi i Sunyer impossible. Pi i Sunyer was a pro-nationalist but he did not seek self-determination at that time. He believed in achieving wider autonomy. Second, the Catalans were sceptical of entering any pact with the Galicians lacking a representative organisation:

‘The Council of Catalonia, while it agrees in principle, differs in practice from your plan about *Galeuzka*. They consider that Basque nationalists and Catalans are gaining nothing by entering a pact with Galicians which does not have a government nor an autonomous country. Catalans would prefer to establish first a Catalan-Basque pact; and then invite Galicia to join; Catalans are afraid that *Galeuzka* will weaken the international position of Catalonia and Euzkadi and would make it more confusing.’<sup>577</sup>

Third, the Catalans were divided internally. One faction, led by the ERC, was moderate. Another, associated with the Catalan nationalism of the CNC of London, fell under the direction of Pi i Sunyer. *Galeuzka* failed again since no concrete common action among the three nationalities was undertaken but only common projects and common declarations.

The projects of *Galeuzka* 1944 were presented in London<sup>578</sup>, New York<sup>579</sup> and Latin America.<sup>580</sup> The Basque nationalists called for unity between Catalans, Galician

---

<sup>575</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili*, Vol.I, p.196.

<sup>576</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili de Carles Pi i Sunyer*, Vol.I, p.189; AT, Poblet, Box G2, 1945; AT, Poblet, Box G2, 1945; FPS, Box D5, Annex on *Galeuzka*, 1944 .

<sup>577</sup> PRO File FO 371/39744, *Galeuzka*, London, 28-06-1944; FPS, Box D5, J.M.Batista I Roca, London, 1944; FPS, Box D5, *Galeuzka's* common declaration, London, 21-11-1944.

<sup>578</sup> PRO File FO 371/39744, *Galeuzka*, London, 13-04-1944; Artea, EBB 105-08, 17-10-1944; FPS, Box D5, J. M. Batista I Roca, London, 1944; FPS, Box D5, Annex on *Galeuzka*, 1944; AT, Poblet, Box G2, 1945.

<sup>579</sup> FPS, Box 1, Folder 12, letter from Aguirre to Pi i Sunyer, New York, 14-02-1944. “We stress on our unchanging attitude of opposition to Franco, on continuity, on our adherence to the task of republican restoration and co-operation with the republican government; the conditions arising from the same; our pre-eminent ideals- the right of self-determination. The statement of principle on the international



nationalists, Republicans and Basque nationalists in 1945, in order to finally overthrow Franco.<sup>581</sup> Aguirre prepared a draft for *Galeuzka* in New York:

‘We stress on our unchanging attitude of opposition to Franco, on our support to the task of republican restoration and co-operation with the republican government; the conditions arising from the same; our pre-eminent ideals: international community acceptance of the right to self-determination and acceptance of political freedom. *Galeuzka* encourages brotherly ties with Portugal; *Galeuzka* will maintain good relations with the USSR; *Galeuzka* links with Anglo-Saxon nations and Ibero-America; *Galeuzka* proclaims the necessity of mutual understanding between nations.’<sup>582</sup>

On 15 November 1944, the Consello de Galiza (Galician Council) was constituted in Buenos Aires. Though it did not enjoy a wide political basis, it was useful in strengthening the *Galeuzka* movement, though having only a local impact.<sup>583</sup>

In Latin America, the pact of *Galeuzka* was signed in Mexico on the 27 November 1944, having the same foundations and aims as that signed in Europe.<sup>584</sup> The signatories were the Catalan *comunitats*, the PNV, the Partido Gallego, the ERC, EC, ACR, Partit Socialista Català and Unió de Catalans independentistes.<sup>585</sup> Both Basque nationalists and Galician nationalists worked hard for *Galeuzka* in Latin

---

order was the establishment of an international body; international community acceptance of the right to self-determination and acceptance of political freedom. *Galeuzka* encourages brotherly ties with Portugal; exponent of the postulates of civilisation and western democracy; *Galeuzka* will maintain good relations with the USSR; *Galeuzka* links with Anglo-Saxon nations and Ibero-America; *Galeuzka* proclaims the necessity of mutual understanding between nations.’ (PRO, File FO 371/39744, Aguirre’s draft pact of *Galeuzka*, Aguirre (president of Euzkadi’s government), Pi i Sunyer (president of the national committee of Galicia), Alfonso Castelao (president of the committee of Galicia) signed the *Galeuzka* pact New York, 06-12-1944)

<sup>580</sup> AT, Poblet, Box G2, 1945; FPS, Box D5, Annex on *Galeuzka*, 1944.

<sup>581</sup> AT, Poblet, Box 360, ‘Acuerdos adoptados en el Consejo celebrado en Nueva York’, New York, 02-03-1945.

<sup>582</sup> PRO, File FO 371/39744, Aguirre’s draft pact of *Galeuzka*, Aguirre (president of Euzkadi’s government), Pi i Sunyer (president of the national committee of Galicia), Alfonso Castelao (president of the committee of Galicia) signed the *Galeuzka* pact New York, 06-12-1944; AN, Artea, PNV 24-5, letter from Castelao to Aguirre, 19-09-1944; AN, Artea, EBB 105-7, letter from Aguirre to Castelao, 20-09-1944.

<sup>583</sup> AN, Artea, EBB 213-1, *Galeuzka* in Latin America in 1944.

<sup>584</sup> AT, Poblet, ‘Pacte entre Comunitat Catalana I partits Catalans, Mexico, 25-08-1944.

<sup>585</sup> PRO File FO 371/39744, *Galeuzka*, London, 13-04-1944; J.C.J. Aberasturi, *De la derrota*, p.666; FPS, Box 1, Folder 12, letter from Aguirre to Pi i Sunyer, New York, 14-02-1944; C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l’exili*, Vol.I.

America, but divisions amongst the Catalans (those supporting the CNC and those supporting ERC) impeded further developments.<sup>586</sup> The tripartite pact was again postponed. Moreover, in 1944, the refugees started their return to Europe, particularly, France. Circumstances changed again. Aguirre continued fighting for *Galeuzka*, supported by the Galicians, but differences among the Catalans ultimately curtailed real development.<sup>587</sup>

In October 1944, a number of Republican and Socialist organisations in Madrid – Izquierda Republicana (IR), Unión Republicana (UR), Partido Republicano Federal (PRF), PSOE, UGT and CNT - collaborated to found ANFD. It was presided over by Régulo Martínez.<sup>588</sup> The ANFD founded in October 1944 was made up of a wide front of Republicans, socialists and anarchists. It was a significant move towards the unification of the anti-Francoist forces. ANFD presented a programme for recovering republican order and for creating a provisional democratic government.<sup>589</sup> The ANFD tried to unite Socialist, Republican and nationalist aims including the Catalan demands of autonomy.<sup>590</sup> It was a significant rapprochement between the Republicans and the Catalans.<sup>591</sup> It also had representation in Catalonia and accepted the aspirations to autonomy, though not the principle of a federation of independent countries.<sup>592</sup> In Catalonia, the ANFD was constituted in May 1945, integrating the ex-members of the POUM and the majority of nationalist organisations. However, subjected to repression by the regime, it would founder on a lack of support from the Western powers.<sup>593</sup> *Galeuzka*, the UNE and the ANFD, all attempts at uniting the anti-Francoist groups, were to fail due to a lack of capacity for agreement, extensive internal division and clashes of leadership.

---

<sup>586</sup> The following document expresses the lack of entente of Catalans facing the project of *Galeuzka*. PRO File Fo 371/39744, *Galeuzka*, London, 28-06-1944

<sup>587</sup> J.C.J. Aberasturi, carta de Aguirre a Telesforo Monzón, 25-06-1945; AT, Poblet, 'Pacte entre Comunitat Catalana i partits Catalans, Mexico, 25-08-1944; PRO File FO 371/39744, Letter Lizaso to Aguirre, London, 10-12-1944, *Galeuzka*; AN, Artea, EBB117-2, 30-12-1941, letter from Monzón to Aguirre.

<sup>588</sup> AT, Poblet, Box 126, 'Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas democráticas'.

<sup>589</sup> AT, Box 125, *Endavant*, Toulouse, 23-06-1945.

<sup>590</sup> AT, Poblet, Box 99, 'Conversaciones entre *Galeuzka* y ANFD', 17-01-1946.

<sup>591</sup> E. Marco Nadal, *Todos contra Franco. La Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas democráticas 1944-1947*, (Madrid, Queimada, 1982).

<sup>592</sup> D.J.Dunthorn, "Britain and the Anti-Franco opposition, 1940-1950", (Bristol, thesis submitted at the University of the west of England, July 1999), pp.220-221.

<sup>593</sup> Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, pp.65-67.

## 6.5 CONCLUSION

During the last months of World War II, the Catalans were buoyed first by the prospect and then by the reality of an Allied victory, believing that the victors would help them to overthrow Franco.<sup>594</sup> At the war's end, the USSR and the French were more anti-Francoist than the British and the Americans. However, at the conference of San Francisco, the Allies' resolution not to intervene was made clear, disappointing opposition hopes, and expectations.

The Western powers did not move against the Francoist regime in the way that had been expected by the opposition. The perceived alternative to the regime was Communist, or Communist-backed, which seemed a greater threat than Francoism itself. Obviously, behind the lack of help by the international community also lay the real fear of the Western power that the return of democracy to Spain would lead to another Spanish Civil War and to a Communist take-over. Moreover, the opposition to Franco evidently failed to offer a credible alternative to the dictatorship, in the eyes of the Western powers. A more unified opposition, particularly Catalan opposition, was required to persuade the powerbrokers that there was a republican or federal alternative worthy of support. Although there is little evidence that Western powers would seriously have entertained, and committed themselves to, an alternative even had it been credible, it seems likely the Western democracies would have opted for a democracy in Spain rather than a fascist dictator, and would have been willing to support the overthrow of Franco if the anti-Francoist opposition could have plausibly pledged to establish stability and security against Communism. We can assert that the West could have got behind a republican platform had it represented a credible opposition based on the historical reasoning that the most obvious alternative for the Western powers in Spain would have been the restoration of democracy and in that case the most straightforward solution was that of recovering the previous democratic system in Spain, that of the second republic up to 1936.

Newly liberated France resumed its place as the epicentre of Catalan political activity. The FNC was reorganised in 1944, but was severely persecuted by the

---

<sup>594</sup> J. Martínez Vendrell, *Una vida per Catalunya, Memòries, (1939-1946)*, (Barcelona, Pòrtic, 1991), p.284.

Francoists in Spain. Estat Català and ERC continued their slow consolidation. In an attempt to bring unity to the Catalan side, Tarradellas, leader of ERC, created Solidaritat Catalana. The Basques also reorganised in France, showing a willingness to engage in partnerships with such groups as the Republicans.

In the UK, the CNC had been reconstituted in 1944, radicalising in the process, but it would be dissolved in June 1945, on the orders of the president of the *Generalitat* in exile, Josep Irla, who wished to avoid more confusion among the Catalan leadership. As a site of Catalan political activity, the UK lost ground again to continental Europe. However, 1944 saw a significant second effort to bring together Basque nationalist, Catalan, and Galician aims, through the *Galeuzka*. The political spectrum of opposition comprised the left-wing parties, the parties of the right, and a number of independent of the left and right parties groups. Catalan nationalism remained active as a political force, both in the USA and Latin America.<sup>595</sup>

---

<sup>595</sup> AT, Poblet, C169, Opinions, Perpinyà, 03-03-1945, 'Estat Català i Solidaridad Catalana'; AT, Poblet, Box 243, 'Solidaritat Catalana'.

## CHAPTER 7 – CATALAN OPPOSITION FROM JUNE 1945 TO NOVEMBER 1950: THE RETURN OF THE AMBASSADORS

### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

By 1946, the Allies had already decided not to intervene in the Spanish situation, and from then onwards, Franco became the best realistic option for the Allies,<sup>596</sup> the most credible means of assuring Spanish neutrality in the case of a confrontation with the USSR.<sup>597</sup> On 12 December 1946, the UN decided to withdraw ambassadors from Spain. This was a largely symbolic gesture, since embassy staff remained working normally. However, in October 1950, the ambassadors of the Western powers returned to Spain, indicating at least an acceptance of Francoism, if not outright approval, by the international community, or at least some of its key powers.<sup>598</sup> The moment was symbolic, a defeat for the hopes and expectations of the Catalan opposition groups. By 1950, it became evident that the anti-Francoist opposition, including Catalan nationalism, had not managed to present a cohesive bloc and a realistic and stable alternative to Franco. The Cold War marked the end of the hopes of anti-Francoist groups to overthrow the dictator as the Allies decided not to intervene in Spain.

The course of developments of Catalan nationalism in the period is described, taking in primarily France and Spain, but consideration is also given to the situation in the UK, USA and Latin America. A number of Catalan parties, both on the right and the left of the political spectrum tried to re-establish themselves, often proposing unitary platforms. The *Generalitat* was reconstituted between 1945 and 1948. All efforts succumbed in the event to lack of resources, poor organisation, internecine conflict, and limited international support.

In the last section of the chapter, the aftermath of 1947 is considered, where Western policy helped to recast Catalan nationalism as a cultural phenomenon. Effective political opposition to Franco would not re-emerge until many years later in

---

<sup>596</sup> J.M. Toquero, *Franco y Don Juan*, (Barcelona, Plaza y Janés, 1989) p.389; Aberasturi, *De la derrota*, p.703; AN, Salvador de Madariaga, 'General, Márchese usted!', London, 11-1944. FPS, Box 13, Folder 403, letter from Salvador de Madariaga to Carles Pi i Sunyer, 19-11-1941.

<sup>597</sup> APM, Dossier 8, Report 240-E, 'Spain between two worlds that are getting ready to attack each other', Lisbon, 25-01-1946.

<sup>598</sup> P. Preston, *Franco*, (London, Harper Collins, 1993), p.600

Catalonia or elsewhere in Spain. After 1950, political Catalan nationalism was little more than vestigial. The policy of the Allies had long since been determined.

## 7.2 THE SPANISH QUESTION

The major post-World War II conference on the Allied side was held at Potsdam. On 16 July 1945, the American president Harry S. Truman (who had succeeded Roosevelt on 12 April 1945 since Roosevelt had died), the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill (who would be replaced by Clement Attlee on 28 July), and the Soviet leader Josef Stalin met at the Potsdam Conference, which seemed, at first glance, to advocate an absolute condemnation of the Franco regime. The USSR, the USA and the UK reaffirmed that Spain could not be admitted to the UN, pointing out the fascist origins of Francoism, and the necessity of restoring democracy in Spain. The primary aim of the Potsdam meeting was to address and co-ordinate the matter of the Allied occupation of Germany and the other free countries, and the material reconstruction and reorganisation of the international system. For the Western powers, the crux of policy was the preservation of peace and stability on the Iberian Peninsula, and arrest of the expansion of Communism. It was based on two pillars: the public rejection of Franco, and respect for the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of another country.<sup>599</sup> The Potsdam declaration stated:

First, the Francoist regime did not start as a consequence of an internal development of Spanish politics but as a result of an intervention of the Axis, which imposed a fascist regime in Spain. Secondly, the Spanish regime constituted an enormous danger for the European and South American nations that sought freedom. Thirdly, Francoist repression had led the Spanish population to claim the restoration of a democratic Spain. Therefore, the Conference considered it necessary to ask the UN

---

<sup>599</sup> PS, Potsdam conference, *Senyera*, Mexico, 1946; AGA, IDD. 17, Box 5372, Spanish Embassy in Havana (1905-1960), *El Mundo*, 10-02-1946; S.Vilar and R. De la Cierva, *Pro y Contra Franco*, (Barcelona, Planeta, 1985), p.172; L.López Rodó, *La larga marcha hacia la monarquía*, (Barcelona, Noguer, 1978), p.51; Preston, *Franco*, , p.540; J.C.J. Aberasturi, *De la derrota* , p.715; E. Moradiellos, 'La conferencia de Potsdam de 1945 y el problema español' in Javier Tusell, *La política exterior de España en el siglo XX*, (Madrid, UNE, 1997).

to break its relations with Franco and to support the democratic Spanish forces.<sup>600</sup>

The United Nations condemned Francoism and asked the UN members to break off its relations with Franco, but no further action was undertaken. From Yalta to Potsdam, the Allies had developed their stance. Yalta made no specific mention of Spain whereas Potsdam went so far as to condemn Francoism. No deeds would accompany these strong words. Catalans felt let down by the Potsdam conference, which at once publicly condemned the Francoist regime, but clearly stated the principle of non-intervention in Spanish affairs. In one moment, the Catalans foresaw that they would not receive help from the Allies, as they had expected.

The policy pursued by the French Provisional government towards Spain, until January 1946, was non-confrontational. It was acknowledged that, without democracy in Spain, close Franco-Spanish relations were impossible, but like the British, the French government could not disregard commercial links between the two countries.<sup>601</sup> On 15 January 1946, the French National Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution congratulating the government for having suggested that the British and the Americans should break off diplomatic relations with the dictatorship, and recognise the legitimacy of the republican government-in-exile. On 27 February 1946, the French government decided to close its frontier with Spain immediately, under pressure from French public opinion and, particularly, the parties of the left. France closed its border with Spain for a few months in 1946 but Charles de Gaulle soon asserted the impossibility of an economic embargo on Spain.<sup>602</sup> The French government also called on the Allies to take similar measures against the Francoists and to bring the Spanish case to the UN, particularly to the Security Council, its supreme body. The USSR immediately gave their support to the initiative, but the USA refused, saying that it was up to Spaniards to decide their own government. No economic sanctions were imposed. The British also rejected the French proposal, in every aspect. Churchill, concerned for British interests on the peninsula, preferred not

---

<sup>600</sup> APM, dossier 7, Foreign Office Stockholm, 20-10-1945.

<sup>601</sup> Aberasturi, *De la derrota*, pp.715-731; Dunthorn, *Britain*, p.141.

<sup>602</sup> F. Portero, *Franco aislado: la cuestión española (1945-1950)*, (Madrid, Aguilar, 1989); H. Heine, *La oposición política al franquismo*, (Barcelona, Editorial Crítica Grijalbo, 1983).

to intervene in Spain.<sup>603</sup> After World War II, if anything, the British seemed more inclined to help the monarchist opposition in Spain, and never seemed particularly keen to help the Catalan opposition.

The American administration itself put any thought of help to the anti-Francoist opposition out of its mind: under the direction of George F. Keenan, the American policy planning staff had, in February 1946, sent a report to American Secretary of State General Marshall, recommending a rapid normalisation of USA economic and political relations with Spain. Marshall approved Kennan's recommendations immediately.<sup>604</sup> American policy now was directed to the goal of containing Soviet expansionism, which was famously expressed in a long telegram of February 1946, in which Kennan denounced the aggressive politics and expansion of the USSR. Washington was about to abandon any thought of removing Franco from power, deciding it was the task of Spaniards themselves to solve their internal problems.<sup>605</sup> Before then, the Catalans (as was the case with the rest of the anti-Francoist opposition) had not managed to present a credible bloc that could be considered a realistic alternative to Franco. It is difficult to say to what extent things might have turned out differently the forces of the opposition – and the Catalans in particular – had managed to present a more united front.

International resolutions on Spain were next debated at the UN, in New York, in February 1946. Spain was excluded from the table as the UN did not accept the nature of the regime. This seemed to signal a shift of the UN towards further action, giving hope to opposition groups that the UN would soon impose an economic embargo. The meeting took place in the context of the growing confrontation between the USSR and the USA as the Cold War intensified. The Americans were preoccupied by the idea that the Soviets would seek to gain control of Spain for strategic reasons.<sup>606</sup>

The international community launched a new anti-Francoist campaign with the Tripartite Note, on 5 March 1946. Reiterating the non-interventionist principle, the

---

<sup>603</sup> APM, dossier 6, Report to Foreign Office about confidential news, 31-07-1945.

<sup>604</sup> Preston, *Franco*, , p.574.

<sup>605</sup> Aberasturi, *De la derrota* ,, p.715; C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili de Carles Pi i Sunyer, Vol.II* pp.35-39; Preston, *Franco*, , p.540.

<sup>606</sup> For more information on the USSR interests in Spain see Aberasturi, *De la derrota* , p.733.



Tripartite Note caused profound frustration among the anti-Francoist opposition.<sup>607</sup>

The Tripartite Note stated, inter alia:

The governments of France, the UK and the USA have exchanged views with regard to the present Spanish government and their relations with that regime. It is agreed that so long as General Franco continues in control of Spain, the Spanish people cannot anticipate full and cordial relations with those nations of the world, which have by common effort brought defeat to German Nazism and Italian fascism. There is no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Spain. The Spanish people themselves must in the long run work out their own destiny. The three governments are hopeful that the Spanish people will not again be subjected to the horrors and bitterness of civil strife. They hope that Spaniards will soon find the means to bring about a peaceful withdrawal of Franco.<sup>608</sup>

The Tripartite Note reiterated the principle of non-intervention in Spain, frustrating Catalan hopes of help.

In 1946, Spain was not accepted into membership of the UN. This was a period of international condemnation of the regime, but without direct action. At the end of the year, the UN voted for the expulsion of the regime from all international organisations. However, it was only the Communist countries that demanded the more energetic measures required to force Franco from power, and during the period 1946-1947, with the minds of the Western powers bent on the expansion of Communism, Franco was quickly perceived the lesser of two evils.

The Catalans and the Basque nationalists attempted to press their claims by participating in proceedings. J.A. Aguirre presented a report to a UN subcommittee in 1946. Also, the Catalans submitted a written appeal to the UN, asking to be included in the UN debates. No practical help was forthcoming from the international powers.

<sup>609</sup> The Catalan and Basque written appeals did not have a major impact. Even if

---

<sup>607</sup> AT, Poblet, Box G2, Nota tripartita; Dunthorn, Britain, pp.150-151; L. López Rodó, *La larga marcha hacia la monarquía*, (Barcelona, Noguer, 1978), p.65; Aberasturi, *De la derrota*, p.720; Preston, *Franco*, p.554.

<sup>608</sup> PRO File FO 371-60374, 'UN Report, December 1946'

<sup>609</sup> F. Portero, *Franco aislado: la cuestión española (1945-1950)*, (Madrid, Aguilar, 1989);

these texts presented concrete ideologies and aims, it was evident to the Allies that they could not be backed up by an efficient political structure in either case and, therefore, could not be supported.

Finally and most importantly, during 1947 the tension between the USA and the USSR got ever worse in structure and scale. The period was marked by the emerging dichotomy between Communism and the anti-Communist nations, between East and West. Communism as ideology received a boost after World War II when the USSR became an international superpower. Spain was inevitably affected by the Cold War. Communism was established in South East Asia, and was on the move in Europe. In the event, this proved favourable to Franco, who was preferred to a potentially unstable government that could turn into a Communist state.<sup>610</sup> Spain would come in from the cold, and would be admitted to the international organisations affiliated with the UN. Western interests now advised that the status quo in Spain was to be maintained. The USA sought to remove Communists from Western European governments. Both Britain and the USA were caught between a dislike of the Spanish dictatorship, and an awareness of its value in the Cold War. As far as they were concerned, Franco was the best realistic alternative to a Communist or Communist-influenced Spain since the anti-Francoist opposition had not presented a better alternative.

On 1 May 1947, the American government convinced the British that they too should veto any UN action against Franco. This was followed by the Marshall Plan, the American programme of economic aid for European reconstruction. On 5 June 1947, the USA announced it was ready to contribute to European reconstruction; the plan was agreed with the European governments.<sup>611</sup> The Marshall Plan would make a decisive contribution to European recovery. With the Soviets spurning an invitation to join the programme, the UK and France approached all other European countries, with the exception of Spain, forming the Committee of European Economic Cooperation. Spain's exclusion was welcomed by the anti-Francoist opposition since it was believed to herald a first step towards the international isolation of Franco.<sup>612</sup>

---

Preston, *Franco*.

<sup>610</sup> For information on the developments of the Cold War see F. Portero, *Franco aislado*.

<sup>611</sup> AN, Artea, EBB 217-1, 'El plan norteamericano de ayuda a Europa'.

<sup>612</sup> AN, Artea, EBB 231-1, 29-11-1947, 'La posición de Estados Unidos'.

The European governments explained Spain's non-inclusion in the Marshall Plan on the basis that it had not actively participated in World War II, and had no need of reconstruction.<sup>613</sup> An article in the pro-Franco British newspaper *The Continental Daily Mail*, explained the decision: 'It is normal that Spain should remain out of this affair because she needs gifts from no-one. Her industries are flourishing, her bonds on the Swiss and London markets sell at about 90 per cent. The shops are full, the gold reserve is satisfactory.'<sup>614</sup> Even if, in pure economic terms, the exclusion was a tough blow for Francoism, politically, Francoism was about to receive the international blessing of the beginnings of the Cold War.

In November 1947, the USA tried to repeal the UN resolution approved in 1946 that recommended the withdrawal of the ambassadors from Spain. The American *démarche* in 1947 showed that the UN resolution of 1946 - one that included a note on working toward the democratisation of Spain - would never be applied or carried through, and that it was only a matter of time before it withered away. Between 1945 and 1950, governments, diplomats and politicians debated the Spanish question at the UN.

The year 1947 signified, amongst other things, the beginning of the international consolidation of the Francoist regime. The division of the world into two power blocs favoured the maintenance of the dictatorship. Many dates have been taken to mark the end of anti-Francoist opposition hopes. Internationally, the UN resolutions of 1946 formalised non-intervention, and, in November 1947, diplomatic relations with Spain were normalised. The USA repudiated the Tripartite Note; on 17 November 1947, it voted for the first time in favour of Franco at the UN.<sup>615</sup> On 4 November 1950, the General Assembly of the UN voted to authorise the return of the ambassadors to Madrid.<sup>616</sup> To add insult to injury, Spain was admitted to its Food and Agriculture Organisation.<sup>617</sup> This was considered a Francoist victory and a defeat for the Catalan hopes. The moment Spain was allowed to apply for membership of international

---

<sup>613</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili de Carles Pi i Sunyer, Vol.II*, p.151.

<sup>614</sup> PRO, File FO 371/67876, 'Why Spain had no need of Marshall plan aid', *The Continental Daily Mail*, 8-07-1947.

<sup>615</sup> S. Vilar and R. de la Cierva, *Pro y contra Franco*, (Barcelona, Planeta, 1985), pp.172-175.

<sup>616</sup> For the reactions after the UN approved the return of the ambassadors to Madrid in November 1950, see PRO, Hankey's letter to Madrid, London, 03-02-1950; PRO File PREM 8/1531.

<sup>617</sup> Preston, *Franco*, , p.600.

organisations may fairly be regarded as the end of the hopes of the opposition to Franco. The decision effectively meant an implicit acceptance of Francoism, putting paid to any hope of help from the international community to the anti-Francoist opposition. Without it, the anti-Francoist opposition was left to waste away.<sup>618</sup>

Franco started to receive economic support from the USA from 1951, and signed the Concordat with the Vatican in 1953, which conferred upon him the blessing of the Vatican. The USA gave a credit to Spain of 62,500,000 dollars. Spain joined the UN. The Cold War transformed the Francoist regime into a bulwark against the expansion of Communism and allowed for a more positive attitude towards Francoism. On 4 November 1950, the UN revoked the resolution of 1946, and from 1955, Spain was present in all international institutions promoted by the UN. This provoked a tremendous internal crisis within the anti-Francoist opposition.<sup>619</sup>

The international powers were never presented with a solid and credible plan by opposition forces. Sir Victor Mallet, the British ambassador to Spain, reported as much to the Foreign Office:

I was left somewhat depressed by the lack of precision of ideas and had the impression that these people were building too many castles in the air. (...) Moreover, although there seems to be agreement between left and right, I foresee much haggling still over practical methods of establishing a future regime.<sup>620</sup>

Mallet foresaw a rapprochement among the anti-Francoist groups through the creation of common platforms. He believed however that a solid political structure to be reckoned with, was still a long way from being created, and, in this, he was right. The Catalans, in common with the rest of the anti-Francoist opposition, were tremendously influenced by the Cold War and the spread of Communism, and by the decision of the UN to allow the return of the ambassadors to Spain. The international acceptance of Francoism was effectively the end of opposition hopes to obtain help from the Allies.

---

<sup>618</sup> A. Viladot i Presas, *Nacionalisme i premsa clandestina, (1939-1951)*, (Barcelona, Curial, 1987), pp.192-194.

<sup>619</sup> M. Guibernau, *Nacionalisme Català*, (Barcelona, Pòrtic, 2002), p.95; D. Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, (Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1996), pp.83; H. Heine, *La oposició*, pp.406-407.

<sup>620</sup> PRO, File FO 371-60372, Sir Victor Mallet to Foreign Office, 19-01-1946.

### 7.3 THE FORMATION OF CATALAN GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE

In the meantime, successive attempts were made to form a new government of the *Generalitat* in France, between 1945 and 1948. The first failed in 1945. The second succeeded but finally succumbed to circumstantial difficulties, dissolving in 1948. Josep Irla originally asked Pi i Sunyer to form a government in 1945. In May of 1945, Pi i Sunyer agreed plans to organise a government of the *Generalitat* in exile, under the presidency of Josep Irla, in which he would act as counsellor. The new government needed to integrate the reconstituted Consell of London, the political parties, those in exile, as well as the groups inside Spain. Pi i Sunyer returned to London and decided to dissolve the Consell of London on the basis that, since the *Generalitat* was working again, the Consell had therefore accomplished its main objective.<sup>621</sup>

The task of forming the new government was highly problematic since it represented an attempt to unite disparate Catalan forces both ideologically and politically. It tried to unite Catalans in exile, and inside Spain. Pi i Sunyer's particular ideas clashed with those of the FNC. Those demanding a return to the statutory regime and those taking for granted immediate use of the right of self-determination, had to be brought into the fold.<sup>622</sup> Pi i Sunyer knew that the older followers of the CNC did not approve of the plan, and, in proceeding, he would be obliged to recognise the statute and the constitution. Moreover, he had difficulty travelling. Unable to form a coalition in the way he desired, Pi i Sunyer instead asked Irla to proceed himself to form the new government. In September of 1945, on a trip to Paris, Pi i Sunyer presented his resignation to Irla because he felt that the new project clashed with the ideas of the Consell. Ideological clashes and leadership divisions were indeed recurrent problems among Catalans.

---

<sup>621</sup> FPS, Box D5, Consell Nacional Londres, 'Declaració of the Consell Nacional en ser dissolt', 1945; Poblet, Box G3, *Endavant*, 'Pi i Sunyer i el govern provisional de Catalunya', Toulouse, 06-08-1945; C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili*, Vol.I, p.231; C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili*, Vol.II, pp.129-131.

<sup>622</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili*, Vol.II, pp.5, 17-19,23, 231; F. Vilanova, *Les ruptures de l'any 39*, pp.53-54.

Pi i Sunyer resigned considering that the task of the Consell of London was finished since there was now a project for the reconstitution of the *Generalitat*. The Consell he led was merely intended as a substitute for the *Generalitat* while it was not working. Pi i Sunyer also resigned for professional reasons; there was no money left to pay the civil servants and counsellors of the *Generalitat* so Pi i Sunyer decided to accept a job as an engineer in Uruguay.<sup>623</sup> Finally, Pi i Sunyer resigned because he envisaged that the reconstituted *Generalitat* would fail and the relations of the *Generalitat* and those inside Spain were broken.

Josep Irla remained steadfast and his second attempt to fashion a coalition government-in-exile was successful. He became president of the new Catalan government on 14 September 1945, in Paris.<sup>624</sup> The new *Generalitat* was being created on the basis that it was the continuum of the one defeated in 1939. The new *Generalitat* was the institutional, legal and legitimate continuation of the *Generalitat* 1939-1940. According to the Catalan statute, Irla, as President of the Parliament, succeeded Companys when he died; therefore, the legality was respected and was only limited by the difficulties of the exile.<sup>625</sup>

The resources of the *Generalitat* were very limited. Catalans constantly depended on their negotiations with the republican government; when negotiations with Republicans did not work, they asked for money from the Basques, knowing that they would not be able to repay it.<sup>626</sup> The lack of resources was one of the main reasons for the failure of the reconstituted *Generalitat*. In terms of personnel, there were a few relevant, and badly paid, figures. The majority of them were Companys' fellows from 1939-1940 and members of ERC. This being the case, the *Generalitat's* ideology was very similar to that of 1939. The members included Emili Vigo who died at the end of the 1940s and Joan Tauler, who had been a parliamentary deputy before

---

<sup>623</sup> C.Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili*, Vol.II.

<sup>624</sup> FPS, Box 478, *Endavant*, Toulouse, 06-08-1945, Pi i Sunyer i el govern provisional de Catalunya'; PRO FO 371/49582, Pi i Sunyer's letter to Noel Baker about the formation of the Catalan government-in-exile.

<sup>625</sup> C.Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili*, Vol.II.

<sup>626</sup> F.Vilanova, *Als dos costats de la frontera*.

1939.<sup>627</sup> Pere Puig was yet another figure that formed the new *Generalitat*. He ended up going to Bolivia where he would become a businessman. There was also Jaume Serra i Gasulla who was the delegate of the government inside Catalonia and Armand Obiols who was the editor of the magazine *Revista de Catalunya*. In 1948, after the dissolution of the government, Víctor Torres, general secretary of the presidency of the *Generalitat*, was in charge of reducing the structure of the government to the minimum.<sup>628</sup>

Relations with the French government were tolerated by the new *Generalitat* but were actually very rare. They had contacts with French civil servants and politicians but without much transcendancy. In the period 1946-1948, the French together with the British tried to put pressure on the Republicans for them to approach the monarchists in the figure of Don Juan. Pi i Sunyer explains in his memories that a French secret agent proposed to him a way to get to Barcelona if he agreed to go first to Estoril to see Don Juan. Pi i Sunyer did not accept the proposition.<sup>629</sup>

One of the axes of the new *Generalitat's* activities was cultural propaganda. In addition to publishing the emblematic *Revista de Catalunya*, the government also organised Catalan language lessons and tried to develop information services. The services of relations with Catalonia were led by Pere Puig and the focal point of transmission of papers and packages was Enveigt, on French territory, very close to the frontier of the Cerdanya. Finally, the services of help, even if they were very modest managed to do some humanitarian activity.<sup>630</sup>

The government's broadest aim was to bring about national unity and the restoration of the autonomous republican institutions with the help of international pressure.<sup>631</sup> Catalan identity in this period was based on the right of self-determination

---

<sup>627</sup> Joan Tauler was a lawyer and a politician. He was born in Figueres in 1879 and died in Barcelona 1959. He was a personal assistant to Companys from 1931 onwards. He was deputy of ERC to the Parliament of Catalunya from 1932 to 1934.

<sup>628</sup> Vilanova, *Als dos costats*, last chapter.

<sup>629</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili*, Vol.II.

<sup>630</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili*, Vol.II, pp.194-206.

<sup>631</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili*, Vol.II, pp. 40-42.

of the Catalan people.<sup>632</sup> The government represented the continuity of a will and a right and mainly the democratic feeling of Catalan people.<sup>633</sup> Carles Pi i Sunyer explained the purpose of this new government to Josep Trueta:

‘A government has been formed in a very difficult situation that represents a provisional solution and a first nucleus around which there is the hope of articulating a more complete unity. (...) The new government, even with a limited composition, has the purpose of national unity.’<sup>634</sup>

A key matter for the embryonic government was its aspiration to inclusiveness.<sup>635</sup> Through trying to include members both from the Right, and from the opposition inside Spain,<sup>636</sup> deadlock was soon reached.<sup>637</sup> The government lacked resources, and any capacity to unify the policies of the various strands of Catalan opposition. The ERC of Catalonia did not agree with the formation of the government-in-exile. It also lost the support of the Catalans in the UK.

The activity of the government was restricted by the difficult circumstances of its exile and its ambition to co-ordinate a number of different factions. It was dissolved by Josep Irla in January 1948.<sup>638</sup> Those in the government had lost any hope of continuing.<sup>639</sup> With the government dissolved, the president remained the sole representative of institutional continuity recognised inside Spain. The institutional crisis of Catalan nationalism again came to the fore.<sup>640</sup> Pi i Sunyer explained the feeling of failure after the dissolution of the government:

---

<sup>632</sup> PS, ‘Declaració govern de Catalunya a Paris, *Nova Catalunya de Cuba*, Cuba, 1946. Viladot, *Nacionalisme*, pp.70.72.

<sup>633</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.II*, p.230; C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.II*, pp.79-80; Letter from A.Rovira I Virgili to Miquel Guinart, Perpignan, 18-09-1947 in A.Rovira I Virgili, *Cartes de l'exili (1939-1949)*, (Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2002).

<sup>634</sup> FPS, Box 20, Folder 666, letters from Carles Pi i Sunyer to Josep Trueta, 20-09-1945.

<sup>635</sup> AT, Poblet, Box L6, ‘Aquest és un govern d’unitat Catalana’.

<sup>636</sup> AT, Poblet, Box 877, ‘Consideracions entorn de l’unitat catalana amb motiu de la formació del govern de Catalunya’, 1946.

<sup>637</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.II*, pp.58-61, 84,87,208; Letter from A.Rovira I Virgili to Humbert Torres, Paris, 12-03-1946 in A.Rovira I Virgili, *Cartes de l'exili, (1939-1949)*, (Barcelona, Publicacions de l'abadia de Montserrat, 2002).

<sup>638</sup> AT, Poblet, Box L6, Josep Irla.

<sup>639</sup> AT, Artea, EBB 211-2, ‘La disolución del gobierno Catalán’; AT, Artea, EBB165-4, ‘Desaparación del gobierno de la Generalidad’.

<sup>640</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.II*, pp.212-213, 235-236.



‘The world reflected in these works could be qualified as failed. All this work, all these efforts in order to put together a government-in-exile that, inside Spain, was not perceived; the battles with the republican Spanish authorities in order to obtain a minimum economic autonomy. (...) Sometimes, I have imagined these historical links as part of a tree that has broken or maybe as a path with no exit.’<sup>641</sup>

## 7.4 PLATFORMS OF OPPOSITION

Perhaps the most remarkable political characteristic of Catalan nationalism in the period was the attempts to create unitary political platforms. Several such attempts were made, often achieving the participation of all leading political and union groups, excepting the Communists of the Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya (PSUC), who were held responsible for the loss of Catalonia during the Civil War.<sup>642</sup>

In Paris and Catalonia, the FNC<sup>643</sup> continued to seek a means of unifying the opposition forces. In 1945, it was excluded from the government of the *Generalitat* in exile. After 1945, the FNC was forced to resolve its confusing ideology after the re-emergence of the Republican parties both in exile and inside Spain. The FNC proposed a more socially-oriented policy and defended the co-federal structure of the Catalan countries, finally joining the Charter of the Atlantic. The FNC had been the most remarkable platform of unity until 1945. However, after 1945, its relative strength diminished because it was excluded from the government of the *Generalitat* and severely persecuted by Francoist forces. In June 1946, there was a massive persecution of the members of the FNC in Montjuïc by Francoist forces. Police persecution dismantled the military sections, the university sections and the apparatus of propaganda, but it did not manage to dismantle the FNC, which managed to reorganise itself.<sup>644</sup> The Second Conference of the FNC was celebrated in October 1947 in Sant Just Desvern.<sup>645</sup> The main point of departure from its previous policy was the desire to become a primarily political party and to renounce armed activism. It also

---

<sup>641</sup> F. Vilanova, *Als dos costats de la frontera*, (Barcelona, Abadia de Montserrat, 2001) p.16.

<sup>642</sup> Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, pp.23-31.

<sup>643</sup> Viladot, *Nacionalisme*, p.103.

<sup>644</sup> Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, pp.60-61.

<sup>645</sup> AN, Artea, EBB 222-4, ‘Congreso de Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya’.

hoped to obtain help from the democratic powers. The FNC stayed loyal to the president of the *Generalitat* and officially recognised the CNDC.<sup>646</sup> Nevertheless, by 1947, the executive board of the FNC had reached a view that Catalan hopes were, in reality, at an end. The FNC renounced the armed struggle.<sup>647</sup>

In Spain, another attempt at a cross-party platform was the Aliança dels Partits Republicans Catalans (APRC) of 1944, associated with Josep Pous i Pagès<sup>648</sup>. Pous i Pagès, a writer, had returned to Barcelona from exile in the spring of 1944, to be told by Pere Puig, the general secretary's voice in the Catalonia-based ERC, to organise a common platform for the Catalan organisations. Pous i Pagès managed his task well, separating the Catalan parties from the ANFD, and constituting, in July 1945, the APRC, over which he presided himself.<sup>649</sup> The APRC was a remarkable attempt at uniting Republican Catalan forces.

In Spain overall, the most noteworthy and concerted attempt to engender a platform for a multiplicity of opposition groups and bring together all Catalan Republican parties, was the Consell Nacional de la Democràcia Catalana (CNDC). The CNDC was constituted on 6 December 1945 and led by Josep Pous i Pagès of the APRC, thus it was alternatively known as the Comitè Pous i Pagès. The CNDC recognised Josep Irla as president of the Catalans, but failed to recognise the government of the *Generalitat* in exile because the CNDC believed that the centre for Catalan fight should be in Catalonia and not in exile.<sup>650</sup> The CNDC included Acció Catalana Republicana (ACR), Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC), Estat Català (EC), Unió Democràtica de Catalunya (UDC), Moviment Socialista de Catalunya<sup>651</sup>, Joventut Catalana Democràtica (JCD) and Moviment de la Resistència Catalana (MRC), Unió de Rabassaires, Front Nacional de Catalunya (FNC), Partit Republicà d'Esquerra, Unió Catalana and Partit Nacionalista Català; all parties except the

---

<sup>646</sup> Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, pp.63

<sup>647</sup> For more information on the developments of the Front Nacional de Catalunya see Viladot, *Nacionalisme*, pp.68-73,100.

<sup>648</sup> Josep Pous i Pagès was a writer and a journalist (1873-1952). He was exiled in France between 1939 and 1944. When he went back to Catalonia in 1945, he organised one of the first political platforms in opposition to Francoism, the Consell Nacional de la Democràcia Catalana (CNDC), known as Comitè Pous i Pagès. It would disappear after his death.

<sup>649</sup> Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, pp.65-67.

<sup>650</sup> PS, *Ressorgiment*, 'Consell Nacional de la Democràcia Catalana: Bases de constitució'.

<sup>651</sup> AT, Poblet, C99, *Endavant*, Toulouse, 24-02-1945, 'Acta de Constitució del Moviment Socialista de Catalunya'.

Communist. FNC activity thereafter was limited to its involvement in the CNDC.<sup>652</sup> The FNC disappeared from the political map entirely after the dissolution of the CNDC in 1952.<sup>653</sup> The CNDC was the most successful platform of unity in terms of the scope of the political spectrum that it covered. It even integrated the FNC.<sup>654</sup>

The leaders of the CNDC believed the Catalan struggle should take place in Catalonia itself. There were a number of motivations. First, Franco had to be overthrown, Catalonia liberated, and some semblance of democracy restored. Second, the continuity of the institution of the presidency, still occupied by Josep Irla, needed to be assured. Third, whilst Franco was still in power, the presidential functions inside Catalonia were to be represented by the CNDC. Fourth, a federal system in Spain would replace the dictatorship. Last of all, the pact of *Galeuzka* was to be upheld.<sup>655</sup> CNDC policy was to co-ordinate action with Euzkadi, the Catalan monarchists, and the ANFD in Spain. In the international sphere, the CNDC maintained relations with the Western democracies.<sup>656</sup>

Despite its successes in engendering unity among the parties, little of note was accomplished by the CNDC except rather small demonstrations on September 11 1946. Divisions within the CNDC soon started to show. The ERC's participation in the CNDC was directly contradictory, as ERC supported the policy of the government of the *Generalitat* in exile and the CNDC did not recognise its legitimacy. The CNDC reserved the exercise of presidential functions inside Catalonia to itself. In June 1947, the ERC decided to separate from the CNDC.<sup>657</sup> Also, the CNDC suffered its most severe persecution by the Francoist forces in 1946. It may be argued that the CNDC

---

<sup>652</sup> AT, Poblet, Box C464; AT, Poblet, Box C62.

<sup>653</sup> For information on the CNDC see FPS, Box 20, Folder 666, letters from Carles Pi i Sunyer to Josep Trueta, 22-09-1945; AT, Poblet, Box C464, 'Bases de Constitució del Consell Nacional de la Democràcia Catalana'; PS, *Ressorgiment*, Argentina, 1945 and F. Vilanova, *Als dos costats de la frontera*, (Barcelona, Montserrat, 2001).

<sup>654</sup> AT, Poblet, Box 62, 'Comentaris entorn del Consell Nacional de la Democràcia Catalana'.

<sup>655</sup> PS, *Ressorgiment*, Argentina, 1945; J. Martínez Vendrell, *Una vida per Catalunya, Memòries*, (1939-1946), (Barcelona, Pòrtic, 1991), pp.305-306 ; E. Kedourie, *Tales of Nationalism*, pp.39-45; Viladot, *Nacionalisme*, pp. 70-72, 190; AT, Poblet, Box C464, 'Bases de Constitució del Consell Nacional de la Democràcia Catalana'; FPS, Box 20, Folder 666, letters from Carles Pi i Sunyer to Josep Trueta, 22-09-1945; Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició Catalanista al franquisme*, pp.69-70; C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.II*, pp.64-68.

<sup>656</sup> PRO, File FO 371/60420, National council of the Catalan democracy, Barcelona, 11-09-1946; Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, , pp.71-77.

<sup>657</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.II*, pp.69-72, 137,141-142, 210.

failed both through its support for the policy of the new government of the *Generalitat* (which cost it many members) and because of Francoist persecution.

Finally, the CNDC expanded in 1946 by an alliance with the left platform ANFD. There was a Catalan representation within the Spanish ANFD as we have seen in chapter 6. The ANFD in Catalonia accepted the autonomical Catalan demands and was directly related to the ANFD in Spain. The CNDC developed into the Comitè Permanent de la Democràcia Catalana (CPDC) and accepted Irla as President of the *Generalitat*. It was an important attempt at unity, with each of the two entities conserving its name and its autonomy.<sup>658</sup> The CPDC was a final attempt at a unitary platform which extended to the Spanish Republican anti-opposition groups. Each group tenaciously maintained its own identity and, hamstrung, the CPDC never translated its constituency into concrete action.

## 7.5 THE ATLANTIC EXILE

A group of Catalans remained in New York<sup>659</sup>, Mexico, Chile and Argentina, working for democracy and for the Catalan right of self-determination.<sup>660</sup> Used to looking to the Consell of London for leadership, there was confusion when it was dissolved. The Atlantic exile - both that in the USA and that in Latin America<sup>661</sup> - suffered from the dissolution of the Consell of London, since it had provided guidance in terms of policy to be followed.<sup>662</sup> Increasing independence and variety in the *comunitats* dissipated and diluted their influence.<sup>663</sup>

A fragment of a letter from the Catalan community in Mexico in 1947 shows that their democratic and Catalan desires were still very much alive but the Latin American *comunitats* were not in truth achieving their aims :

---

<sup>658</sup> Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, , pp.77-83.

<sup>659</sup> Poblet, Box G3, 'L'estada de Carles Pi i Sunyer a Nova York', 1945.

<sup>660</sup> PS, *Ressorgiment*, Argentina, 1946; PRO, File FO 371/60420, Basque delegation in Chile, Chile, 17-08-1946.

<sup>661</sup> PRO File FO 371/60420, 17-10-1947, From the Catalan community in Mexico.

<sup>662</sup> The *comunitats* in Latin America complained about the lack of guidance after the dissolution of the Consell of London. FPS, Box 1, Folder 9, 'Post-Consell', Santiago de Chile, 25-06-1946; AT, Poblet, ERC-60.

<sup>663</sup> AT, Poblet, Box 470; AT, Poblet, Box 24; AT, Poblet, Box 464. Several documents on the activity of Catalans in Mexico after World War II.

‘The Catalan community of Mexico, in the view of the assembly of the UN, takes the liberty of insisting on the breaking of relations on the part of all democracies with the fascist regime of Franco so as to bring about the fall of the dictator and the re-establishment of democracy. Franco should be in court for being a war criminal. (...)The exiled Catalans, in their own name, and in that of those within Catalonia, claim the right of the 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 present Spanish state. We are struggling for a confederation of nations and a democratic government. The peace of Europe demands the immediate liberation of the Hispanic peoples and the establishment of the republican democracy.’<sup>664</sup>

## 7.6 CATALAN EXTERNAL RELATIONS

The Catalans were, of course, one of a number of groups making up the external opposition to the regime. Two prominent elements with whom relationships were to be maintained were the Basques and the left-wing parties. The Basque government-in-exile was finally constituted in 1946 on the basis of statutory and republican legality.<sup>665</sup> The Basque nationalist projects were not implemented due to left wing resistance and to the reaction of the Franco regime.<sup>666</sup> Geographical instability under continuous international political change fuelled institutional and leadership instability<sup>667</sup>, making the implementation and propagation of the Basque case very difficult.<sup>668</sup>

In his Christmas address, President Aguirre called for the Basque people to resort to violence, if necessary, in order to achieve their aims. The sentiment behind his speech echoed that of the address he gave on Christmas day in 1941, which marked

---

<sup>664</sup> PRO, File FO 371/60420, From the Catalan community of Mexico, Mexico, 17-10-1947.

<sup>665</sup> The reconstitution of the Basque government is summarised in the following documents. PS, Buenos Aires, 1945; AT, Poblet, Box 360, ‘Acuerdos adoptados en el Consejo celebrado en Nueva York’, New York, 02-03-1945.

<sup>666</sup> AT, Artea, EBB 169-1, 01-09-1945, ‘Constitución del gobierno exiliado y su repercusión en el interior’.

<sup>667</sup> AN, Artea, EBB42-14, 1947, ‘El problema vasco’.

<sup>668</sup> PRO, File FO 371/60420, Victor Mallet conversation with Lizaso, Madrid, 15-03-1946.

the first time Basque nationalists were called to engage in direct action and this marked the beginning of radical Basque nationalism. A fragment of President Aguirre's speech follows:

‘We, the Basques, have been the typical example of an oppressed people. (...) We seek democracy and freedom. (...) We fight for the freedom of Euzkadi and for the end of the oppression of the Basque people. We now enter a third phase in our fight. This new period has to be characterised by the direct and persistent action of the people. (...) The opposition inside Spain has to intensify its action, in the public and private sphere. (...) And we the Basques have to keep up our flag.’<sup>669</sup>

Aguirre's call to the Basque nationalists to use armed resistance was not followed by the Catalans, who never undertook or attempted to undertake armed resistance towards Francoism.

The *Galeuzka* project assumed by the Basque nationalists, Galician nationalists and Catalans ended the moment the three presidents signed a pact with republican legality, one accepting the republican institutions and laws on 23 February 1946. Also, from the moment that the Catalan and Basque governments were reconstituted, contacts would be made government to government. However, the ideological principles of *Galeuzka* remained alive in Catalano-Basque relations and projects.<sup>670</sup>

Relationships were also to be maintained with the opposition groups of the Left: the Republicans, Socialists and Communists. The Catalans understood that they faced the same fundamental problems as the rest of the anti-Francoists: lack of democracy and Francoist repression, but a major difference between them was which system they believed would best replace Franco. The conciliation, and attempts to co-ordinate activity came late and lacked effectiveness. By the end of World War II, the republican solution seemed increasingly the most viable alternative to Francoism and in realising this, as well as attempting to improve their international stance, the Catalans tried to get closer to the Republicans. The republican institutions were re-established and it became more and more difficult to maintain nationalism at the

---

<sup>669</sup> AT, Box 367, Mensaje de Gabon del President Aguirre, Suplemento al boletín OPE n.166 del 23-12-1947.

<sup>670</sup> Aberasturi, *De la derrota*, p.670; C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.I*, pp.201-202.

margins. The nationalists thought that the most realistic possibility in the event of an Allied intervention in Spain would be that of a restoration of the republic of 1931. The closest alliance of Catalans within the Spanish territory was with the Basque nationalists.<sup>671</sup>

The Republican *Cortes* met in Mexico on the 17 August 1945. The new president of the republic, Diego Martínez Barrio<sup>672</sup>, allocated the formation of the new government to Professor José Giral, from Izquierda Republicana, hoping to be recognised by the Allies. On 27 August 1945, a Republican government was formed in exile, in Mexico and the Mexican president recognised its legitimacy.<sup>673</sup> It would be subsequently moved to Paris. José Giral convoked the *Cortes* and the republican parliament met in 1945.<sup>674</sup> Giral hoped to obtain international recognition and the re-establishment of the second republic. Martínez Barrio would be the president of the republic, and Giral would be in charge of forming a new government. Negrín had presented his resignation.<sup>675</sup> In September 1945, the ANFD recognised the republican government of J. Giral and became its instrument within Spain because the ANFD needed help. This meant that when the government failed, it brought the ANFD down with it. The French accepted Giral's government, but the British did not. Irujo was nominated minister of aviation. Other ministers included Miquel Santaló, who was nominated minister of Public Instruction, and Luis Nicolau d'Olwer, from ACR.<sup>676</sup>

In March 1945, Giral, Martínez Barrio, Irla and Aguirre met in Paris to which the Giral government had relocated. The nationalists were keen to collaborate, since participation brought with it the possibility of influence in political decisions. Another advantage for the nationalists was potential access to Republican networks of

---

<sup>671</sup> AN, Artea, Alderdi EAJ, 11-1947, 'Relaciones vasco-catalanas'.

<sup>672</sup> Aberasturi, *De la derrota*, p.653; C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, V.II*, p.127; J. Tusell, 'El apogeo del franquismo' (1939-1959), in Archivo General de la Guardia Civil, Madrid.

<sup>673</sup> A summary of the reconstitution of the republican government in Mexico is found in the following document. PRO File FO 371/39744, Letter Lizaso to Aguirre, Basque relations with the left, London, 10-12-1944.

<sup>674</sup> AT, Poblet, Box G2, 'Declaración del Sr. Giral sobre el gobierno republicano en el exilio.'

<sup>675</sup> Aberasturi, *De la derrota*, p.653.

<sup>676</sup> AT, Box 126, Irla, 'Notes sobre el govern de l'exili, London 1947-1948.

communications and services. This, it was presumed, would assist in their unification.<sup>677</sup>

Irujo specified a number of conditions: freedom of religious expression, the incorporation of Navarra in the Basque autonomic laws, approval of the Galician statute, and the nomination of a Galician minister. The two major nationalist bones of contention - the widening of the statute and recognition of the right of self-determination - were put off.<sup>678</sup> As such, Aguirre could not accept the participation of the PNV in Giral's government. The PNV divided between those wanting to support the republic, and those that did not.<sup>679</sup>

In February 1946, the republican institutions and the Basque and Catalan governments moved to Paris in order to develop an intense diplomatic activity. Negrín's government was recognised by many countries. Giral was too obsessed with the restoration of the republic and did not see that the only way forward was a government of concentration.<sup>680</sup> Thus, after the Tripartite Note, monarchists contacted the ANFD but Giral rejected a rapprochement.

When the Giral's failure became apparent, he was replaced by the Socialist Rodolfo Llopis, the Secretary General of the Socialist party, in February 1947. Llopis tried to reach an agreement with the monarchists<sup>681</sup> but the monarchists rejected the offer, saying they would only deal with the PSOE.<sup>682</sup> The Llopis government would not include conservative republicans, monarchists or Catalans<sup>683</sup> and would fail. Though republican institutions would continue to exist, the government-in-exile was, for practical purposes, at an end<sup>684</sup> because it was anachronistic, abandoned by all

---

<sup>677</sup> Aberasturi, *De la derrota*, p.659; C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.II*, pp.51-54; H. Heine, *La oposició*, p.162.

<sup>678</sup> For more information on the constitution and developments of Giral's government, see C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.II*, p.133; J.C.J. Aberasturi, *De la derrota*, p.657; *Espanoles en Francia 1936-1946*, (Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, Coloquio Internacional, 1991), p.164.

<sup>679</sup> C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili, Vol.I* (Barcelona, Curial, 1979), pp.130-131.

<sup>680</sup> P.Preston, *Spain in crisis*, pp.132-133.

<sup>681</sup> Ed.Pablo Iglesias, *El socialismo en España*, (Madrid, Anales de la historia, 1986), p.357

<sup>682</sup> P.Preston, *Spain in crisis*, p.137. C. Pi i Sunyer, *Memòries de l'exili de Carles Pi i Sunyer, Vol.II*, p.124; *Espanoles en Francia 1936-1946*, (Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, Coloquio Internacional, 1991), p.176.

<sup>683</sup> AN, Artea, EBB 207-3, 'La crisis del gobierno republicano', 21-01-1947.

<sup>684</sup> AN, Artea, EBB 217-1, 'La segunda crisis del gobierno de la república'



groups except the republicans who dreamt of a return to 1931. Moreover, the Socialists were demoralised and discredited and the CNT and communists were riven by internal dissent.<sup>685</sup>

In July 1947, the Socialists led by Prieto, entered into conversations with the monarchists under the auspices of the British government.<sup>686</sup> Prieto did so in the hope of finding an alternative government to Franco which the Allies might accept.<sup>687</sup> Prieto met with Gil Robles, the representative of Don Juan de Borbón. Both agreed on the so-called Pacto de San Juan de Luz (August 1948) in order to re-establish democracy in Spain.<sup>688</sup> The pact would fail since it had no support from the Western democracies.<sup>689</sup> Moreover, the Catalans were never included within its scope. The monarchists ultimately preferred to reach an agreement with Franco for the eventual restoration of the crown, undermining Prieto's project. In 1950, Prieto returned to Mexico.

On the far left of the political spectrum, there were the communists. Many of the leaders of the PCE and the Catalan PSUC went into exile into Stalin's Russia.<sup>690</sup> The Communists that stayed in Spain determined instead to pursue an armed struggle through organising guerrilla activities. Both the PNV and the Socialists were opposed to Communist politics, and tried to isolate them. By the end of 1945, a full-scale guerrilla war against the regime was beginning to build up in the north and east. Dominated by Communists, but also including Socialists and anarchists, the so-called

---

<sup>685</sup> P.Preston, *Spain in crisis*, p.137.

<sup>686</sup> PRO File FO 371/60372, Sir Victor Mallet, Madrid Office to Foreign Office, 12-01-1946. The ANFD declared that although it favoured a republic, it was not totally opposed to the restoration of a constitutional monarchy. "Close contact still exists between monarchist and moderate left wing elements. Monarchists fully appreciate the importance of a broadly based provisional government. Only yesterday, Gil Robles sent a message to his contact man in Madrid impressing on him the vital necessity of persuading left-wing elements to accept the return of the king with a provisional government to be followed by a plebiscite and elections. There has, however, been some delay in actual signature of agreement between the democratic alliance and monarchists because Socialist leader now insists that before signing up the representative of the left in Paris, José Giral, should be made aware of the views of the Spanish left-wing opposition."

<sup>687</sup> AN, Artea, 31-10-1947, Prieto.

<sup>688</sup> PRO FO 371/73359, Z8130/1027/41.

<sup>689</sup> Martín Casas, *El exilio español*, pp.197-201.

<sup>690</sup> Martín Casas, *El exilio Español*, p.171.

Spanish *maquis* would threaten the regime until 1947.<sup>691</sup> The Communists and Catalans never allied in their anti-Francoist fight.

## 7.7 END OF CATALAN HOPES

Between 1947 and 1951, Catalan nationalism more or less dissipated as a political force. The period ended with the famous tramway strike of 1951.<sup>692</sup> In Spain, the progressive acceptance of Francoism at an international level had serious consequences for those parties in opposition to Franco, all of which began to fade away. Franco was able to further weaken his monarchist rivals through the Law of Succession in 1947, which promised a future restoration of the monarchy and so diminished international criticism.<sup>693</sup> The monarchist pretender to the throne, Don Juan, agreed to a meeting with Franco, a decision whose sequel, in the autumn of 1948, to send his son Juan Carlos to Spain to receive his secondary education, presaged the suspension of monarchist opposition in July 1951.<sup>694</sup> Left wing opposition faltered after 1947, partly due to a lack of organisation and resources and partly due to a lack of support from the Western powers.<sup>695</sup> After the dissolution of the republican government, left-wing opposition vanished as a realistic alternative. Furthermore, between 1948 and 1950, distance grew between the opposition in exile and that inside Spain. The Basque opposition also faded away in 1948. Basque nationalists were overtly reluctant to pact with the republican forces which, in turn, were reluctant to

---

<sup>691</sup> Preston, *Franco*, , p.549.

<sup>692</sup> H. Ragner, Hilari, *El quadern de Montjuïc, Record de la vaga de tramvies*, (Barcelona, Claret 2001); M.Richards, 'Falange, autarky and Crisis: The Barcelona general strike of 1951', *European History Quarterly*, October 1999, pp.543-585

<sup>693</sup> The developments of the Spanish monarchist opposition were followed from the British Foreign Office. PRO FO371/60373, Z2125/41/41, Mallet to Bevin, 15-02-1946.

<sup>694</sup> Viladot, *Nacionalisme*, pp.192-194; Dunthorn, *Britain*, p.282; Gil Robles, *Diary*, 25 September, 'La monarquía', pp. 272,5.

<sup>695</sup> For an explanation of the fading away of left-wing opposition after 1947, see PRO, Hankey to Foreign Office, London, 20-04-1950. "With the exception of the Communists and the Basque nationalist, the left-wing opposition is disorganised and temporarily inactive as a result of apathy within and successful police repression without. The dissemination of printed propaganda is only a small fraction of what it was 2 years ago. Even the Basques, whose organisation is compact and almost impervious to police infiltration, find the times bad for overt action, organised opposition is becoming feebler. All but a small fraction seems to have lost hope of salvation thorough any of the democratic parties. Working class people have given up hope on a peaceful resolution. That is the reason for many more supporting the Communists. Complaints are now directed to: hunger, high prices and shortage of food, black market, deductions from their wage."

accept the autonomy pact. The Basque nationalists held out for independence, limiting the paths open to them.

After 1946, Catalan nationalism was transformed into a cultural rather than a political force. The Mare de Déu de Montserrat enthronement celebration, on 27 April 1947, announced the change, mixing religious devotion and an explosion of Catalan sentiment. The event marked the first public act of recovery of the Catalan language and culture since the onset of Francoism.<sup>696</sup> Catalan nationalism, after having failed in its political attempts, shifted towards a cultural nationalism that would keep the Catalan flame alive up to the democratic transition in the 1970s.<sup>697</sup> The Catalans felt that they had to start everything anew.<sup>698</sup> After the failure to organise an effective anti-Francoist opposition, it was considered that the cultural path presented the best and only option to continue the struggle. After the vanishing of Catalan political parties in 1947, two new tendencies in opposition came to light. In addition to cultural Catalan nationalism, Communist activity would intensify. From 1948 onwards, the anti-Francoist fight fell into the hands of groups such as, the PSUC, or was organised in new opposition forms such as cultural groups, university and unionist structures.<sup>699</sup>

The government of the *Generalitat* was dissolved on 24 January 1948, though Josep Irla would continue as President until 1954, the year in which Josep Tarradellas was elected as new president of the *Generalitat*. The first Tarradellas government would be formed over twenty years later, in the context of a democratic Spain. The final symbol of the end of Catalan opposition was the tramway strike of March 1951, in Barcelona, a mass protest of citizens wearied by years of poverty. It was a spontaneous action, and the last Catalan political action on the streets of Catalonia for years.<sup>700</sup>

---

<sup>696</sup> Guibernau, *Nacionalisme CATALA*, p.76.

<sup>697</sup> Bardole, S, *Les festes de l'entronització de la Mare de Déu de Montserrat, (1946-1947)*, (Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1997), pp.13, 21, 23, 30,42.

<sup>698</sup> Author's interview with Josep Benet, November 2001, Barcelona.

<sup>699</sup> F.Vilanova I Vila-Abadal, *Als dos costats de la frontera*, p.15.

<sup>700</sup> Raguer, H., *Gaudeamus Igitur*, (Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1999), p.101; Díaz Esculies, *L'oposició catalanista al franquisme*, , pp.99; H. Raguer, *El quadern de Montjuïc, Record de la vaga de tramvies*, (Barcelona, Claret 2001).

## 7.8 CONCLUSION

From 1946 to 1947, the international community declared both its condemnation of the Francoist regime and a policy of non-intervention. The world was beginning to polarise with the onset of the Cold War. Spain was no longer a priority on the international agenda, and in the eyes of the Western powers trained on Eastern Europe, Franco was quickly perceived as the lesser of two evils. Fearing the disorder another Civil War could bring to the European strategic situation, the French, British, and the Americans implicit acceptance of the Francoists soon became explicit.

The period after World War II is significant both for the re-establishment of the Catalan government, the Basque government and the republican government, and for all the successive attempts to create unitary political platforms. However, by the time of the creation of unitary platforms by Catalans, Basque nationalists and the left-wing opposition, it was too late since the Allies had already decided not to intervene in Spain.

Catalan nationalism itself, though not moribund, was far from a vital force. Such activity as there was - centred in France and Spain - was not effective, with several attempts to coalesce with the Left, or to organise an alternative proposition with credibility in the international community, ending in failure. All efforts to unite behind common platforms failed. The most remarkable attempt at creating a unitary platform was the CNDC. With the dissolution of the *Generalitat* in 1948, Catalan opposition lost its sole institutional instrument. Hopes dimmed.

In the USA and Latin America, the dissolution of the Consell of London and the increasing significance of the French exile created considerable confusion and uncertainty. Nevertheless, the forces of the Left managed to restructure the republican government-in-exile in Mexico. Unlike the Catalans, the Basques and the republicans were able to reconstitute their governments, though the achievement was pyrrhic, suffering ultimately the same fate. The project of *Galeuzka* also failed. With the monarchists slowly approaching the Francoist regime, the political aspirations of the anti-Francoist opposition faded away.

The story of opposition throughout the period remained what it had been: one of faction, diffusion and the sporadic formation and dissolution of political groups. This is indicated not so much by the failure, as by the sheer number of unitary platforms or

movements. What remained of Catalan nationalism was dispute over policy, the primacy of one faction over another, territory, and confused relations with the satellite groups across the Atlantic.

## **EPILOGUE OF THE THESIS**

The purpose of this study has been to shed light on the failure of the Catalan opposition to Franco between the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1930 and the acceptance of Francoism by the international community in the 1950s. In particular, its object is to develop a complete and integrated description of political Catalan nationalism, during the Second World War and in the immediate post-war period, which has so far been lacking, and to produce a more measured evaluation of the nature of Catalan opposition to the regime and its place in the wider spectrum of opposition, internal and external, both at home and abroad. The complex picture that emerges would seem to confirm existing accounts in some of their detail, but also suggests that the extent to which Catalan nationalism may have contributed toward its own failures have been downplayed.

Although there is a plethora of information on Francoism and Catalan nationalism, there is not as much discussion on why or how Catalan nationalism failed and specifically what Catalans did to contribute to their own failure. This study aims to close this gap, by giving a comprehensive account of events inside Catalonia, inside Spain and throughout the exile in France, UK, USA and Latin America. It also adds to the historical record evidence of the course of Allied policy and decision-making throughout the period as it impacted on the Catalan situation and the Spanish question. That Catalan nationalism, like other regional nationalisms, faced a very difficult international situation, with many hundreds of thousands in exile, at one point or another is acknowledged. My thesis tried to evaluate the extent to which Catalanists were responsible for their own failure.

In order to close this historiographical gap, the author consulted public and private archives and interviewed several activists of the era. As such, the study moves beyond some of the limitations of the existing literature, which suffers from either a lack of breadth or depth of coverage, and which has been most concentrated upon monarchist and Republican opposition to the regime. The public archives in Catalonia offer evidence of the views of the principal leaders of Catalan nationalism on both sides of the political spectrum. Certain abstracts from, and certain sections of the presses are accessible in Catalan archives such as the Pabelló Sert in Barcelona, offering an overview of developments in the Catalan exile on the other side of the Atlantic, particularly in the *comunitats* of Latin America. Public archives in Madrid, and in Italy give an insight into official state opinion, whilst such private archives as the one of José Enrique Varela Iglesias, provide the Francoist perspective. The evolving Allied position is documented in the public archives in France and the UK, and the British Foreign Office and the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères in Paris also proved useful in charting the development of the policy of non-intervention. In counterpoint, the Ministero de Affari Esteri in Italy provides evidence of the Axis view of Spanish political developments. Together with a number of interviews of some of those few figures still alive, and consideration of a range of secondary material on the international, Spanish and Catalan history of the period, such sources go to make up the foundation for a panoramic view of Catalan nationalism in the period in question,

one comprehending the voices of the principal Catalan leaderships, of the communities in exile, and of those of the Allied and Axis powers.

The Catalan opposition to Franco developed after the Spanish Civil War as a reaction against Franco's imposition of totalitarian power and his repression of Catalan tradition and culture. Because of the very repression they were fighting against, many Catalans went on self-imposed exile, seeking refuge first in France, where they founded the Front Nacional de Catalunya (FNC) as an attempt to unite their forces. After the German invasion of France in 1940, Catalans had to flee the country and find a new refuge. At this point some flew towards the UK, while others crossed the Atlantic towards the USA or Latin America. In the UK, Carles Pi i Sunyer founded the Consell Nacional de Catalunya (CNC), which became the main Catalan organisation in exile and organised Catalans in independent *communitats* that would report to it. During World War II, the Catalans lent their support to the Allies, with the hope that on winning the war, the Allies would be able to, in turn, help the Catalans. In 1944, after the liberation of Paris, France and the FNC became once again the centre of Catalan activity. However, in the immediate post-war era, the international powers decided not to help the anti-Francoists because communism was seen as more of a threat than the repressive regime in Spain. This decision by the international powers dealt a major blow to the Catalans, effectively putting an end to their fight from 1947 onwards.

Although the Catalan opposition to Franco failed, it was successful in some areas. For instance, despite the threat of persecution inside Spain and various difficulties Catalans faced outside the country, Catalans were able to keep their language and the culture alive with the establishment of such institutions as the Casal Català, which often formed part of the several Catalan communities spread around the world and where conferences in Catalan were held or where Catalan classes were taught. The fact the Catalans were also able to establish a thriving secret press should also be viewed very positively. Various Catalan organisations published their own newspapers and magazines, even under Francoist censorship. For instance, the Lliga managed to publish the *Veu de Catalunya*, EC published the *Diari de Catalunya*, ERC managed to publish the *Humanitat*, the ORN published *Bandera*, the MRC *La nació catalana* and the BEN *Randa* and *La Boatella*. All of these publications were illegal

under Franco and were printed and distributed secretly. But perhaps the biggest achievement of the Catalan movement was its ability to organise a government-in-exile, as detailed in Chapter 7. Even though Catalans were left without legitimate institutions that would represent them after the Civil War the attempt at reconstituting the *Generalitat* between 1945 and 1948 is remarkable.

Notwithstanding these successes, there were major problems that the Catalans could not overcome, both internal and external, within Spain and outside it. The anti-Francoist opposition on the left and the right of the political spectrum, was politically incapable and overall, Catalans failed to create a unitary and realistic alternative to Francoism. They lacked internal unity, which was reflected in all their actions, and as this thesis attempts to prove, was a determinant factor in their failure in the 1940s. The leadership clashes among the different Catalan organisations that followed the death of Lluís Companys in 1940 seemed further symptoms of an endemic problem within Catalan nationalism as a political movement, and as has been shown, often had a personal as well as a political aspect. Internal leadership clashes within individual organisations were also common. One example described in Chapter 5 occurred when Pi i Sunyer's leadership of the new Consell of London (1944-1945) was contested by Batista i Roca and Trueta. These signal failures evidenced certain incapacity or will for pragmatism. Without it, Catalan nationalism foundered without a single political leadership enjoying true legitimacy even within its own ranks.

In exile, Catalans were divided between two main policy fronts: those that believed in recovering the republic and the statute of autonomy of 1932 as was the case of the FNC in France, and those that defended the independence of Catalonia from a radical nationalism as was the case of the CNC of the UK. The results were recurrently poor communication (worsened by the Catalan Atlantic exile) even where infrastructure was not the primary issue, the emergence of factions affiliated along party lines, the failure of factions to come to terms with one another, and even in-fighting and outright challenges to leadership, for example, Santaló's challenge to Pi i Sunyer described in chapter 4. Such policy divisions between the various groups contributed in creating enormous confusion among Catalans.



The same incapacity to agree on policy amongst themselves blighted Catalans' attempts to form or maintain alliances outside of Catalan nationalism. One example is the Basque-Catalan relationship. The two national groups always maintained good relations but failed to create a common political front. The relationship never went so far as achieving concrete political action and managed only to go as far as organising projects and manifestos. For instance, the project of *Galeuzka* (that hoped to unite Galician nationalists, Basque nationalists and Catalan nationalists) never managed to get off the ground due to internal infighting among its factions and an inability to make policy concessions in order to achieve an agreement. Another example is the Catalan failure to coalesce with Republicans as was the case with the Catalans in Latin America described in Chapter 4 and the case of the failed Junta de Liberación, discussed in Chapter 5. This was a major mistake. An alliance with Republicans was fundamental, not least because of the fact that Republicans controlled Catalans resources. If the Allies had offered to help the anti-Francoists after the war, the most likely outcome would have been to return Spain to its previous regime, a republic. However, Republicans tended to accept Catalan demands for autonomy but not its demands for self-determination and Catalans were not pragmatic enough to agree to some policy concessions. Thus, there was lack of pragmatism on the side of the Allies both within Catalan nationalism itself and with their external relations. Both levels of fragmentation negatively impacted the developments of Catalan nationalism in the 1940s. The rivalries between those in exile and those in Spain were a tremendous obstacle for the organisation of Catalan nationalism as a united platform. The more Francoist repression there was, the less contact there was between Catalans in exile and those inside Spain since their networks of communication were intercepted.

The remarkable lack of entente between Catalans exile and those inside Spain was yet another internal problem that contributed to their failure. Those in exile lacked legitimacy partly because those that had stayed in Catalonia did not recognise it. It is possible that the scattering of Catalan centres and the lack of legitimacy was even worse in exile than inside Catalonia but overall the weaknesses of Catalan nationalism were very similar in Catalonia and outside it.

Furthermore, the Catalans did not judge the strength of Francoism and the weakness of Catalan resources and morale after the Civil War. Even more so, Catalans

fully relied on a premise which turned out to be false: that of the help they would obtain from the Allies after World War II. It can be argued that this hope of help was a bit naïve because there was no written compromise by the Allies that would secure this help. All of these factors demonstrate the incapacity of the Catalans to organise effective opposition to Franco.

The external reasons for the failure of Catalan nationalism included the perilous situation in which Catalans found themselves after the Civil War and the brutal efficiency of the Francoist machinery of repression. As has been shown mainly in Chapter 1, Francoist repression impeded communication between the various centres of Catalan nationalism and had a far greater impact on morale and operations than opposition forces expected the regime to achieve. The lack of organisation of the other groups of anti-Francoists and their lack of capacity of agreement and compromise, similar to the disorganisation within the Catalans, also contributed to the failure of Catalan nationalism.

A very widely discussed factor in the failure of the Catalan opposition to Franco is the non-intervention of a victorious Allied side, which was contrary to what was expected. As discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, Allied support appeared to be on the cards (for example, after the signing of the Atlantic Charter in August 1941 which defended democracy and self-determination and stated that the Allies would re-establish freedom in the cases where it had been taken away), but was effectively withdrawn after the end of the War.

It is evident that Western policy towards the Francoist regime and towards the Spanish question in general shifted over time, and that a firm or final decision on policy had not been made for years. During the period preceding the end of World War II, conferences still left opened the door of Allied help to the anti-Francoists. The Yalta conference in February 1945 stated that Europe should dismantle the remains of fascism but there was no specific mention of Spain. The San Francisco conference in April 1945 that founded the United Nations excluded Francoist Spain but no practical help was obtained. The Potsdam conference of July 1945 condemned the Franco regime but also announced the respect for the principle of non-intervention in other countries. This was a period of condemnation of Francoism but also a period of non-

intervention. Finally, after World War II, in 1946-1947, in the face of the growing threat of Communism the Allies decided to accept Franco which ensured that Spain would not become Communist. Spain was excluded from the February 1946 meetings of the UN. The Tripartite Note of March 1946 again stated condemnation but non-intervention. In December 1946 the UN ambassadors recommended the retreat of ambassadors from Madrid. There was still some hope for anti-Francoists. However, after that, the growing threat of Communism made the Allies shift towards a policy of acceptance of Francoism. Allied policy was as yet not decided until 1947 and there was an opportunity for Republican and nationalist forces to find a compromise and seek its support in the international arena. Like others, Catalan nationalism was not seemingly capable of pragmatism, at least not to the extent required. The anti-Francoist opposition failed to profit the political possibilities available before the Allies decided to accept Franco. In November 1950, the ambassadors could return to Madrid. The lack of clear definition of the Allies towards anti-Francoism for years did not help Catalans. However, what can be blamed on the anti-Francoists was the lack of capacity of presenting a credible united and realistic alternative to Franco when the Allies were still undecided in their policy.

The Catalan opposition to Franco was, in short, politically incapable. Overall, Catalans failed to create a unitary and realistic alternative to Francoism and did not judge the strength of Francoism or their own weaknesses. Furthermore, Catalans fully relied on the false premise that they would obtain help from the Allies following World War II. Unity among the anti-Francoists would have been a necessary condition of Allied assistance, even though probably not a sufficient one.

The question of what could have been achieved by a more pragmatic leadership, or political culture necessarily involves conjecture. Similarly, though the return of the ambassadors to Spain marked a decision by the Western powers that the Francoists provided the best available insurance against Communist expansion on the westernmost European continent, my research suggests that a more cohesive alliance against the dictatorship, particularly on the part of the Republican forces and the regional nationalists could have been sufficiently attractive to warrant support. Opposition in general and Catalans in particular should have created a common unified

front that would have strengthened their potential greatly. A consolidated anti-Francoist opposition could have moved the Francoists from power through force.

The second alternative would have been intervention by a foreign power. The missing international support could have been political (in the form of isolation and condemnation of Francoism), military (in the form of armed intervention against Franco) or financial (either setting an embargo on Francoism or helping economically the anti-Francoist opposition). The British, the French or the Americans would have moved through the carrot of a secure, unified democratic regime in Spain or through the stick of a Communist backed alternative. Moreover, Catalans should have been able to secure economic stability if they really expected allied help. Taking into account that the Allies had several strategic priorities in Spain, the Catalans should have been more concerned about offering an image of stability and security. They should have discredited Franco in the eyes of the international community.

## **APPENDICES**

**Appendix 1. Main Catalan Parties pre-1939**

**Appendix 2. Main Catalan Political Organisations between 1939-1950**

**Appendix 2A Right Wing**

**Appendix 2B Left Wing**

**Appendix 2C Independent Groups**

**Appendix 2D Non-Catalan nationalist as Main Objective, but related to Catalans**

**Appendix 2E Catalan Unitary Platforms**

**Appendix 2F Non-Catalan nationalist Unitary Platforms, but related to Catalans**

**Appendix 3. Geography, Time-framework & Strength of main Catalan Organisations**

**Appendix 3A From April 1939 to June 1940**

**Appendix 3B From July 1940 to August 1942**

**Appendix 3C From September 1942 to October 1944**

**Appendix 3D From November 1944 to June 1945**

**Appendix 3E From July 1945 to December 1950**

**Appendix 4 Catalans in Latin America**

## Appendix 1. Main Catalan Parties pre-1939

<i>Right-wing Catalan Parties</i>	<i>Policy</i>	<i>Timing</i>	<i>Leader</i>
Lliga	Moderate right-wing Catalan party-seeks autonomy but ready to coalesce with Madrid-supported by Catalan bourgeoisie-created the <i>Mancomunitat</i>	Barcelona 1901-1936- end of Lliga's hegemony in 1923	Cambó
UDC	Catalan right-wing party-supported by Catholic middle classes-influenced by European Christian tradition-little support	1931	Manuel Carrasco Formiguera
FJC	Combined Catholicism and Catalan nationalism-Catalan religious association	1931	Albert Bonet
<i>Left-wing Catalan Parties</i>	<i>Policy</i>	<i>Timing</i>	<i>Leader</i>
EC	Separatist	1922	Francesc Macià
ERC	Left-wing Republican and separatist party- supported by Catalan working class	1931-main Catalan party during the second republic	Lluís Companys
AC	Liberal and nationalist, radical but non-separatist-created by a section of the Lliga unhappy with Cambó	1922	

## Appendix 2. Main Catalan Political Organisations between 1939-1950

### Appendix 2A Right Wing

<i>Party</i>	<i>Objectives</i>	<i>Policy</i>	<i>Leader</i>	<i>Publication</i>
Lliga	Increasing Catalan autonomy	Moderate Catalan nationalism-many support Francoism-very weakened after the Civil War	Cambó	<i>Veü de Catalunya</i>
UDC	Cultural Catalan nationalism-mainly developed in Catalonia	Right-wing autonomy and Catholicism-aimed at cultural recovery-supported by bourgeoisie	Miquel Coll i Alentom i Maurici Serrahima-reorganised in 1940 until 1947	
JCD	Youth group of UDC-Christian, Catalan, focused on university activity-democrat group-mainly developed in Catalonia	Right-wing autonomy-based on Catalan propaganda through secret press	Antón Cañellas	<i>Quaderns de Sant Jordi</i>

*Appendix 2B Left Wing*

<i>Party</i>	<i>Objectives</i>	<i>Policy</i>	<i>Leader</i>	<i>Publication</i>
EC	Catalan independence- recovery of republic- recovered autonomy in 1944	Left-wing separatist-liberal nationalism and democracy-some claim total independence, some join the FNC in 1944	Vicenç Borrell, Joan Comudella, Lluís Companys	<i>Circular, Diari de Catalunya, Almogàvers, Butlletí del partit Estat Català</i>
JEC	Youth group of EC (1942-1943)-in 1943 the JEC joined EC fully			<i>Butlletí de les Joventuts d'EC, Torxa</i>
ERC	Catalan independence- aim at recovery of republican constitution 1931 and statute 1932- members of ERC joined FNC in 1942 and back to ERC in 1945-party virtually moribund in 1947-	Left-wing separatist-majority party of <i>Generalitat</i> until 1940-from 1939 worked in exile to maintain <i>Generalitat</i> and Parliament-ERC against the CNC of London- enormously persecuted by Francoism	Pere Puig, Carles Pi i Sunyer, Josep Tarradellas, Josep Irla, Miquel Santaló	<i>La Humanitat</i>
ACR	Greater autonomy- support to Josep Irla and close to monarchists- by the end of the war, ACR had essentially dissolved-after WWII sought self-determination and confederation	Republican, small, liberal, Catalan, originally non-separatist and culturally oriented- developed from non-separatist to separatist	Jaume Bofill I Mates, Antoni Rovira I Virgili, Lluís Nicolau d' Olwer, Pere Bosch i Gimpera	
Nosaltres Sols	Political separatist Catalan group- created in 1931	Some of its members previously members of EC- military section of FNC later	Jaume Martínez Vendrell	



*Appendix 2C Independent Groups*

<i>Party</i>	<i>Objectives</i>	<i>Policy</i>	<i>Leader</i>	<i>Publication</i>
ORN	Catholic, Catalan and cultural group- language as main instrument-1942	Small independent group-against main parties- counted on few members and only based in Catalonia	Torres i Bages	<i>Bandera</i>
MRC	Language as main instrument- 1945	Small independent group-against main parties- counted on few members and activity focused in Catalonia		<i>La nació catalana</i>
BEN	Cultural group- based on language recovery-1946	Moderate autonomy-included a large number of students-small impact through its publications	Joan Grasses	<i>Redreçament, Randa, La Boatella, Redreçament Sèrie Blava</i>

*Appendix 2D Non-Catalan nationalist as Main Objective, but related to Catalans*

<i>Parties</i>	<i>Objectives</i>	<i>Policy</i>	<i>Leader</i>	<i>Publication</i>
UGT (Union)	Socialist union-suffered tremendous Francoist persecution- activity based on secret networks, recruitment activities, painting slogans and distributing union material	far away from Catalan nationalism		
CNT (Union)	Anarchist union-anarchism strong in Catalonia-suffered tremendous Francoist persecution	Catalan nationalism closer to CNT than UGT but Catalan nationalism not in the nature of CNT		
Socialist Movement of Catalunya	Reorganised in 1945-all Socialist tendencies represented but never managed to coalesce with Spanish Socialists	Sought high degree of autonomy for Catalonia		
PSUC (Communists)	Union of Catalan Socialists and Catalan Communists founded in 1936-Catalan nationalism was not its priority yet Comorera persecuted by PCE due to his Catalan nationalism	Armed resistance until 1947 but Communists did not subscribe to Catalan aims-tremendously persecuted by Francoists	Joan Comorera	

Appendix 2E Catalan Unitary Platforms

Party	Objectives	Policy	Leader	Publication
FNC-1940-1947	France and Catalonia- left-wing platform- faced enormous Francoist repression- union of EC, BEN, FNEC, ERC, ACR, CNT and Nosaltres Sols-worked with CNC later-united around the figure of Companys and the <i>Generalitat</i>	Catalan independence-self-determination and creation of a confederation of free states- Left-wing separatist main platform-united around the figure of Companys and the <i>Generalitat</i> in Paris in April 1940-ideology more defined in 1945-socially oriented policy and co-federal structure of Països Catalans-isolated from government of <i>Generalitat</i> in 1945- 1947- -loyal to president of the <i>Generalitat</i> and reorganised CNDC- included both university section and military section	Jaume Martínez Vendrell, Joan Comudella, Manuel Cruells, Enric Pagès-Jaume Ribas	<i>Catalunya-</i> <i>Manifest</i> <i>Primeres</i> <i>Paraules</i>
CNC of London (1940-43)	Sought complete independence and unity	Democrat and liberal-federalism, Catalan self-determination and Europeanism-supported by Catalan <i>comunitats</i> in Latin America-rejected republican constitution of 1931 and the statute of 1932 (accepted by the <i>Generalitat</i> ) and claimed total independence-CNC more radical than FNC	Pi i Sunyer	
Santaló's Consell (1941-44)	Led by moderate sectors of ERC- defended republican legality and statute of autonomy –power from Irla but no support from CNC nor <i>comunitats</i> in Latin America			
Reconstituted Consell of London (1944-	Radicalised policy- overt defence of the right of self-	Dissolution of Consell facing reconstitution of the <i>Generalitat</i>	Pi i Sunyer – increasing co-leadership	

45)	determination- dissolved in 1945 facing reconstitution of <i>Generalitat</i>		with Batista i Roca and Trueta	
Solidaritat Catalana	ERC, ACR, UDC, EC, Front de Llibertat (old Socialists), Fronts of Resistance, PSUC, UGT, Unió de Rabassaires, CNT, CNC of UK	Accepted republican legality as a starting point-parallel movement in France of the CNC- accepted the authority of the president of the <i>Generalitat</i>	Josep Tarradellas- January 1945	
APRC		Attempt at uniting Republican Catalan hopes- recognised Josep Irla but NOT the government of the <i>Generalitat</i>	Pous i Pagès- 1944	
CNDC	Based in Catalonia- included all Republican parties except the Communists- ACR, ERC, EC, UDC, Moviment Socialista de Catalunya, JCD, MRC, Unió de Rabassaires, FNC, Partit Republicà d'Esquerra, Unió Catalana and Partit Nacionalista Català	Support to Irla but did not recognise the <i>Generalitat</i>	Pous i Pagès	
CPDC- December 1945-1952	Final attempt at unitary platform	CPDC expanded in 1946 by alliance with ANFD accepting Irla as president of the <i>Generalitat</i>		
FNEC		Catalan youth movement	Josep Maria Ainaud de Lasarte	

*Appendix 2F Non-Catalan nationalist Unitary Platforms, but related to Catalans*

<i>Party</i>	<i>Objectives</i>	<i>Policy</i>	<i>Leader</i>	<i>Publication</i>
UNE-1944	Unitary platform of the Left created by Communists- included Republicans, Socialists, Catalans and UGT			
ANFD	Socialists and Republicans created ANFD in October 1944- union of Izquierda Republicana, Unión Republicana, Partido Republicano Federal, PSOE, UGT and CNT	Included Catalans and accepted demands of autonomy but not of self-determination- UNE failed and was absorbed by ANFD-attempt to return to a republican order uniting Socialists, Republicans and Catalans	Régulo Martínez	
JEL (Mexico)	1943- union of Izquierda Unida, Unión Republicana, ERC, ACR and PSOE-included Republicans, Socialists and Catalans		Diego Martínez Barrio	
JEL (France)	1944-1945- extension in France of Mexico organisation-aimed at re-establishing republican legality in Spain- included ERC, Socialists, UGT and CNT			

### **Appendix 3. Geography, Time-framework & Strength of main Catalan Organisations**

*Appendix 3A From April 1939 to June 1940*

<i>Parties</i>	<i>Countries</i>	<i>Strength</i>
Lliga	France and Catalonia	Virtually moribund
UDC	France and Catalonia	Weak
JCD	France and Catalonia	Weak
EC	France and Catalonia	Weak
ERC	France and Catalonia	Weak
FNC	Mainly France but also Catalonia	Main organisation

*Appendix 3B From July 1940 to August 1942*

<i>Parties</i>	<i>Countries</i>	<i>Strength</i>
CNC	UK	Strong
USA communities	USA, mainly New York	Weak
Latin America	Mainly Mexico but all around Latin America	Strong

*Appendix 3C From September 1942 to October 1944*

<i>Parties</i>	<i>Countries</i>	<i>Strength</i>
Santaló's new Consell	Mexico	Weak
EC	France and Spain	Weak
ERC	France and Spain	Weak
FNC	France and Spain	Weak



*Appendix 3D From November 1944 to June 1945*

<i>Parties</i>	<i>Countries</i>	<i>Strength</i>
Pi i Sunyer's New Consell	UK	Weak
UDC	Mainly Catalonia	Weak
JCD	Mainly Catalonia	Weak
FNC	France and Catalonia	Strong
ORN	France and Catalonia	Weak
MRC	France and Catalonia	Weak
EC	France and Catalonia	Weak
JEC	France and Catalonia	Weak
ERC	France and Catalonia	Weak
ACR	France and Catalonia	Weak
Socialist Movement	France and Catalonia	Weak
PSUC	France and Catalonia	Weak
BEN	France and Catalonia	Weak
ANFD	France and Catalonia	Weak
UNE	France and Catalonia	Weak
JL	France and Catalonia	Weak
Solidaritat Catalana	France and Catalonia	Weak

*Appendix 3E From July 1945 to December 1950*

<i>Parties</i>	<i>Countries</i>	<i>Strength</i>
ANFD		Weak
APRC		Weak
CNDC		Weak
CPDC		Weak
FNC		Weak

#### Appendix 4 Catalans in Latin America

<i>Country</i>	<i>Policy</i>	<i>Leader</i>
USA- mainly New York	Small group but effective	Josep Maria Fontanals
Latin America <i>comunitats</i>	Federation of Catalan entities- dependent on CNC of London	Josep Tomàs i Piera and later Pere Bosch i Gimpera

## **GLOSSARY**

**AC** – Acció Catalana (Catalan Action)

**ACR** – Acció Catalana Republicana (Catalan Republican Action)

**ANFD** – Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democráticas (National Alliance of Democratic Forces)

**APCR** – Aliança de Partits Republicans Catalans (Catalan Republican parties' alliance)

**BEN** – Bloc Escolar Nacionalista (Nationalist School bloc)

**BNC** – Consell Nacional Basc (Basque National Council)

**CEDA** – Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas (Spanish co-federation of right-wing parties)

**CIA** – Central Intelligence Authority (American Secret Services)

**CNC** – Consell Nacional de Catalunya (Catalan National Council)

**CNDC** – Consell Nacional de la Democràcia Catalana (National Council of Catalan Democracy)

**CNR** – Centre Nacionalista Republicà (Republican Nationalist Centre)

**CNT** – Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Labour, anarchist union)

**CPDC** – Comitè Permanent de la Democràcia Catalana (Permanent Committee of Catalan democracy)

**EC** – Estat Català (Catalan State)

**ERC** – Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (The left Republican party of Catalonia)

**FAI** – Iberian Anarchist Federation

FET – Falange Española Tradicionalista (Spanish fascist party created in 1937 after the unification of the Carlists with the Falange Española (FE))

FNC – Front Nacional de Catalunya (National Front of Catalonia)

FNEC – Federació Nacional d'Estudiants de Catalunya (Catalan National Youth Federation)

GALEUZKA (abbrev. for Galicia, Euzkadi, Catalonia)

IR – Izquierda Republicana (Republican left-wing party)

JARE – Junta Auxilio Refugiados Españoles (SOS council of Spanish refugees)

JCD – Joventut Catalana Democràtica (Catalan democratic youth movement)

JEC – Joventuts d'Estat Català (Estat Català youth's party)

JEL – Junta Española de Liberación (Spanish liberation platform)

JL –Junta de Liberación (Liberation platform)

JONS – Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista (The nationalist party established in 1937 by Franco's unification decree)

MRC – Moviment de Resistència de Catalunya (Resistance Movement of Catalonia)

ORN – Organització de Resistència Nacional (National Resistance Organisation)

PCE – Partido Comunista de España (The Moscow-oriented Spanish Communist party founded in 1920-1921)

PNV – Partido Nacionalista Vasco (The Christian Democrat Basque Nationalist Party)

POUM – Partit Obrer d'unificació Marxista (An amalgam of left Communists dissidents and Trotskyists and the Izquierda Comunista who united in 1935 to create a revolutionary vanguard party). The POUM was not a Catalan party strictly speaking.

**PSOE – Partido Socialista Obrero Español (The Spanish Socialist workers party established in 1879)**

**PSUC – Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya (Communist-controlled Catalan Socialist party which came into being in late July 1936)**

**SERE – Servicio de Evacuación de Refugiados Españoles (Evacuation Service of Spanish refugees)**

**UC – Unió Catalanista (Catalan Union)**

**UDC – Unió Democràtica de Catalonia (Catalan Democratic Union)**

**UGT – Unión General de Trabajadores (Socialist Spanish Union)**

**UNE – Unión Nacional Española (National Spanish Union)**

**UN – United Nations**

**UR – Unió Republicana (Republican Union)**

**USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**

## CHRONOLOGY

1939 –

26 January – entry of Nationalist troops in Catalonia

27 January – the first 1,500 Spanish refugees, wounded and civilians, enter France after the French government changed its previous attitude and allowed for the entrance of refugees

29 January – fall of Barcelona; *Generalitat* ceased to exist

1 February – The republican *Cortes* met for the last time in non-occupied territory

5 February – The *lehendakari* Aguirre and Companys seek refuge in France together with Julio Jáuregui, Pi i Sunyer, Sbert and Tarradellas. Also Negrín and Azaña go to France. The French government allows for the entrance of civil, wounded and ex-fighters into its territory

9 February – Francoist Law of Political Responsibilities approved

10 February – fall of Catalonia

21 February – the poet Antonio Machado dies in Colliure (South of France)

27 February – Recognition of Franco by Britain and France; resignation of Manuel Azaña

March – SERE created in Paris

1 March – The French government appoints Pétain as ambassador facing Franco

5 March – Negrín goes into exile

8 March – the Duke of Alba is appointed Spanish ambassador in the UK

9 March – Dolores Ibárruri (Spanish Communist leader) gets to Paris

15 March – German annexations of Bohemia and Moravia

27 March – Franco supports the Anti-Comintern Pact (formed by Germany and Japan, November 1936; joined by Italy, September 1937. Spain's support announced 6 April)

28 March – The Francoist troops enter in Madrid with no opposition

31 March – All of Spain in Francoist hands

1 April – End of the Civil War

3 April – The USA recognise Franco

8 May – Spain withdraws from the League of Nations

August 1939 – JARE created in Mexico

1 September – World War II begins

4 September – Spanish declaration of neutrality in World war II

1940 –

18 March – Anglo-Spanish trade agreements

22 March – Paul Reynaud replaces Édouard Daladier in the presidency of the Council in France

7 April – Anti-Comintern pact signed by Spain

18 April – Companys creates the Consell of Catalonia as representative organisation of the Catalans in exile

21 April – The group of Prieto creates the cultural centre Pablo Iglesias in Mexico; Front Nacional de Catalunya (FNC) created in France

1 June – Sir Samuel Hoare, new British ambassador in Spain, is sent to Madrid to avoid the entrance of Spain next to the Axis-German invasion of France

13 June – Spain's neutrality to non-belligerence made public. The Nazi forces occupy Paris. The French government settles in Bordeaux



16 June – Franco's first offer of belligerence to Hitler-Paul Reynaud presents its dismissal. Maréchal Pétain in charge of forming a new government

18 June – General de Gaulle speaks in the BBC calling for French resistance

1 July – the French government settles in Vichy

11 July – Foundation of the Basque National Council (BNC) in London

29 July – Foundational meeting in London of the Consell Nacional de Catalunya (CNC) whose president is Carles Pi i Sunyer. The other counsellors are Josep Maria Batista I Roca, Josep Trueta, Pere Bosch i Gimpera, Ramon Perera and Fermi Vergés. The council is in contact with the British authorities and seeks Catalan independence.

11 August – First meeting in London of the Consell Nacional of Catalonia (CNC)

13 August – Companys is imprisoned in the Baule by the German police in collaboration with commissary Urraca of the Spanish police in the embassy

21 August – Franco-Mexican agreements by which Vichy and the Mexican government agree to collaborate to give refuge to the Spanish refugees

15 October – Execution of Lluís Companys in Barcelona

October – Serrano Súñer appointed Foreign Minister of the Francoist regime

23 October – Franco meets Hitler at Hendaye in order to decide the conditions of the entrance of Spain in the war next to the Axis

4 November – Manuel Azaña dies in Montauban as last president of the Spanish republic

5 November – Roosevelt is re-elected president of the USA

9 December – The British attack the Italians in the North of Africa

– reorganisation of Unió Democràtica de Catalunya (UDC)

–Vichy regime settled in France (1940-1944)

1941 –

10 January – Agreement signed in London of the pact between the Basque National Council and the Catalan National Council

15 January – King Alfonso XIII abdicates

18 January – Common declaration of the Consell Nacional de Catalunya and the Basque National Council directed to the British government in Spain in which they reassert their support to the Allies, their right of self-determination and underline that the solidarity between Euzkadi and Catalonia for geographic position and its economic puissance constitute a solid basis for the reconstruction and stability in the Peninsula.

21 January – decree by the Mexican government by which the number of Spanish refugees entering the country is limited

12 February – interview between Franco and Mussolini in Bordighera, in which the entrance of Spain in favour of the Axis is discussed

28 February – Alfonso XIII dies in Rome

21 April – Manifest of the Basque National Council in London claiming its fight against totalitarianism next to the Allies

22 June – The German attacks against the USSR starts in which the Rumanian army also participates

6 August – The Germans forbid the exit of the Spanish refugees towards America from French territory

14 August – Publication of the Atlantic Charter after the meeting between Churchill and Roosevelt

5 December – the counter soviet offensive starts in the doors of Moscow

7 December – Japanese attack against the North American basis of Pearl Harbour and entry of the USA in the war

18 December – The Francoist government declares non-belligerence once more in the war started between the USA and Japan

1942 –

20 January – Josep Irla, president of the Catalan Parliament and the facto president of the *Generalitat*, in a letter directed to Pi i Sunyer, president of the National Council of Catalonia in London, expresses his reservation in respect to the legitimacy of the Consell Nacional de Catalunya (CNC)

28 January – the Basque National Council ceased its activity assuming the Basque representation of president Aguirre from America

17 July – J.A. Aguirre gets to Mexico from New York

21 July – J.A. Aguirre abandons Mexico towards Guatemala and Panama

10 September – meeting in Mexico among the representatives of the Spanish Republican presided by Martínez Barrio, Catalan representatives of Acció Catalana and Esquerra Republicana and representatives from the PNV as Julio Jáuregui in order to discuss a possible common action in exile and the organisation of the future Spanish state. The absence of the PSOE in these meetings and the subject of self-determination will make these conversations fail

27 October – Miquel Santaló, member of the executive council of Esquerra Republicana of Catalonia, gets to Mexico defending republican legality and the statute of autonomy de-legitimising Carles Pi i Sunyer's CNC power and creating confusion among the *comunitats* in Latin America

8 November – Franco declares neutrality in World War II

27 November – decree of the president of Mexico creating the commission CAFARE that should take care of the resources of the JARE

1943 –

4 January – Meeting of Basques and Catalans in Mexico in order to unify their policies-meeting presided by Aguirre

14 April – Basque and Catalan nationalists get in Mexico to an agreement on how the sovereign nations should reorder Spain after the war

November – Constitution in Mexico of Junta Española de Liberación (JL) – including Partido Socialista Obrero Español, Izquierda Republicana, Unión Republicana, Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya, Acció Republicana de Catalunya

1944 –

26 January – Declaration of the Francoist foreign minister asking for the strict neutrality of Spain in World War II

6 June – Allied disembarkation of the Normandy coast

1 October – Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democráticas (ANFD) constituted including the Republican, the Socialist-UGT and the libertarian-co federalist. It is a unitary platform of the anti-Francoist non-Communist forces

9 October – meeting between Churchill and Stalin about the reorganisation of the European map after the war in Moscow

23 October – constitution of the JL in France

28 October – Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya meets led by Josep Tarradellas to approve the republican legality as only alternative to Francoism

22 December – Meeting in Hotel Majestic in the city of Mexico of the nationalist representations of Euzkadi, Galicia and Catalonia to sign the pact *Galeuzka* in which the three regions claim their right to freedom, sovereignty and their right to self-determination. The Basque government does not participate as such

1945 –

6 January – Manifest of Solidaritat Catalana presided by Josep Tarradellas that group Esquerra Republicana, Estat Català and Front Nacional

6 March – Creation of Solidaritat Catalana led by Josep Tarradellas in Paris. It has unitary aspirations and defends the republican legality and recognises the authority of the new president of the *Generalitat*, Josep Irla

30 March – The Assistant committee to the presidency of the *Generalitat* is created as an institutional organization of President Irla

March – Bayonne Declaration: all Basque parties support the government of Euzkadi and the consultative council is constituted, organisation of political character

30 April – Hitler commits suicide in his bunker in Berlin

22 May – Pi i Sunyer goes to Paris from London

3-4 June – First meeting in Toulouse of Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya in which Pi i Sunyer, president of the CNC in London, participates and abandons his aims of self-determination, claiming republican legality and the recognition of the statutes

14 June – Pi i Sunyer asks for the constitution of a new government

2 August – Potsdam conference ratifies Spain's exclusion from the UN; formation of Republican government-in-exile

14 September – Josep Irla appoints the new Catalan government or *Generalitat* formed by himself, Pompeu Fabra, Pi i Sunyer and Rovira I Virgili

18 September Giral's government-in-exile excludes Communists

19 December – The French Constituent Assembly asks the government to break diplomatic relations with Francoist Spain

1946 –

January – Diplomatic note of the French government directed to the UK, USA and Russia asking the Security Council to consider the Spanish case

4 March – Tripartite Note, signed by Bidault, Byrnes and Bevin. In this note, the governments of France, UK and USA show their hope that the Spaniards will get rid of

Franco by pacific means, that a government of transition would be formed, will proclaim a general amnesty and the return of the exile. This declaration implies the condemnation of action of the guerrillas and the resistance, the declaration of non-military Allied intervention in Spain and an invitation to those in exile to enter a pact with the monarchists for the formation of a transitory government that will include all the democratic groups.

12 December – Resolution of the UN condemning the regime of Franco and recommending the retreat of ambassadors from Spain to the members of the UN.

1947 –

February – Giral government succeeded by Llopias government.

12 March – Cold War; Truman Doctrine

31 March – Publication Ley de Sucesión (Succession Law)

July – referendum of the Spanish state on whether Spain should become a reign. The YES wins. Franco is trying to legitimize his power.

1948 –

April –Facing European pressure, Spain is excluded from the plan Marshall.

1949 –

22 September – Cold War: USSR atomic bomb capacity becomes known

October – Cold War: Mao Tse-Tung triumphs in China

1950 –

4 November – General Assembly of the United Nations votes to authorise the return of the ambassadors to Madrid meaning implicit acceptance of Francoism

1951 –

12 March – General Strike in Barcelona

23 April – Strike in the Basque country

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

### **PRIMARY SOURCES**

*Unpublished sources*

#### **OFFICIAL ARCHIVES**

A- Archivo de la 2ª República en el exilio, Fundación Universitaria Española, (Madrid, Spain), (A2RE)

(i)-General content- mainly Republican government- 1.4.2- relations with the Catalan and Basque autonomous governments

(ii)- Sbert Folder- Antoni Maria Sbert

(iii)Paris Folder- Relations with the autonomous Catalan and Basque government and the Republicans

B-ARTEA, Archivo de la fundación Sabino Arana, Archivo del nacionalismo, Abertzaletasunaren Agiritegia, (Vizcaya, Spain), (AN)

*(Search in Artea before some of the Catalan papers accumulated in Artea were handed in to the Catalan authorities by the Basque lehendakari in February 2002 and kept in the Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya)*

(i)Documents

(ii) Magazines

*Alderdi*

*-Azkatasuna- 1945 -1950*

*-Euzko Deia-*

C- Arxiu Pi i Sunyer - Fundació Pi i Sunyer, (Barcelona, Spain), (FPS)

(i) Carles Pi i Sunyer's documents

(ii)-Carles Pi i Sunyer's epistolary

D-Public Record Office, (London, UK), (PRO)

(i) Documents



E-Archivio Historico e diplomatico del ministero degli affari esteri, (Roma, Italy),

(AE)

(i) Servizio Storico e Documentazione Ufficio II-politica Spagna-Documenti diplomatici italiani

F-Archivio Centrale dello stato, (Roma, Italy), (ACS)

(i) Documenti diplomatici Italiani

G-Pabelló Sert, Centre d'estudis d'història contemporània, (Barcelona, Spain), (PS)

*-Catalan Republican exiled press- 1939-1975-CEHI sources- Barcelona's university*

(i) Magazines

H-Arxiu Montserrat Tarradellas i Macià, (Poblet, Spain), (AT)

(i) Archive 1936-1939- War documents

*Generalitat de Catalunya's archive*

(ii) Archive Clos de Mosny

(iii) Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya's archive-year 1939-1950

(iv) Magazines

(v) Press Archive

(vi) Graphic archive

I - Archivo General de la Administración, (Alcalá de Henares, Madrid, Spain),

(AGA)

(i) Foreign Office matters

(ii) Government's presidency sources

J- Archivo Presidencia Moncloa, Archivo de la Jefatura del Estado State's inventory (1938-1974), (Madrid, Spain), (APM)

(i) Section A8-n.21 - (Sources from Pardo's palace), Embassies consulates, Europe and America

K) Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid, (Madrid, Spain), (HMM)

*Arriba*- 1940-1946

L) Archive du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, (Quay d'Orsay, Paris), (MAE)

(i) Papers 1940

(ii)-War 1939-1945- Vichy

M) Archives Nationales de France- Bibliothèque Nationale, (Paris, France), (ANF)

(i)F1

(ii)F7

N) Archivo Histórico Nacional, (Madrid, Spain), (AHN)

(i)-Contemporary sources

O-Arxiu Josep Fornàs i Martínez, (Parlament de Catalunya, Parc de la Ciutadella, Barcelona, Spain), (JFM)

P-Ministerio Asuntos Exteriores, Archivo General, Archivo Renovado, (Madrid, Spain), (MAEE)

(i)France

(ii) United Nations

(iii) Great Britain

(iv) Mexico

#### *PRIVATE COLLECTIONS*

A-Personal Archive of Antón Cañellas, Catalan ombudsman, (Barcelona, Spain), (APSG)

B-José Enrique Varela private's archive, (Cádiz, Spain), (AV)

(i)-Documents on the monarchy

(ii)-Personal reports

(iii) Suitcase-security files

C-Isabel Dalmasas personal archive, (Barcelona, Spain), (ID)

-letter from Ignacio Romañá to Don Luis Jover Nunell

D-Spanish Institute in Havana

The author travelled to Havana searching for documentary evidence of the Catalan exile in Cuba in the 1940s. Unfortunately, these and other documents proved inaccessible since Fidel Castro's closure of the Spanish Institute in Havana, at the beginning of 2003, in protest against the unconditional support given to George Bush's administration by the José María Aznar's government in the Iraq crisis.

***Published sources***

***PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES***

***OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS AND CORRESPONDENCE***

1947- Letters between Joaquim Santasusagna (close to Estat Català) and Josep Iglesias - can be found in the Centre de Lectura de Reus- Box Joaquim Santasusagna

UN, official records of the General Assembly, first session, part 1, 1944

***NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS***

*Bizkaitarra, Aberri, Euzkadi*

*El poble català*

*Euzko Deya*, (Paris, Mexico)

*Galeuzka, Buenos Aires*

*Germanor*

*Historia y Vida*

*La veu de Catalunya*

*OPE*- Oficina de prensa de Euzkadi

*El Matí*

*Quaderns de l'exili* (Mexico)

*Quaderns de Perpinyà*

*Ressorgiment*

*Revistes de Mèxic*

*Revista de Catalunya* num.167, p.123, November 2001

***WRITINGS, SPEECHES, MEMOIRS OF THE PROTAGONISTS***

Aguirre y Lecube, José Antonio, *Diario de Aguirre*, (Navarra, Txalaparta, 1998)

Atholl, Duchess of, *Searchlight on Spain*, (London, Penguin, 1938)

- Bosch i Gimpera, Pere, *Memòries*, (Barcelona, edicions 62, 1980)
- Bosch i Gimpera, Pere & Pi i Sunyer, Carles, *Informes a les autoritats britàniques*, (Barcelona, Fundació Carles Pi i Sunyer d'estudis autonòmics i locals, Biblioteca Carles Pi i Sunyer, edició de Francesc Vilanova, 1992)
- Bosch i Gimpera, Pere, *Viure el primer exili, cartes britàniques de Pere Bosch i Gimpera, (1939-1940)*, (Barcelona, Quaderns de l'Arxiu Pi i Sunyer n.2, Fundació Pi i Sunyer d'estudis autonòmics i locals, 1998)
- Cambó, Francesc, *Memòries (1976-1936)*, (Barcelona, Alpha, 1981)
- Ciano, Galeazzo, *Diario 1939-1943*, (Milano, Rizzoli, 1967)
- Ciano, Galeazzo, *Europa hacia la catástrofe*, (Barcelona, Los libros de nuestro tiempo, 1949)
- Franco, Francisco, *Discursos y mensajes del jefe de estado, 68-70*, (Madrid, Fundación nacional Francisco Franco, Azor, 1993)
- Gil Robles, José María, *La monarquía por la que luché, páginas de un diario (1941-1954)*, (Madrid, Taurus, 1976)
- Güell, Comte de, *Journal d'un expatrié, (36-45)*, (Monaco, Ed. Du Rocher, 1946)
- Hoare, Samuel, *Ambassador on especial mission*, (London, Collins, 1946)
- Martínez Vendrell, Jaume, *Una vida per Catalunya, Memòries (1939-1946)*, (Barcelona, Pòrtic, 1991)
- Pi i Sunyer, Carles, *8 escrits de l'exili*, (Barcelona, Fundació Pi i Sunyer, 1993)
- Pi i Sunyer, Carles, *Catalunya sota el règim franquista, Informe sobre la persecució de la llengua i la cultura de Catalunya pel règim del general Franco*, (Paris, Edicions Catalanes de Paris, 1973)
- Pi i Sunyer, Carles, *Informe de les gestions fetes a Barcelona l'any 1947*, (Barcelona, Quaderns de l'Arxiu Pi i Sunyer, 1991)
- Pi i Sunyer, Carles, *L'economia Catalana, Conferència al Casal Català de Nova York, 10-07-1948*, (Barcelona, Fundació Pi i Sunyer d'Estudis autonòmics i locals, 1992)
- Pi i Sunyer, Carles, *La guerra des de Londres, Articles per al Ministeri d'informació britànic (1940-1941)*, (Barcelona, Fundació Carles Pi i Sunyer d'estudis autonòmics i locals, Biblioteca Carles Pi i Sunyer, Francesc Vilanova Ed., 1996)
- Pi i Sunyer, Carles, *Memòries de l'exili, El Consell Nacional de Catalunya 1940-1945, Vol.I*, (Barcelona, Curial, Núria Pi Sunyer de Carrasco Ed., 1978)
- Pi i Sunyer, Carles, *Memòries de l'exili, El govern de la Generalitat, Paris 1945-1948, Vol.II*, (Barcelona, Curial, Núria Pi Sunyer de Carrasco Ed., 1978)

Pi i Sunyer, Carles, *Reports 1939-42*, (Barcelona, Fundació Carles Pi i Sunyer d'estudis autonòmics i locals, Biblioteca Carles Pi i Sunyer, Francesc Vilanova Ed., 1993)

Pi i Sunyer, Carles, *Tríptic de retaule*, (Barcelona, Fundació Carles Pi i Sunyer d'estudis autonòmics i locals, Biblioteca Carles Pi i Sunyer, Francesc Vilanova Ed., 1996)

Pi Sunyer, Carles, *Dietari del primer mig mes de guerra (Londres, 1939)*, (Barcelona, Biblioteca Carles Pi Sunyer, Francesc Vilanova Ed., 1993)

Serrahima, Maurici, *Memòries de la guerra i de l'exili, 2 Vols*, (Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1981)

Solé Tura, Jordi, *Una historia optimista, Memorias*, (Madrid, Aguilar, 1999)

Tarradellas, Josep, *'Ja soc aquí' Recuerdo de un retorno*, (Barcelona, Planeta, 1990)

Trueta, Josep, *Fragments d'una vida, Memòries*, (Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1998)

## SECONDARY SOURCES

### *Books*

Agustí, David, *Historia breve de Catalunya*, (Madrid, Sílex, 2002)

Alba, Víctor, *Historia de la resistencia anti-franquista: 1939-1955*, (Barcelona, Planeta, 1978)

Alcalde, Carmen, *Mujeres en el franquismo: exiliadas, nacionalistas y opositoras*, (Barcelona, Flor de Viento, 1996)

Aldecoa, Fernando & Keating, Michael, *Las relaciones internacionales de las regiones*, (Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2000) p.186

Alted Vigil, Alicia & Nicolás Marín, Encarna, *Disidencias en el franquismo (1939-1975)* (Murcia, Diego Marín Editor, 1999)

Alted, Alicia, Mateos, Abdón, & Tussell, Javier, UNED, Departamento de Historia Contemporánea, *Actas del Congreso por el departamento de Historia Contemporánea de la UNED*, (Madrid, UNED, 1988)

Álvarez Junco, José, *El Emperador del Paralelo: Lerroux y la demagogía populista*, (Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 1990)

Alvira, Montserrat, coordinadora, *El exilio español en Méjico 1939-1982*, (Méjico D.F., Fondo de cultura Económica, 1982)

Anguera, Pere & de la Granja, José Luis, Beramendi, Justo G., *La España de los nacionalismos y las autonomías*, (Madrid, Síntesis, 2001)

- Anguera, Pere, *Aproximació a la Història de Reus*, (Reus, Publicacions de l'Ajuntament de Reus, Vol.II, 1980)
- Benet, Josep, *Catalunya sota el règim franquista, vol.I*, (París, Edicions Catalanes de París, 1973)
- Ansón, Luis María, *Don Juan*, (Barcelona, Plaza & Janés, 1984)
- Antich, José, *El Virrei; és Jordi Pujol un fidel aliat de la Corona o un cavall de Troia dins de la Zarzuela?* (Barcelona, Planeta, 1994, 4th ed.)
- Aranzazu Usandizaga, Arantxa, *Ve y cuenta lo que pasó en España*, (Barcelona, Planeta, 2000), p.271
- Arasa, Daniel, *Els Catalans de Churchill*, (Barcelona, Curial, 1990)
- Areilza, José María de, *Cuadernos de transición*, (Barcelona, Planeta, 1983)
- Balcells, Albert, *Catalan nationalism: past and present*, (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1996)
- Balcells, Albert, *Crisis económica y agitación social en Cataluña 1930- a1936*, (Barcelona, Ariel, 1971)
- Balcells, Albert, *Historia contemporánea de Cataluña*, (Barcelona, Edhasa, 1983)
- Balfour, Sebastian, *Dictatorship, workers, and the city: labour in Greater Barcelona since 1939*, (Oxford, Clarendon press, 1989)
- Bardolet, Abad Sebastià, *Les festes de l'entronització de la Mare de Déu de Montserrat (1946-1947)*, (Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1997)
- Beltza, *El clero vasco frente a la cruzada franquista*, (Toulouse, Eguindarra, 1966)
- Beltza, *El nacionalismo vasco en el exilio 1937-1960*, (San Sebastián, Txertoa, 1977)
- Benet, Josep, *Catalunya i la guerra civil (1936-1939)*, (Barcelona, Abadia de Montserrat, 1988)
- Benet, Josep, *Catalunya sota el règim franquista: informe sobre la persecució de la llengua i la cultura de Catalunya pel règim del general Franco, Vol.I*, (Barcelona, Blume, 1978)
- Benet, Josep, *El president Tarradellas en els seus textos: 1954-1988*, (Barcelona, Empúries, 1984)
- Benet, Josep, *Exili i mort del president Companys*, (Barcelona, Empúries, 1990, 2nd ed.)

- Benet, Josep, *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya*, (Barcelona, Montserrat, 1995, 2nd ed.)
- Bertrán i Güell, Felipe, *Preparación y desarrollo del alzamiento nacional*, (Valladolid, Santarén, 1939)
- Blasco Ibáñez, Vicente, *El intruso*, (Barcelona, Plaza & Janés, 1984, 3rd ed.)
- Blinkhorn, Martin, *Spain in Conflict, 1931-1939*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University press, 1975)
- Borrás, José, *Políticas de los exilados españoles: 1944-1950*, (Paris, Ruedo Ibérico, 1976)
- Bosch i Gimpera, Pere and Pi i Sunyer, Carles, *Cartes de Bosch i Gimpera i Carles Pi i Sunyer*, (Barcelona, Fundació Pi i Sunyer, 2004)
- Brennan, Gerald, *The Spanish Labyrinth*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University press, Second edition, 1990)
- Bricall, Josep Maria, *La Generalitat de Catalunya a l'exili*, (Barcelona, Aymà, 1977)
- Cable, John, *The Royal Navy and the siege of Bilbao*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University press, 1990)
- Calvet i Costa, Felip & Roig Rosich, Josep Maria, *Josep Irla. President de la Generalitat de Catalunya a l'exili*, (Barcelona, Teide, 1981)
- Calvo Serer, Rafael, *Franco frente al rey: el proceso del régimen*, (Madrid, Ruedo Ibérico, 1972)
- Calvocoressi, Peter, *International politics since 1945*, (New York, Addison Wesley Longman, 1999)
- Cambó, Francesc, *Per la concòrdia*, (Barcelona, Llibreria Catalònia, 1930)
- Caminal i Badia, Miquel, *Joan Comorera*, (Barcelona, Empúries, 1994)
- Camps i Arboix, Josep, *La Mancomunitat de Catalunya*, (Barcelona, Bruguera, quaderns de cultura 44, 1968)
- Carr, Raymond, *Spain 1808-1975*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1982, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.)
- Carr, Raymond, *The Civil War in Spain, (1936-1939)*, (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986)
- Carr, Raymond, *The republic and the Civil War in Spain*, (London, Macmillan, 1971)
- Carvajal Urquijo, Pedro & Casas, Julio, *El exilio español (1936-1978)*, (Barcelona, Planeta, 2002, 5<sup>th</sup> ed.)

- Cierva, Ricardo de la & Vilar, Sergio, *Pro y contra Franco: franquismo y antifranchismo*, (Barcelona, Planeta, 1973)
- Clemente, Josep Carles, *El Carlismo en la España de Franco: bases documentales 1936-1977*, (Madrid, Fundamentos, 1994)
- Clemente, Josep Carles, *El Carlismo: historia de una disidencia social: 1833-1936*, (Barcelona, Ariel, 1990)
- Consejo Nacional de ciencia y tecnología, Luis I. Rodríguez, Secretaría de relaciones exteriores, *La protección de los refugiados españoles en Francia*, (Méjico, Colegio de Méjico, 2000)
- Conversi, Daniele, *The Basques, the Catalans and Spain: alternative routes to nationalist mobilisation*, (Reno, University of Nevada Press, 1997)
- Crexell, Joan, *Prensa d'exili dels anys mes difícils (1939-1947)*, (Barcelona, Abadia de Montserrat, 1992)
- D'Eguizale, Ibon, *Un homme, un clergé, un peuple: Euzkadi*, (Paris, Gallimard, 1978)
- Delgado, José Luis Ed., *El primer franquismo: España durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial*, (Madrid, Siglo XXI, 1989)
- Díez i Esculies, Daniel, *El Catalanisme polític a l'exili (1939-1959)*, (Barcelona, La Magrana, 1983)
- Díaz i Esculies, Daniel, *El Front Nacional de Catalunya i l'oposició catalanista al franquisme 1939-1947*, (Barcelona, La Magrana, 1983)
- Díaz i Esculies, Daniel, *L'Oposició catalanista al franquisme: el republicanisme liberal i la nova oposició (1939-1960)*, (Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1996)
- Díaz Santos, Julià, *Política en la Segunda República*, (Madrid, Marcial Pons, 1995)
- Dunthorn, David J., *Britain and the Spanish anti-Franco opposition, 1940-1950*, (London, Palgrave MacMillan, 2000)
- Edicions Enciclopèdia Catalana, *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, (Barcelona, Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1973)
- Estévez, Xosé, *De la triple alianza al pacto de San Sebastián*, (Mundaiz, Cuadernos Universitarios, 1991)
- Fabre, Jaume, Huertas, Josep M. & Ribas, Antoni *Vint anys de resistència catalana: 1939-59*, (Barcelona, La Magrana, 1978)
- Ferrer i Alòs, Llorenç, *Pagesos, rabassaires i industrials a la Catalunya Central: S.XIX I S.XX* (Barcelona, 1987)



- Fontana, Josep, *España bajo el franquismo*, (Barcelona, Crítica, 2000)
- Fontana, Josep, *Los catalanes en la guerra de España*, (Madrid, Samaran, 1951)
- Fraser, Ronald, *Blood of Spain: The experience of civil war: 1936-1939*, (London, Allen Lane, 1979)
- Fundació Carles Pi i Sunyer, Carles, (1888-1971), *Recull d'articles*, (Barcelona, Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1998)
- Fusi, Juan Pablo, *Un siglo de España, La cultura*, (Madrid, Marcial Pons, 1999)
- Fusi, Juan Pablo & García de Cortázar, Fernando, *Política, nacionalidad e iglesia en el País Vasco*, (San Sebastián, Txertoa, 1988)
- García de Cortázar, Fernando, *Breve historia del S.XX*, (Barcelona, Galaxia Gutenberg, 1993)
- García Venero, Máximiano, *Historia del nacionalismo catalán: 1793-1936*, (Madrid, Nacional, 1944)
- Gaziel, *Meditacions en el desert: 1946-1953*, (Paris, Edicions Catalanes de Paris, 1974)
- Gellner, Ernest, *Nationalism*, (London, Orion, 1988)
- Gómez-Navarro, José Luis, *El régimen de Primo de Rivera: reyes, dictaduras y dictadores*, (Madrid, Cátedra, 1991)
- González Calbet, Maria Teresa, *La dictadura de Primo de Rivera*, (Madrid, El Arquero, 1987)
- Graham, Helen, *Socialism and War, The Spanish Socialist party in power in crisis 1936-1939*, (Cambridge, Cambridge Press, 1991)
- Guderzo, Massimiliano, *Madrid e l'arte della diplomazia: l'incognita spagnola nella seconda guerra mondiale*, (Firenze, Manent, 1995)
- Guibernau, Montserrat, *Los nacionalismos*, (Barcelona, Ariel, 1996)
- Guibernau, Montserrat, *Nacionalisme català: Franquisme, transició i democràcia*, (Barcelona, Pòrtic, 2002)
- Guibernau, Montserrat, *Nationalisms; The nation-state and nationalism in the twentieth century*, (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1996)
- Heine, Hartmut, *La Oposición política al franquismo: de 1939 a 1952*, (Barcelona, Editorial Crítica Grijalbo, 1983)
- Heywood, Paul, *The Government and politics of Spain*, (Houndmills, McMillan Press Ltd., 1995)

- Hobsbawm, Eric, *Age of extremes: the short twentieth century, 1914-1991*, (London, Penguin, 1994)
- Hobsbawm, Eric & Ranger, Terence, eds., *The invention of tradition*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984)
- Hooper, John, *The Spaniards, a portrait of the new Spain*, (London, Penguin, 1997)
- Irujo, Manuel, *Inglaterra y los vascos*, (Buenos Aires, Editorial Vasca Ekin, 1945)
- Jardí, Enric, *Francesc Macià: el camí de la llibertat 1905-1931*, (Barcelona, Aymà, 1977)
- Jáuregui, Fernando & Vega, Pedro, *Crónica del antifranquismo*, (Barcelona, Argós Vergara, 1983, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.)
- Jiménez de Aberasturi Corta, Juan Carlos, *De la derrota a la esperanza: políticas vascas durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial (1937-1947)*, (Bilbao, Instituto Vasco de Administración Pública, 1999)
- Johnston, Hank, *Tales of nationalism: Catalonia, 1939-1979*, (New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 1991)
- Juaristi, Jon, *El bucle melancólico: historias de nacionalistas vascos*, (Madrid, Espasa Calpe, 1997)
- Juliá Díaz, Santos, *El socialismo en España: desde la fundación del PSOE hasta 1975* (Madrid, Pablo Iglesias, 1986)
- Kedourie, Elie, *Nationalism*, (London, Hutchinson, 1960)
- Kennedy, Paul, *The rise and fall of the great powers: economic change and military conflict from 1500 to 2000*, (London, Unwin Hyman, 1988)
- Kershaw, Ian, *Hitler, 1889-1936*, (Harlow, Longman, 1991)
- Lacomba, Juan Antonio, *La crisis española de 1917*, (Madrid, Ciencia Nueva, 1970)
- Lannon, Frances & Preston, Paul, eds., *Elites and power in the twentieth century Spain: essays in honour of Sir Raymond Carr*, (Oxford, Clarendon, 1990)
- Lannon, Frances, *Modern Spain: the project of a national Catholicism*, (Oxford, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford University Press, 1983)
- Lannon, Frances, *Privilege, persecution and prophecy: the Catholic Church in Spain, 1875-1975*, (Oxford, Clarendon, 1987)
- Letamendia, Francisco, *Historia de Euzkadi: el nacionalismo vasco y ETA, 3 vols.*, (Paris, Ruedo Ibérico, 1975)

- López Rodó, Laureano, *La larga marcha hacia la monarquía*, (Barcelona, Noguer, 1977)
- Madariaga, Salvador de, *Españoles de mi tiempo*, (Barcelona, Planeta, 1976)
- Madariaga, Salvador de, *Spain: a Modern history*, (London, Jonathan Cape, 1961)
- Maier, Charles, ed., *The cold war in Europe: era of a divided continent*, (New York, M. Wiener Pub, 1991)
- Mandel, Ernest, *The meaning of the Second World War*, (London, Verso, 1986)
- Manent, Albert, *De 1936 a 1975: estudis sobre la guerra civil i el franquisme*, (Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1999)
- Marco Nadal, Enrique, *Todos contra Franco: la Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democráticas, 1944-1947*, (Madrid, Queimada, 1982)
- Meaker, Gerald, *The revolutionary left in Spain, 1914-1923*, (Palo Alto, Stanford University Press, 1974)
- Mestre i Camps, Jesús, dir., *Diccionari d'Història de Catalunya*, (Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1995, 3rd ed.)
- Mir, Conxita, ed., *La represión bajo el franquismo Ayer 43*, (Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2001)
- Modern Humanities Research Association, *MHRA Style book: notes for authors, editors, and writers of theses*, (London, The Association, 1996)
- Molas, Isidre, *Lliga catalana*, (Barcelona, ediciones 62, 1974)
- Molinero, Carme, & Ysàs, Pere, *Catalunya durant el franquisme*, (Barcelona, Empúries, 1999)
- Molinero, Carme, & Ysàs, Pere, *L'oposició antifeixista a Catalunya 1939-1950*, (Barcelona, La Magrana, 1981)
- Moradiellos, Enrique, *La España de Franco: 1939-1975*, (Madrid, Síntesis, 2000)
- Moradiellos, Enrique, *El reñidero de Europa*, (Barcelona, Península, 2001)
- Moseley, Ray, *Ciano, l'ombra di Mussolini*, (Milano, Mondadori, 1999)
- Obiols, Armand, *Bordeus, 1945*, (Sabadell, Fundació La Mirada, 2004)
- Olivar-Bertrand, Rafael, *Prat de la Riba*, (Barcelona, Aedos, 1964)
- Oliver, Joan, Pagés, Joan & Pagés, Pelai, *La prensa clandestina, 1939-1956: propaganda y documentos antifranquistas*, (Barcelona, Planeta, 1978)

- Orwell, George, *Homenaje a Catalunya*, (Barcelona, Virus, 2000)
- Pablo, Santiago de, Mess, Ludger & Rodríguez Ranz, José Antonio., *El péndulo patriótico: historia del Partido Nacionalista Vasco, Vol.I, (1895-1936)*, (Barcelona, Crítica- Contrastes, 2001)
- Pablo, Santiago, Mees, Ludger and Rodríguez Ranz, José Antonio, *El péndulo patriótico, Historia del Partido Nacionalista Vasco, Vol. II, (1936-1979)*, (Barcelona, Crítica, 2001)
- Pabón y Suárez de Urbina, Jesús, *Cambó (1876-1947)*, (Barcelona, Alpha, 1999)
- Payne, Stanley G., *Basque nationalism*, (Reno, University of Nevada Press, 1975)
- Payne, Stanley G., *Franco's Spain*, (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968)
- Pike, David Wingale, *Vae Victis!: los republicanos españoles refugiados en Francia 1939-1944*, (París, Ruedo Ibérico, 1969)
- Poblet, Josep Maria, *Història bàsica del catalanisme*, (Barcelona, Pòrtic, 1977, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.)
- Poblet, Josep Maria, *Vida I mort de Lluís Companys*, (Barcelona, Pòrtic, 1976, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.)
- Portero, Florentino, *Franco aislado: la cuestión española: 1945-1950*, (Madrid, Aguilar, 1989)
- Prat de la Riba, Enric, *La Nacionalidad catalana*, (Madrid, Alianza, 1987)
- Preston, Paul, *Comrades: Portraits from the Spanish Civil War*, (London, HarperCollins, 1999)
- Preston, Paul, ed., *España en crisis: evolución y decadencia del régimen de Franco*, (Madrid, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1977)
- Preston, Paul, *Franco: a biography* (London, HarperCollins, 1993)
- Preston, Paul, *Juan Carlos: el Rey de un pueblo*, (Barcelona, Plaza & Janés, 2003)
- Preston, Paul, *La destrucción de la democracia en España*, (Barcelona, Grijalbo, 2001, rev.)
- Preston, Paul, *Las tres Españas del 36*, (Barcelona, Plaza & Janés, 1998, 8th ed.)
- Preston, Paul, *The politics of revenge: fascism and the military in the XXth century Spain*, (Boston Unwin Hyman, 1990)
- Preston, Paul, ed., *Revolution and war in Spain 1931-1939*, (London, Methuen, 1984)
- Preston, Paul & Balfour, Sebastian, eds., *Spain and the great powers in the twentieth century*, (New York, Routledge, 1999)

- Preston, Paul, *The Spanish Civil War*, (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989)
- Preston, Paul, *The Triumph of Democracy in Spain* (London, Routledge, 1990)
- Puzzo, Dante, *Spain and the great powers, 1936 to 1941*, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1962)
- Raffaneau-Boj, Marie-Claude, *Los campos de concentración de los refugiados españoles en Francia: 1939-1945*, (Barcelona, ediciones Omega, 1995)
- Raguer, Hilari, *Gaudeamus Igitur: notes per a una història del "Grup Torras i Bages"*, (Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1999)
- Raguer, Hilari, *El quadern de Montjuïc: record de la vaga de tramvies*, (Barcelona, Claret 2001)
- Raguer, Hilari, *La Unió Democràtica de Catalunya i el seu temps: 1931-1939*, (Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1976)
- Richards, Michael, *A time of silence, civil war and the culture of repression in Franco's Spain, 1936-45*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998)
- Riera, Ignasi, *Los catalanes de Franco*, (Barcelona, Plaza & Janés, 1998)
- Riquer i Permanyer, Borja de, *L'últim Cambó: 1936-1947 la dreta catalanista davant la guerra civil i el primer franquisme*, (Barcelona, Eumo Editorial, 1996)
- Riquer, Borja de, *Lliga Regionalista: la burgesia i el nacionalisme, 1898-1904*, (Barcelona, Aedos, 1969)
- Robson, Colin, *Real Research World*, (Oxford, Oxford edition, 1993)
- Romero Salvadó, Francisco J., *Spain 1914-1918: between war and revolution*, (New York, Routledge, 1999)
- Rosal, Amaro del, *El oro del banco de España y la historia del Vita*, (Barcelona, Grijalbo, 1976)
- Rovira i Virgili, Antoni, *Epistolari (1939-1949)*, (Barcelona, Abadia de Montserrat, 2002)
- Rubio, Javier, *La emigración de la guerra civil de 1936-1939*, (Madrid, Librería Editorial San Martín, 1977)
- Sauret, Joan, *L'exili polític català*, (Barcelona, Ayma, 1979)
- Schlomo Ben-Ami, *La dictadura de Primo de Rivera, 1923-1930* (Barcelona, Planeta, 1984)
- Simoni, Leonardo, *Berlino, ambasciatta d'Italia, 39-43*, (Paris, Editions Pavilions Robert Laffont, 1945)

- Smith, Anthony D., *National Identity*, (London, Penguin, 1991)
- Smith, Anthony D., *Nationalism and modernity*, (London, Penguin, 1991)
- Solé i Sabaté, Josep Maria, *Cataluña en la guerra civil española*, (Barcelona, Biblioteca La Vanguardia, 1989)
- Solé i Sabaté, Josep Maria & Villarroya i Funt, Joan, *La Repressió a la reraguàrdia de Catalunya: 1936-1939*, (Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1986)
- Solé i Sabaté, Josep Maria, *La repressió franquista a Catalunya: 1938-1953* (Barcelona, edicions 62, 1985)
- Solé Tura, Jordi, *Catalanisme i revolució burgesa, la síntesi de Prat de la Riba*, (Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1967)
- Suárez, Luis, *España, Franco y la Segunda Guerra Mundial: desde 1939 hasta 1945*, (Madrid, Actas, 1997)
- Termes, Josep, *De la revolució de Setembre a la fi de la guerra civil 1868-1939*, (Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1987)
- Thomas, Hugh, *The Spanish Civil War*, (London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961)
- Tomàs, Joan Maria, *José Maria Fontana i Tarrats: Biografia política d'un franquista català*, (Reus, Centre de lectura, 1997)
- Toquero, José María, *Franco y Don Juan: la oposición monárquica al franquismo*, (Barcelona, Plaza & Janés, 1989)
- Tuñón de Lara, Manuel., *La España del siglo XX: 1914-1939*, (París, Librería Española, 1973, 2nd ed.)
- Tusell, Javier, *La dictadura de Franco*, (Madrid, Alianza, 1988)
- Tusell, Javier, *La oposición democrática al franquismo, 1939-1962*, (Barcelona, Espejo de España, Planeta, 1977)
- Ucelay Da Cal, Enric, *La Catalunya populista: imatge, cultura i política en l'etapa republicana, (1931-1939)*, (Barcelona, La Magrana, 1982)
- Udina, Ernest, *José Tarradellas, L'aventura d'una fidelitat*, (Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1992)
- Universidad Salamanca Publicaciones, *Españoles en Francia 1936-1939*, (Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, 1991)
- University of Chicago Press, *The Chicago Manual of Style: for authors, editors, and copywriters*, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1982, 13<sup>th</sup> ed.)

- Varela Ortega, José, *Una paradoja histórica, Hitler, Stalin, Roosevelt y algunas consecuencias para España de la Segunda Guerra Mundial*, (Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva Fundación Ortega y Gasset, 2004)
- Viadiu, Francesc, *Entre el torb i la Gestapo*, (Barcelona, Rafael Dalmau, 2000)
- Viladot i Presas, Albert, *Nacionalisme i premsa clandestina: 1939-1951*, (Barcelona, Curial, 1987)
- Vilanova, Francesc, *Als dos costats de la frontera: relacions polítiques entre exili i interior a la postguerra, 1939-1948*, (Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2001)
- Vilanova, Francesc, *Aproximació al primer exili de Pi i Sunyer*, (Barcelona, Fundació Pi i Sunyer d'estudis autonòmics i locals)
- Vilanova, Francesc, *Entre la història i la política*, (Lleida, Pagés editors, 1996)
- Vilanova, Francesc, *La cultura catalana en el primer exili, 1939-1940: cartes d'escriptors, intellectuals i científics*, (Barcelona, Fundació Carles Pi i Sunyer d'Estudis Autonòmics i locals, 2002)
- Vilanova, Francesc, *Les ruptures de l'any 1939*, (Barcelona, Publicacions de l'abadia de Montserrat 2000)
- Vilanova, Francesc, *Repressió política i coacció econòmica: les responsabilitats polítiques de republicans i conservadors catalans a la postguerra 1939-1942*, (Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1999)
- Vilanova, Francesc, *1939 Barcelona any zero. Història gràfica de l'ocupació de la ciutat*, (Barcelona, Edicions Proa, 1999).
- Vilar, Pierre, dir., *Història de Catalunya*, (Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1987)
- Vilar, Pierre, *Spain, A brief History*, (Oxford, Pergamon, 1977, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.)
- Vilar, Sergio, *Historia del anti-franquismo, 1939-75*, (Barcelona, Plaza & Janés, 1984)
- Vilar, Sergio, *La oposición a la dictadura: protagonistas de la España democrática*, (Paris, ediciones sociales/librería española, 1968)
- Villarroya i Font, Joan, *1939. Derrota i exili*, (Barcelona, Generalitat de Catalunya, 2000)
- Vizcaíno Casas, Fernando, *La España de la posguerra 1939-1953*, (Barcelona, Planeta, 1979)
- Unpublished theses**
- Conversi, Daniel, *Language, immigration and nationalism: comparing the Basque and Catalan cases*, (London, LSE PhD theses, 1994)

Dowling, Andrew, PhD, *'For Christ and Catalonia': Catholicism, Catalanism and the origins of Convergència i Unió, 1939-1975*, (Southampton, University of Southampton, 1999)

Dunthorn, D.J., *Britain and the Spanish anti-Francoist opposition, (1940-50)*, (Bristol, University of West England, July 1999)

Ehrlich, Charles, *The Lliga Regionalista: Failure of a Spanish political movement, 1901-1923*, (Oxford, University of Oxford, 1995)

Pliego Moreno, Iván, *Optimism betrayed: The golden era of Mexican Spanish relations, 1931-1939*, (London, LSE PhD, Still to be published)

### **Articles**

#### **IN NEWSPAPERS WITHOUT AUTHOR**

'La Spagna contra Franco, Una lotta eroica per la pace, Problemi della pace', *La Stampa Moderna*, Roma, 1952

'Los archivos hallados en Bilbao contienen cartas de Rodoreda, Riba o Pau Casals', *La Vanguardia*, 23-05-1999

'Carlos Semprún Speech in receiving the price Blanquerna from the hands of president Pujol', *La Vanguardia*, 25-01-2003

#### **IN NEWSPAPERS WITH AUTHOR**

Alted Virgil, Alicia, 'La historia olvidada', *El País Semana*, 12-01-2003

Gali, Roberto, '1939: La caiguda de Catalunya', *Avui*, 12-02-99

Gaziel, 'España ha muerto', *La Vanguardia*, 12-8-2001

Guezala, Luis, 'La victoria de hace 60 años', *Deia*, Jueves 1 de abril

Anasagasti, Iñaki, 'Un tiempo emocionante', *Deia*, 1-04-99

Lauzirika, Nekane, 'Si los vascos hablan, Madrid tendrá que oír', *Deia*, 02-04-1999

Machado, A., 'Recapitulemos', *La Vanguardia*, 20-8-2001

Mas I Segura, Antoni, 'Febrer de 1939: els plecs de la memòria', *Avui*, 10-2-99

Pétrich, Blanche, 'Sigue la deuda con sobrevivientes del exilio español', *Pasajes de la guerra civil*, 10-04-2000

Preston, Paul, 'El gran manipulador', *El País Digital*, 20-11-2000

Raguer, Hilari, 'El último adiós de Companys', *La Vanguardia*, 23-05-1999

Raguer, Hilari, 'Los pueblos muestran su grandeza en la adversidad', *El Correo*, 01-04-1999



- Segura i Mas, Antonio, 'Artea, Un arxiu que documenta, tot sol, la solidaritat basco-catalana', *Avui*, 4-07-99
- Segura i Mas, Antonio, 'Febrer de 1939: els plecs de la memòria', *Avui*, 10-02-1999
- Segura i Mas, Antonio, 'IC-V demana que Defensa doni sumari Companys a la Generalitat', *Avui*, 18-02-1999
- Segura i Mas, Antonio, 'La memòria necessària', *Avui*, 12-02-1999
- Sòria, Josep Maria 'El deporte de masas como cantera', *La Vanguardia*, 11-08-2001
- Sòria, Josep Maria 'El ultranacionalismo español', *La Vanguardia*, 06-08-2001
- Sòria, Josep Maria, 'El separatismo catalán toma cuerpo', *La Vanguardia*, 08-08-2001
- Sòria, Josep Maria, 'Dialéctica entre centralismo y radicalismo', *La Vanguardia*, 07-08-2001
- Sòria, Josep Maria, 'El señuelo del separatismo', *La Vanguardia*, 12-08-2001
- Sòria, Josep Maria, 'Franco abona el independentismo', *La Vanguardia*, 10-08- 2001
- Sòria, Josep Maria, 'La politización del catalanismo', *La Vanguardia*, 05-08- 2001
- Sòria, Josep Maria, 'De Prats de Molló a la Generalitat', *La Vanguardia*, 09-08- 2001
- IN JOURNALS*
- Castells, Josep Maria and Elorza, Antonio, 'El nacionalismo vasco', in *Cuadernos de Historia* 16, 92 (1987)
- Elorza, Antonio, 'El laberinto vasco', in *La aventura de la historia*, 4 (1999), pp.12-20
- Ballester, David, 'El plet del CADCI: el sindicalisme nacionalista en la cruïlla de la guerra civil' in *Revista de Catalunya* Num.167, 11-2001
- Ben Ami, Shlomo, 'Basque nationalism between Archaism and Modernity' in *Journal of Contemporary History*, 26/3-4 (1991), pp.493-521
- Casanova, Josep, 'Consulat britànic a Barcelona' in *ICESB, Perspectiva Social*
- Casanovas i Prat, Josep, 'La Catalunya de Mr.King: el Consolat Britànic de Barcelona durant la Guerra Civil (1936-1939)' in *Perspectiva Social*, num.35
- Dunthorn, David, Joe, 'The Prieto-Gil Robles Meeting of October 1947: Britain and the failure of the Spanish anti- Franco coalition,1945-1950' in *European History Quarterly*, Vol.30, No.1, 2000
- Ehrlich, Charles, 'The Lliga Regionalista and the Catalan Industrial bourgeoisie' in *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol.33, n.3, July 1998

Fuentes, Enrique, 'La oposición anti-franquista del 39 al 55', in *Cuadernos del Ruedo Ibérico*, (Paris, Horizonte Español, 1966)

Graham, Helen, 'Spain and Europe: the view from the periphery' in *The historical journal*, 35, 4, (1992), pp.969-983

Granja Saínz, José Luis de la, 'El nacionalismo vasco heterodoxo en el siglo XX', in *Cuadernos de Alzate*, 19 (1998), pp.147- 165

Mees, Ludger, 'El nacionalismo vasco y España: reflexiones en torno a un largo desencuentro', in *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Historia Contemporánea*, 9 (1996), pp.67-83

Moradiellos, Enrique, 'El Gobierno Británico y Cataluña durante la Guerra Civil', in Fuentes, Enrique, *Cuadernos del Ruedo Ibérico Vol.2*, (Paris, Horizonte Español, 1966)

Richards, Michael, 'Falange, autarky and crisis: The Barcelona general strike of 1951', *European History Quarterly*, October 1999, pp.543-585

Vilanova i Vila-Abadal, Francesc, 'El futur d'Europa: les reflexions federalistes de Carles Pi i Sunyer al Londres de la Segona Guerra Mundial' in *Quaderns de l'Arxiu Pi i Sunyer*, (Barcelona, Fundació Carles Pi i Sunyer, 2000)

#### IN BOOKS

'El futur monàrquic: la relació amb el comte de Barcelona' in Abadal, Ramon, *Entre la història i la política (1988-1990)*, (Lleida, Pagés Editors, 1996)

Moradiellos, Enrique, 'La conferencia de Potsdam de 1945 y el problema español' in Tusell, Javier, *La política exterior de España en el siglo XX*, (Madrid, Universidad Nacional de Educación a distancia, 1997)

Estévez, Xavier, 'Las relaciones entre los nacionalismos periféricos: vasco, gallego y catalán', in Ybarra, Pedro, *Ideología y nacionalismo*, (Vitoria, Instituto de Estudios sobre nacionalismos comparados, 1992), pp.94-150

Norman Jones, 'Regionalism and revolution in Catalonia' in Preston, Paul, *Revolution and War in Spain 1931-1939*, (London, Methuen, 1985)

#### Interviews

Ainaud de Lasarte, Josep Maria – historian who was a member of the Federació Nacional d'estudiants de Catalunya in the 1940s. Barcelona, December 2000.

Anguera, Pere – specialist on Catalan repression of the 1940s. Barcelona, September 2001.

Belausteguigoitia, Eneko – specialist on Basque nationalism. Bilbao, September 2002.

Benet, Josep – historian specialised on Catalan repression. Barcelona, November 2001.

Cañellas, Antón – Síndic de Greuges (Catalan ombudsman) in Barcelona until 2003. In his early years, he participated in the Catalan opposition to Franco. Barcelona, December 2001.

Clarà, Josep – specialist on Catalan opposition in Girona. Girona, November 2002.

Esteve, Pere – active politician of ERC. Barcelona, June 2001.

Grau, Josep Maria – Historian specialised in Tarragona's history of repression in Francoist period. Tarragona, December 2002.

Jiménez de Aberasturi, Juan Carlos – Historian specialised on Basque nationalist opposition to Franco in the 1940s. Durango, July 2002.

Lord Thomas of Swynnerton – hispanist specialised on the Spanish Civil War. London, October 2001.

Maragall, Pasqual – ex-mayor of Barcelona. Barcelona, October 2001.

Otazu, Alfonso – historian specialised on the Basque country. Durango, July 2002.

Raguer, Hilari – monk politically involved in Catalan moderate opposition of the 1940s. Born in 1928, he decided to become a monk in the Benedictine abbey of Montserrat. El Miracle, November 2002.

Varela, Enrique – military specialised on monarchist opposition to Franco. Cádiz, March 2001.

Vilanova, Francesc – member of the Fundació Pi i Sunyer. University teacher and writer specialised in the first Catalan exile after the Spanish Civil War. Barcelona, June 2002.

Ybarra, Peter – university teacher in the Basque country specialised in the Basque opposition under Francoism.