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STANLEY G. PAYNE

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José María Aznar &
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A Balancing Act
British Intelligence in
Spain During the
Second World War

**Conspiracy,
Coup d'etat &
Civil War in
Seville, 1936-1939**
History & Myth
in Francoist Spain

**Democracy,
Deeds & Dilemmas**
British Civil Support
for the Spanish
Republic, 1936-1939

Jorge Semprun
The Spaniard
Who Survived
the Nazis &
Conquered Paris

Association of Hispanists of Great Britain & Ireland
10th - 12th April 2017
Cardiff University

Sussex Library of Study - Cañada Blanch Contemporary Spanish Studies

General Editor: Paul Preston, London School of Economics

In the 1960s, the most important initiative in the cultural and academic relations between Spain and the United Kingdom was launched by a Valencian fruit importer in London. The creation by Vicente Cañada Blanch of the Anglo-Spanish Cultural Foundation has subsequently benefited large numbers of Spanish and British scholars at various levels. Thanks to the generosity of Vicente Cañada Blanch, thousands of Spanish schoolchildren have been educated at the secondary school in West London that bears his name. At the same time, many British and Spanish university students have benefited from the exchange scholarships which fostered cultural and scientific exchanges between the two countries. Some of the most important historical, artistic and literary work on Spanish topics to be produced in Great Britain was initially made possible by Cañada Blanch scholarships.

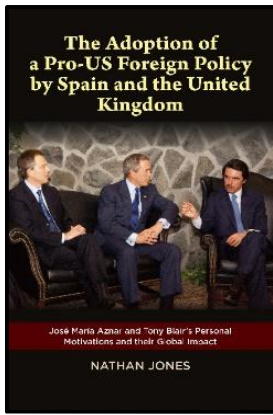
Vicente Cañada Blanch was, by inclination, a conservative. When his Foundation was created, the Franco regime was still in the plenitude of its power. Nevertheless, the keynote of the Foundation's activities was always a complete open-mindedness on political issues. This was reflected in the diversity of research projects supported by the Foundation, many of which, in Francoist Spain, would have been regarded as subversive. When the Dictator died, Don Vicente was in his seventy-fifth year. In the two decades following the death of the Dictator, although apparently indestructible, Don Vicente was obliged to husband his energies. Increasingly, the work of the Foundation was carried forward by Miguel Dols whose tireless and imaginative work in London was matched in Spain by that of José María Coll Comín. They were united in the Foundation's spirit of open-minded commitment to fostering research of high quality in pursuit of better Anglo-Spanish cultural relations. Throughout the 1990s, thanks to them, the role of the Foundation grew considerably.

In 1994, in collaboration with the London School of Economics, the Foundation established the Príncipe de Asturias Chair of Contemporary Spanish History and the Cañada Blanch Centre for Contemporary Spanish Studies. It is the particular task of the Cañada Blanch Centre for Contemporary Spanish Studies to promote the understanding of twentieth-century Spain through research and teaching of contemporary Spanish history, politics, economy, sociology and culture. The Centre possesses a valuable library and archival centre for specialists in contemporary Spain. This work is carried on through the publications of the doctoral and post-doctoral researchers at the Centre itself and through the many seminars and lectures held at the London School of Economics. While the seminars are the province of the researchers, the lecture cycles have been the forum in which Spanish politicians have been able to address audiences in the United Kingdom.

Since 1998, the Cañada Blanch Centre has published a substantial number of books in collaboration with several different publishers on the subject of contemporary Spanish history and politics. A fruitful partnership with Sussex Academic Press began in 2004, the publishing results of which are listed below.

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NEW TITLE

The Adoption of a Pro-US Foreign Policy by Spain & the United Kingdom José María Aznar & Tony Blair's Personal Motivations & their Global Impact

Nathan Jones

The alliance between Prime Ministers José María Aznar and Tony Blair represented a crucial moment in recent European and World politics, owing to the divisive nature of their support for the United States in the wake of the terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001. The extent of their collaboration, combined with their interventionist approach to tackling global threats, reflected an unprecedented level of cooperation between Spain and the United Kingdom.

This book sets out to explain Aznar and Blair's foreign policy and how they came to support the United States. Understanding their relationship is imperative to explaining divisions over European reform, intervention, tackling rogue states, the response to 9/11, and the war on terrorism. This critical period in world politics has been subject to significant academic analysis, but the motivations behind the adoption of a pro-US foreign policy by Aznar and Blair have hitherto not been examined from a comparative perspective. Analysis uncovers factors that have either been overlooked or understated in terms of their influence throughout the Aznar–Blair relationship, particularly regarding their alliance in the European Union before September 2001. This compelling comparative study is invaluable to explaining how two leaders from different political backgrounds and traditions became such close allies, and how they came to support US foreign policy despite the pressures of deep divisions within the EU political bloc.

About the Author: Nathan Jones holds a PhD in Politics from the University of Nottingham. He is an Independent Researcher of Spanish, British, and Comparative European Politics. He has also taught European Politics and Spanish Language at the University of Nottingham.

HB 9781845198350 £60.00 March 2017 Sussex Academic Press 200 pages

FORTHCOMING TITLE – JULY 2017

A Balancing Act

British Intelligence in Spain During the Second World War

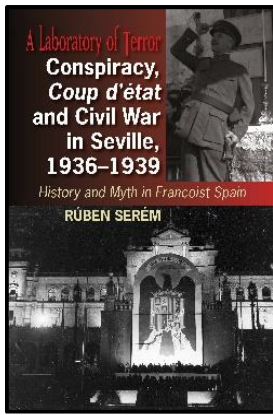
Emilio Grandio Seoane

This book reveals the development, strategy and extraordinary success of Britain's secret services in Franco's Spain during the Second World War. The main claim of this study is that British pressure, exercised above all through their intelligence services, led Franco to distance himself from the Axis cause and eventually embrace that of the Allies. Starting from a virtually non-existent base, the British rapidly built up a complex intelligence network in Spain that stretched from Corunna to Barcelona and from Bilbao to Gibraltar. As Spain was a non-belligerent, spy networks – including those of the Germans, Italians, Portuguese and British – proliferated in the Iberian Peninsula. Double-agents abounded within these networks; each one knew what the others were up to.

The British exploited this two-way traffic to let Franco know that if he did not accede to their demands, they would back a restoration of the Bourbon monarchy under Don Juan. This pressure culminated in the meeting of 1943 between Franco and the British Ambassador, Sir Samuel Hoare, at the dictator's country retreat in Galicia, the British underlining their purpose by flying warplanes close by the estate. Following this meeting, Franco almost immediately began to move away from the Axis powers and towards the Allies. The British swiftly dismantled their intelligence networks given that they had achieved their aim. Franco's expulsion of the German naval forces from Spanish ports and the denazification of the regime explains the benevolent attitude of the Allies towards the Spanish dictatorship after the war. Throughout this whole process, the British secret service, as this extensively researched study uncovers, played a crucial role.

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FORTHCOMING TITLE – JUNE 2017

**Conspiracy, Coup d'etat & Civil War in Seville, 1936-1939
History & Myth in Francoist Spain**

Ruben Serem

Conspiracy, Coup d'état and Civil War in Seville, 1936–1939 dissects the conspiracy against the democratic Second Spanish Republic in the context of the uprising and civil war in Seville, the capital of Spain's largest region, Andalusia, and the most populous urban centre seized by the military rebels during the *coup d'état* of July 1936. As the major industrial and economic centre in insurgent Spain, Seville remains central to understanding the rebels' repressive project, for this Andalusian province witnessed the highest number of extra-judicial assassinations throughout the war.

This is the first book in any language to bring together the subject of the civil war in Seville, the career of one of the most influential leaders of the rebel faction, General Queipo de Llano, and Francoism's most resilient myth. It dismantles, one by one, a series of carefully constructed narratives employed as rhetorical weapons to justify both the rebellion and the murderous rule of Queipo de Llano. The size and importance of the city meant that it became a critical battleground in the struggle for political legitimacy – and it remains so for Spain's on-going 'memory wars', a series of public and academic disputes over the historical memory of the Franco regime. Rúben Serém examines the socio-economic context of Queipo's great purge, the painful transition from democracy to autocracy and the political nature of the general's rule in Andalusia. In doing so, this work demonstrates how several features of Queipo's system of government were enthusiastically embraced by the nascent Francoist state, hence Seville's unenviable status as a *Laboratory of Terror*.

About the Author: Rúben Serém is a Leverhulme Early Career Fellow at the University of Nottingham and a research fellow at the Instituto de História Contemporânea at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa. He completed his doctorate at the London School of Economics in 2013 and has contributed to Helen Graham's edited volume, *Interrogating Francoism* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2016). He is currently researching Spanish-Portuguese relations during the Spanish Civil War.

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FORTHCOMING TITLE – JUNE 2017

Democracy, Deeds & Dilemmas

British Civil Support for the Spanish Republic, 1936-1939

Emily Mason

During the Spanish Civil War (1936 – 1939) the British public raised an estimated one to two million pounds for Republican Spain, mostly through small individual donations at a time when large parts of Britain were experiencing severe economic depression. Across the country people were moved by the plight of Spain, a land in which most had never set foot. The response was quintessentially British; through picnics, whist drives, concerts, dances and rambling expeditions, the war in Spain became embedded in British social and cultural life. Innovative fundraising campaigns ran alongside lectures, film screenings and exhibitions, engaging people with the Spanish conflict. But it was a fragile alliance of progressive opinion, for those involved often had very different interpretations of the political significance of the war and of the Republic's fight for a broadly defined concept of 'democracy'.

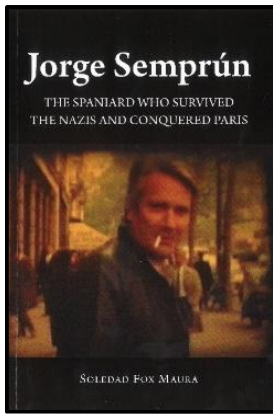
Democracy, Deeds and Dilemmas provides a fresh perspective on what is a well-trodden area of scholarship. It places British humanitarian responses to Spain within the context of Britain's flourishing civic and popular political culture, following the advent of mass democracy in 1928 as supported by the Equal Franchise Act. Emily Mason explores engagement with 'Spain' through three foci: the peace movement, the co-operative movement and British Christians – groups that were at the heart of the humanitarian response, but which remain underexplored in current historiography. The book explores how the Republican cause resonated with notions of British identity and with the crises that different groups perceived to be threatening their world order. It explores the dilemma that non-intervention posed for many Britons, and argues that humanitarian support for the Spanish Republic offers an example of 'active citizenship' and popular internationalism in Britain between the wars.

About the Author: Emily Mason is a visiting researcher at the London School of Economics, Canada Blanch Centre. She is a lecturer in modern European history at the University of East London and teaches modern British history at King's College, London. She was Assistant to the Curator for 'The Book of Travels', a physical and online exhibition in partnership with the British Council. In 2014 she was co-organiser of 'The Resurgence of "Class" in History?' conference at the University of Essex; and in 2010 Assistant to Academic Convenor for 'The Arts, the Academy and the World' (King's College London).

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NEW TITLE

Jorge Semprun

The Spaniard Who Survived the Nazis & Conquered Paris

Soledad Fox Maura

Spanish by birth, Parisian by adoption, Semprún (1923–2011) was a legendary figure on the front lines of twentieth-century European history. During the first half of his life he was an exile of the Spanish Civil War, a member of the French Resistance, a Nazi camp survivor, and clandestine agent for the Spanish Communist Party. After repeatedly risking his life from the 1930s to the 1960s, he reinvented himself as a prolific writer who turned the extraordinary material from his own life into a series of autobiographical novels, beginning with *The Long Voyage*, his 1963 masterpiece about his deportation to Buchenwald.

Semprún was equally at home amongst the *madrileños* of his childhood, fellow prisoners of the Buchenwald concentration camp, politicians, and artists and writers, such as his close friend Yves Montand or Gabriel García Márquez. He is best known internationally as a prize-winning novelist and memoirist, and an Oscar-nominated screenwriter. In collaboration with Alain Resnais and Costa-Gavras he wrote the screenplays for, respectively, *La guerre est finie* and *Z*. In Spain, his extraordinary achievements were recognized when in 1988 he was named Minister of Culture.

The research for this biography draws on archival materials from Spain, France, Germany, the United States and Russia; it includes many interviews with family members, close friends, politicians, and artists including former Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez, and film director Costa Gavras.

About the Author: Soledad Fox Maura is Professor of Spanish, Comparative Literature, and affiliated faculty in the Jewish Studies Program at Williams College, Massachusetts. She is the author of two other books: *A Spanish Woman in Love and War: Constanca de la Mora and Flaubert and Don Quijote: The Influence of Cervantes on Madame Bovary*; and many articles and reviews. She has been interviewed by the BBC, Radio Sefarad, *The New Yorker*, *El Mundo*, *El País*, Europa Press, and Radio Nacional de España on her biographical work.

Reviews: “After reading this lively and intriguing biography, I’m amazed that most of us know so little about Jorge Semprún, even though we’ve likely seen films that he inspired or wrote. This man of great zest, talent and courage who played so many roles in the crises of his time—underground resister, novelist, cabinet minister and more--reminds me of no one so much as André Malraux. It’s a pleasure to have his remarkable life now available to us in English.”

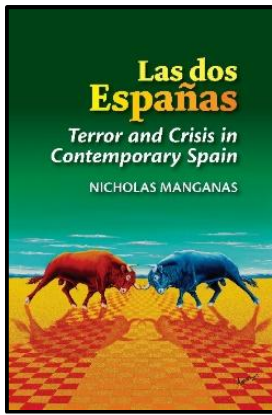
Adam Hochschild, author of *Spain in Our Hearts: Americans in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt)

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NEW TITLE

Las dos Españas

Terror & Crisis in Contemporary Spain

Nicholas Manganas

The idea of a divided Spain, where one half is antagonistic to the other half, dates back at least to the 19th-century Spanish satirist Mariano José de Larra who, in his essay "All Souls' Day 1836", wrote "Here lies half of Spain. It died of the other half". The narrative of *las dos Españas* is evident across many political and historical debates operating in the Spanish state, and contemporarily it shadows and informs national issues from Catalan independence to the teaching of history in schools. But it is most polemical in debates concerning the issue of terror in all its manifestations. *Las dos Españas* takes a multidisciplinary approach in understanding narratives of terror in contemporary Spain, in an attempt to contextualize terrorism socially and politically, as well as ideologically. Selective case studies of terror related events in the Spanish state will include the long-running Basque conflict, the state-sponsored death squad (GAL) scandal in the 1980s, the March 2004 terrorist attacks in Madrid, and other terror episodes. The author argues that these terror-related events can be re-read in terms of traces and links to long-standing historical narratives. However, since the onset of the global economic crisis in 2009, and its devastating effect on Spanish society, narratives of economic crisis have begun to supersede narratives of terror in the construction of the two Spains. The conclusion drawn is that the narrative of *las dos Españas* still has the power to continue to divide Spain ideologically in political discourse. Terror and crisis narratives are intertwined with the narrative of *las dos Españas* to provide a coherent argument that allows one to better understand the subversive nature of contemporary Spanish politics.

About the Author: Dr. Nicholas Manganas completed his PhD in International Studies at the University of Technology, Sydney (Australia) in 2010 and has since been teaching Business Communication at the University of Cantabria. He is the director of an English language school, The Magic Bus, in Santander, Spain. He participates in many international conferences and has published widely in multidisciplinary journals.

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FORTHCOMING TITLE – JUNE 2017

Press, Politics & National Identity in Catalonia

The Transformation of La Vanguardia, 1881–1939

Pol Dalmau

For more than three generations, the members of the Godó family controlled Barcelona's top-selling newspaper *La Vanguardia*, navigating it through the country's turbulent 20th century. Whether under the corrupt politics of the Bourbon Restoration, the radical transformations of the Second Republic or the tragedy of the Spanish Civil War, *La Vanguardia* remained Barcelona's indisputable journalistic benchmark. Central to this success was the Godó family's extraordinary capacity to meet the changing tastes of a plural audience whilst adjusting to a changing political scenario. In parallel, the ownership of the newspaper allowed family members to expand their interests to other fields, such as politics, business and colonial rule in Cuba and Morocco.

The long-standing reputation of the Godó dynasty, however, is in sharp contrast with the lack of studies about their members and the newspaper they founded. This silence is due, in part, to the influence that *La Vanguardia* still exerts on public life today. Drawing on hitherto unused archival material, this book is the first account about '*the most renowned publishers and the most important newspaper in Catalonia's history*'. In so doing, it also sheds new light on how the media shaped (and conditioned) Europe's birth of mass politics. In fact, while contemporaries often observed that newspapers had a powerful influence over public affairs, historians have not systematically examined the role of press owners as 'political actors'. Likewise, media specialists have seldom considered how the rise of the new mass press affected democratisation and the collapse of liberal institutions. In contrast, Pol Dalmau focuses on the case of a renowned family in Barcelona to uncover the media's critical role in Europe's uneven road to modernity.

About the Author: Pol Dalmau holds a thesis from the European University Institute (Florence, Italy). He has been a visiting fellow at Universitat Pompeu Fabra and New York University. His research focuses on the birth of the mass media and its connections with broader phenomena in European history (colonialism, democratisation, political culture).

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Soledad Fox

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Paul Quintanilla

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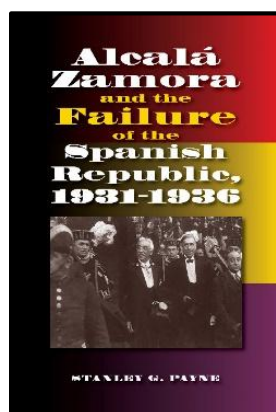
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Sussex Library of Study - Spanish History

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NEW TITLE

Alcala Zamora & the Failure of the Spanish Republic, 1931-1936

Stanley G. Payne

The Second Spanish Republic (1931–36) was the only new liberal democratic regime to emerge in Europe during the 1930s. Historians, however, have focused primarily on the Civil War of 1936–39 that followed, devoting much less attention to the parliamentary regime that preceded it. This book deals with the history and failure of the democratic polity in Spain through a detailed examination of the initiatives of its president, Niceto Alcalá Zamora. As civil servant, lawyer, politician and writer, by 1931 he had become one of the most successful men of Spain. He played the leading role in the downfall of the monarchy and the inauguration of the Republic, which he served for eight months as initial prime minister and then as the first president.

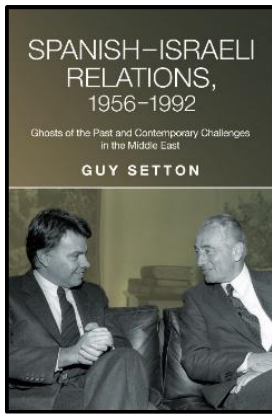
Stanley Payne's study argues that the failure of the Republic was not inevitable but depended on the policy choices of its president and the key party leaders. Alcalá Zamora's professed goal was to "center the Republic," stabilizing the new regime while avoiding extremes, but he failed altogether in this project. The Constitution of 1931 stipulated the "double responsibility" of parliamentary government both to the president and to a voting majority. Though Alcalá Zamora resisted strong efforts from the left to cancel the results of the first fully democratic elections in 1933, he subsequently used his powers recklessly, making and unmaking governments at will, refusing to permit normal functioning of parliament.

This first critical scholarly account of the presidency of Alcalá Zamora casts new light on the failure of democracy in interwar Europe and on the origins of the Spanish Civil War.

About the Author: Stanley G. Payne's most recent authored books include *Franco: A Personal and Political Biography* (with Jesús Palacios) (Wisconsin, 2014); *The Spanish Civil War* (Cambridge, 2012); and *Civil War in Europe, 1905–1949* (Cambridge, 2011). He is the recipient of the Elizabeth Steinberg Prize (University of Wisconsin Press, 2004); the Marshall Shulman Prize (American Association for Advancement of Slavic Studies, 2005); and was co-editor of the *Journal of Contemporary History* from 1999 to 2015.

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About the Author: Guy Setton has a PhD in History from Tel Aviv University after majoring in International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He obtained a Master's degree in International History at the London School of Economics.

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